

A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF JEAN THENAUD'S
Kabbalistic Manuscript
Arsenal ms. 5061

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PhD Submission

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Volume 1



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ABSTRACT

Jean Thenaud, a Franciscan from the region of Angoulême had intimate access to the royal family of Francis I (1494-1547), King of France, who commissioned Thenaud to journey to the Holy Land. Although the report on this voyage was published all Thenaud's other works, which include poetical commentary, horoscopes, monumental moralistic directives for the royal household and two Kabbalistic works remained in manuscript. (All his works were written in French). The first Kabbalistic work was the 1519 manuscript *La sainte et très chrestienne cabale metrificée* (BN. Fr. 882) which was in verse and which, perhaps because of this, did not gain royal approval. Thenaud rewrote his findings and in 1521 duly presented *Traité de la cabale* (Arsenal ms. 5061).

The present thesis compromises an analysis of the Kabbalistic *oeuvre* of Thenaud plus an assessment of the state of Hebrew learning in Christian circles, particularly in France, up to the end of the sixteenth century. The edition of Arsenal ms. 5061 includes commentary and translation. A text-only transcription of the original is also provided on diskettes.

At first sight Arsenal ms. 5061 is thoroughly neo-Platonic. It follows the Kabbalistic works of Johann Reuchlin, employs a cosmology and numerology derived from Dionysius the Areopagite and re-interprets Kabbalism by means of the *Figura* of the ninth century Rabanus Maurus of Fulda. Although Jews had been banned from France in 1394 the thesis proposes that Thenaud had direct access to an otherwise unrecognised Hebrew Kabbalistic source. This is supported by analysis of the distribution of the endings of the names of the 72 angels together with the form of exorcism given in Treatise 4. Furthermore new research in this thesis concerning Jewish-Christian relationships as found in *Toledot Yeshu* confirms that Thenaud did have direct access to a distinct Hebraic tradition. This tradition, mediated through Thenaud's European scholarship, allowed him to present the Kabbalah in accordance with medieval cosmology making full use of superbly illustrated colour diagrams.

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NOTE ON TABLE OF CONTENTS

The Introduction and each of the treatises in Volume 1 have been provided with an index in Volume 2. Due to their lengths the nine End Notes have also been placed in Volume 2, as have the End Images although a thumb-nail image occurs at the relevant point in the text.

Transcriptions of the original Arsenal text are included on diskettes in pockets at the end of Volume 2.

TRANSLITERATIONS

		Finals	
	א		,
ב	ב		b
ג	ג		g
ד	ד		d
	ה		h
	ו		w ¹
	ז		z
	ח		h
	ט		t
	י		y
כ	כ	ך	ch
	ל		l
	מ	ם	m
	נ	ן	n
	ס		s
	ע		,
פ	פ	ף	ph
	צ	ץ	s
	ק		k
	ר		r
ש	ש		ś, s, sh
ת	ת		th

Ms. 5061 has no accents and little punctuation, which has been followed in the transcription as has the capitalisation.

¹ In medieval French letters 'v', except initial 'v's, were rendered as 'u's and thus they appear in my transcription.

The Hebrew ו, vav or waw is given variously in ms. 5061. Folio 71 recto



has 'vaf'



but folio 72 recto has 'vau'

Introduction to
Jean Thénaud's
Traité de la cabale

1521

Hebraica Veritas

In the Middle Ages there were some Christians in France who claimed a knowledge of Hebrew. The concept of Hebrew truth - *hebraica veritas* - was not unknown in European thought. But there is little evidence that many Christians had a really good knowledge of Hebrew. One reason for this was that relations between Christians and the natural Hebraists, the Jews, were often strained or even ruptured by disputations, exiles and persecutions, notably in the thirteenth century. No doubt the reason that more Christians did not learn Hebrew was that Jerome's translations of the Old Testament were so venerated that mere reference to them was accepted in place of any direct use of original Hebrew manuscripts.¹

Notwithstanding this there were, however, a number of Christian Hebraists of the Mediæval period who made a signal contribution to the development of Hebrew knowledge in France and elsewhere. One such was Andrew of the Paris monastery of St. Victor. Andrew, who was probably English, went to St. Victor in c. 1154. Some nine years later he was recalled to Wigmore in Herefordshire, where he had previously been made canon in c. 1147. He died there in 1175. Andrew's knowledge of Hebrew was such that he was able to use Jewish sources such as Rashi (1040 - 1105)² and successors

¹ Although Jerome was not without critics. Julian of Aelclanum accused him of combining the allegories of Origen with the fabulous traditions of the Jews.

² '... *vel per allegorias Origensis, vel per fabulosas ludorum traditiones, tota eius defluxit oratio.*'

P.L. xxi. 92.

²Rabbi Solomon ben Isaac (or Yitzhaki, abbreviated as Rashi), who wrote definitive commentaries on the Hebrew Bible and most of the Babylonian Talmud, is considered one of the greatest authorities on Jewish law. Rashi, who had studied at Mainz and Worms, established a talmudic academy at Troyes and was a much-sought-after teacher and religious guide. A master of brevity, he applied the method of utter simplicity, avoiding dialectics and unnecessary complications, stressing grammar and rational exposition; occasionally he used

including the French Bible commentator Joseph Kara (1060 - c. 1130). He also used the works of Samuel ben Meir (Rashbam), a grandson of Rashi, Eliezer of Beaugency and his contemporary Joseph Benchor Shor of Orleans. These writers all favoured a rational approach to exegesis and Andrew followed their example. He wanted the text to make plain sense and in his own exegesis showed a preference for the Hebrew over the Vulgate, so much so that he laid himself open to the charge of "judaizing". In his commentary on Isaiah liii there is a most revealing note in another hand, accusing Andrew of violently punishing the text whilst striving too much to judaize.¹

Another of the twelfth century Victorines who knew Hebrew well was Hugh of St. Victor. Like Andrew, Hugh knew the rabbinic literature and his work shows striking affinities with Joseph Kara and Rashbam.² The centre which nourished these twelfth century scholars was the abbey of St. Victor, where there was a well established library. The collection was catalogued, there was a reading room and the public were able to borrow books.³ It has been described as the first public library of Paris. The lasting significance of the Abbey and its library may be demonstrated by the value placed upon it by Giordano Bruno (1548 - 1600) the great Italian philosopher who went there to study on his return from England, where the Reformation changes at Oxford - a former stronghold of Platonism - had so disgusted him.⁴ The writings of the Victorines continued to be treasured late into the sixteenth century.⁵ This is of particular importance for the present study as it is known that one of Thenaud's contemporaries - Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples (?1455 - 1536) - found in the writings of those twelfth century Victorines a way of combining rationalism with mysticism.⁶

vernacular French or German words to clarify an unusual biblical phrase. At the same time, he did justice to the homiletic traditions. In certain cases he modestly admitted, "I don't know the meaning," and he quoted other authorities whenever he found their work helpful. His biblical commentary, printed in Hebrew in 1475, was translated into Latin and studied by those preparing the first German translation of the Bible.

¹B. Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, Oxford, 1983, p. 156.

²B. Smalley, *ibid.*

³P. Champion, *Paris au temps de la Renaissance, Paganisme et réforme*, Paris, 1936, pp. 10 ff., cited by F. Yates, *French Academies of the Sixteenth Century*, Warburg Institute of the University of London, vol. 15, 1947, p. 17.

⁴F. Yates, *ibid.* Giordano Bruno, born at Nola, and taught at Paris, where he opposed scholasticism and Aristotelianism. He was burned in Rome as an heretic.

⁵In 1583 Corbinelli translated the works of mystical writers, including Hugh of St. Victor, for King Henry III. R. Calderini De-Marchi, *Jacopo Corbinelli et les érudits français d'après la correspondance inédite Corbinelli-Pinelli* (1566-87), Milan, 1914, pp. 66, 69, 73, 207-8.

⁶In the library of St Victor Lefèvre read ... the treatise of Richard on the Trinity; and in the author of "Benjamin minor" and "Benjamin major" he found that theology, combining

Lefèvre and his fellow Biblicists of Meaux communicated these philosophical attitudes to the highest circles in France notably to Francis I and his sister Marguerite.¹ Lefèvre is particularly significant for the present study not only on account of his knowledge of the Kabbalah, but also on account of his attitude to it. He features later in this study, but here it is relevant to note that whereas he chose to publicise his rational philosophical attitude to the Bible (among his other works centred on the Bible there was the *Quincuplex Psalterium*, Paris, 1513) he sought to disguise his early acquaintance with the Kabbalah (notably his *De magia naturali* 1492-1494). Perhaps by the early part of the sixteenth century the atmosphere in Catholic France was less accepting of any reference to magical experiments such as the new Christian Kabbalah.² Nevertheless, as will be seen below, Lefèvre's commentary on the Psalms did incorporate information on the divine names which is unmistakably kabbalistic in manner and which related closely to the approach adopted by Thenaud.³

Another writer of a commentary on the Psalter who revealed a similar exegetical approach was the twelfth century scholar Herbert of Bosham. Herbert, secretary and biographer to Thomas à Becket, was well versed in Hebrew.⁴ When Thomas was exiled to France from 1164 to 1170 Herbert accompanied him and became a student of Lombard of Paris. Herbert, who ended his days at the Cistercian abbey of Ourscamp, revealed his approach when he wrote 'I am not striving after an understanding of the difficult spiritual senses, but with rationalism with mysticism, for which he had always sought.' A. Renaudet, *Préréforme et Humanisme à Paris*, ser. I, vol. vi, Grenoble, 1916, p. 521.

¹C. Martineau, M. Veissière, Guillaume Briçonnet - Marguerite d'Angoulême, *Correspondance (1521-1524)*, Geneva, 1975.

²B. Copenhaver, *Symphorien Champier and the Reception of the Occultist Tradition in Renaissance France*, The Hague, 1978, pp. 189-211.

³*Ibid.* Lefèvre d'Étaples', *De Magia Naturali*, 1492-1494, had six books which were never printed. Copenhaver touches only on the secret names of God as found in the final chapters of book two, which was called *De Pithagorica philosophia quæ as Magiam introducit*. The first thirteen chapters were about astrological and theological implications of numerology. Copies of the work are Brussels ms. Lat. 10875, Vaticana, Regina. Lat. 1115 for books i to iv, chapter 19 and Olomouc, Státní Veřejná Knihovna, M. 119/1 for all six books. Lefèvre's claim was that Hebrew magic depended on certain divine numbers. He believed that words which did not form the divine names were empty, inefficacious and powerless, so those numbers not drawn from the divine numbers were ineffectual for the secret working of magic. He suggested that the Kabbalah was originally concerned with letters and that it became magical only after the *Cabala litteraria* was associated with numbers.

⁴Thomas à Becket, b. c. 1118, the chancellor of England under Henry II and the Archbishop of Canterbury, became a famous martyr when he was murdered in his own cathedral on Dec. 29, 1170.

the animals that walk the earth, I cleave to earth, attending only to the lowest sense of the letter of the Psalter.¹ His significance for our study is twofold. First he demonstrated an independence of mind against tradition. In this he followed and directly supported Andrew of St. Victor in favouring any exegesis warranted by Hebrew manuscripts. Secondly, not only did material from Rashi appear on almost every page, but he was able to draw on earlier Rabbinic exegetes including the Talmud.²

Roger Bacon, (c. 1214 - 1294) an English Franciscan monk, noted for his violent attacks on the philosophy of his day, was also a great proponent of the study of oriental languages.³ His interest derived from his realisation that the knowledge of Greek, Hebrew and Arabic was indispensable for the understanding of philosophy. He believed that true philosophy had been originally expressed in Hebrew, had passed to the Greeks, who had entirely renewed it, whence it had passed to the Arabs under the guidance of Avicenna⁴. Latin was merely a secondary authority. It has been pointed out that an original feature of Bacon's motivation for learning oriental languages was that

¹"... *non ad arduam spiritualem sensuum intelligentiam nitor, sed velud cum animalibus gressibilibus super terram, terre hereo, solum littere psalmorum sensum infinum prosequens.*" Commentary on the Psalter, folio 1, cited by B. Smalley, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

²B. Smalley, *op. cit.* pp. 186 - 193 where she notes, firstly that Herbert had some knowledge of Aristotle, and secondly that in his New Testament use of the Old Testament 'He seems to be fumbling towards the Antiochene position that a quotation by a New Testament writer does not necessarily constitute proof of its being originally intended as a messianic prophecy.'

³Roger Bacon, the English scholastic philosopher, is often considered an early advocate of the methods of modern science. He received much of his university training in Paris, where he taught philosophy from about 1240 to 1247; after that he went to Oxford, where he was influenced by the ideas of Robert Grosseteste. About 1257, Bacon became a Franciscan friar, and for the rest of his life his outspokenness and unorthodox opinions involved him in frequent difficulties with the superiors of his order. In 1267-68, at the request of Pope Clement IV, Bacon prepared three works, the *Opus maius*, *Opus minus*, and *Opus tertium*, in which he outlined proposals for a reform of education, arguing that a study of the natural world using observation and exact measurement was the surest foundation for a knowledge of the world's creator.

⁴Avicenna (Arabic, Ibn Sina), 980-1037, was a Persian philosopher who spent his life as a physician and scholar-in-residence at many Islamic courts. He died while in service in Isfahan. Many of his writings were translated in the West. Avicenna's works are of a compendious nature, the most notable being a philosophical encyclopedia. Like other Muslim scholars of the Greek school, he attempted to reconcile philosophy and Islam. For Avicenna, philosophy was the true path to understanding. His summaries of Aristotle reveal a Neoplatonic outlook, especially in his emphasis on the dualism of mind and matter. He saw matter as passive and creation as the act of instilling existence into this passive substance; only in God are being and existence one. Avicenna also wrote numerous works on medicine. His best known is the Canon of Medicine, based primarily on Greco-Roman medical tracts. An extraordinarily popular work, it was translated into Latin and served as a foundation of medical learning in European universities for centuries.

such languages were not to be seen primarily as tools for conversionary purposes.¹ The Catalan scholar Raymond Lull (1235 - 1316)² was convinced that spiritual means, as opposed to crusades, were more appropriate for the conversion of unbelievers. It was due to him that the Council of Vienne in 1312 called for the universities of Bologna, Oxford, Paris and Salamanca to establish chairs to teach oriental languages, including Hebrew.³ Although the long term effectiveness of that canon was minimal, some progress was made. For instance Pope John XXII did try to promote the canon in 1326 when he made enquiries about the lectures being offered and the financial arrangements surrounding them. It is known that the same Pope caused the converted Jew, Jean Salvati, from Beauvais, to teach Hebrew and Chaldee in Paris.⁴

As the Middle Ages drew to their close very few Christian Hebraists were active on French soil. Among this select band of university teachers of Hebrew was another converted Jew, Paul de Bonnefoy.⁵ Jourdain has gathered whatever material is extant concerning de Bonnefoy, but even this is scant.⁶ As to his influence, the best available evidence is that de Bonnefoy may have influenced the reformist minded preacher Jacques Legrand.⁷

We have already noted some of the impediments to the spread of Hebrew in Christian circles. Then, as now, there was a lack of flexibility in universities for the integration of new topics. In addition, the venerated translations into Latin of Jerome and the excellent translations of the great mediæval exegete,

¹ S. Kessler-Mesguich, 'Aspect et Tendance de l'Enseignement de l'hébreu en France, du moyen-âge à la fin du dix-septième siècle', *Pardès*, no. 12, 1990, p. 110.

² Lull (also Llull and Lully), was a Catalan poet, philosopher, and Christian mystic. The son of wealthy parents, he was reared at the royal court of Majorca. At the age of thirty, he claimed to have a vision of Christ crucified. He abandoned his life at the court and dedicated himself to the conversion of Muslims in North Africa after studying Arabic, oriental mysticism, theology, and philosophy. The author of almost 300 works, Lull was important in the development of the Catalan language. His interest in finding a common ground between Christianity, Islam and Judaism made him one of the earliest ecumenists. Lull's principal work, 'Ars magna', was a philosophic defence of Christianity against the teachings of Averroes.

³ B. Altaner, art. 'Raymundus Lullus und der Sprachenkanon des Konzils von Vienne (1312)', *Historische Jahrbuch*, vol. 53. 1933, pp. 190-219.

⁴ E. Denifle, and E. Chatelain, *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, vol. II, no. 694, quoted by S. Kessler-Mesguich, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

⁵ Ch. Jourdain, *De l'enseignement de l'hébreu dans l'université de Paris au xv^e siècle*, *Excursions historiques*, ..., p. 236 quoted by S. Kessler-Mesguich, *op. cit.*, p. 120, note 11. See also below under Reuchlin and his learning Hebrew in Paris in 1473 from John Wessel of Gansfort.

⁶ Ch. Jourdain, *ibid.*

⁷ DE. Beltran, and G. Dahan, 'Un hébraïsant à Paris vers 1400: Jacques Legrand', *Archives Juives*, 17th year, 1981, pp. 41-49. D'E. Beltran, *Jacques Legrand: sa vie et son œuvre* *Analecta Augustiniana* vol. 24 pp. 132-160 and pp. 387-414.

Nicholas of Lyra (c. 1270 - 1340)¹ deterred scholars from referring directly to Hebrew manuscripts. Finally there was the perception that Hebrew (and Greek) were primarily, if not exclusively, of value for missionary purposes, and could be safely be left to the missionary-minded Dominicans and Franciscans. Of the four universities charged with establishing chairs of Hebrew, it has been suggested that Paris was the most progressive.² In the sixteenth century, however, as we shall see, Paris was to be one of the centres of learning most resistant to the use of Hebrew.

The preceding section has sketched the state of Hebrew studies in France and England up to the start of the 16th century and has shown that the flickering flame was nearly dead. By the end of the century, however, the situation was very different not only in France but also in Italy, Germany and England. In general terms there was an abundance of teachers, teaching and material. For instance Baroway has established that by 1600 there were available in Europe no less than one hundred and forty-six published editions of individual Hebrew grammars.³ The first Hebrew grammar to be published in France was Tissard's 1508 *Tabula elementorum hebraicorum*.⁴ Tissard, in his 1508 *De judæorum ritibus*, has also been credited with being the first Frenchman to mention the Kabbalah,⁵ but this claim is to be treated with caution in the light of Lefèvre's unpublished *De magia naturali* noted above. The next two decades witnessed a veritable explosion of interest in Hebrew in France and

¹Nicholas of Lyra, another Franciscan, was one of the most famous biblical commentators of the late Middle Ages. He had a thorough knowledge of Hebrew and of Rashi. This is evident from his *Postillæ*. He is of considerable importance due to his influence on Protestant Reformers. This was due to his concentration on Jewish interpretations of the Old Testament.

²S. Kessler-Mesguich, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

³M. Baroway, 'Towards understanding Tudor-Jacobean Hebrew Studies', in *Jewish Social Studies*, vol. 18, No. 1, 1956, p. 15. These grammars were from Italian, French, Swiss, Dutch and above all from German presses. Cited by G. Lloyd-Jones, *The Discovery of Hebrew in Tudor England: a third language*, Manchester University Press, 1983, p. 258.

⁴F. Tissard, *Tabula elementorum hebraicorum. Documenta ut debeant illa elementa proferri ac legi. Ut Hebraei numeros signant. Oratio dominica hebraicis characteribus impressa, G. de Gourmont*, Paris, 1508. François Tissard was born at Amboise about 1450. He studied at Paris, Orleans and Ferrara, where he completed his education under the guidance of a Jew. Prior to the publication of Tissard's Hebrew grammar the same printer, Gilles de Gourmont, had produced his '*Liber Gyromagyricus*', the first Greek work printed in Paris. He is also to be noted for drawing to the attention of the future Francis I the importance of oriental languages. S. Kerner, 'La Première Grammaire hébraïque publiée en France', *Yod*, vol. 6 (1980) fasc. 2, pp. 7-14.

⁵B. Copenhaver, *op. cit.*, p. 208, n. 69.

elsewhere.¹

The flame did not however revive without difficulty. The progress made throughout the sixteenth century met with considerable opposition. This was most notably the case at the Sorbonne, where, in 1530, the following two proposals were strongly censured as scandalous, false and Lutheran.² First that Holy Scripture could not be properly understood without a knowledge of Greek, Hebrew and other such languages. Secondly that a preacher could not explain epistle or gospel without those languages.

Despite the resistance within institutions such as the Sorbonne, Hebrew studies did flourish in Europe in the early years of the sixteenth century. The range of factors that contributed to this growth in Hebrew studies, the motives that generated it and the consequences of that growth are numerous and varied. In order to comprehend this growth some consideration needs to be given to the situation in neighbouring states, particularly in Italy, Germany and England. As is well known Italy had an ancient and important Jewish community.³

¹What amounts to a summary roll call of Hebraists in sixteenth century France is given in the pre-war German *Encyclopædia Judaica*. The same reference also acknowledges the positive part played by Francis I in ordering the collection of manuscripts, and in attempting to attract Hebraists, such as Elie Levita.

'Frankreich, das Heimat Scaligers, hatte bereits seit den Tagen Franz I die Führung in der Philologie übernommen. Dieser König ließ durch Pélissier u.a. auch hebr. HSS erwerben; er versuchte - freilich vergeblich - Levita für die Universität Paris zu gewinnen, und zog dann verschiedene christliche-italienische Hebraisten in sein Land, wie Agostino Giustiniano, der 1516 das "Psalterium polyglottum" herausgegeben hatte, Santes Pagnini, den Verfasser der "Institutiones hebraicæ" (1520) und das "Thesaurus linguæ sanctæ" (1529) ferner Agaio Guidacerio, von dem ebenfalls Grammatisches vorliegt. Um die Mitte des Jahrhunderts wirkten in Paris François Vatablé, Jean Mercier und Wilhelm Postel, später zeichneten sich Joh. Quinquarboreus, Joh. Bodinus und Gilbert Genebrard aus.'

Art. 'Frankreich', *EJ* (German) vol. 7. Verlag Eschkol A G Berlin, col. 1086.

²

'Determinatio facultatis theologie Parisiensis facta aultima Aprilis anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo tricesimo, super duobus propositionibus. Primo propositio: La Sainte Escripiture ne se peult bonnement entendre sans la langue grecque, hébraïque et aultres semblables. Censura: hec propositio temeraria est et scandalosa. Secunda propositio: Il ne se peult faire que ung predicateur explicque selon la vérité l'espistre ou l'evangile sans lesdites langues. Censura: hec propositio falsa est impia et populi christiani ab auditione verbi Dei perniciose aversiva. Utraque harum asetionum authores de lutheranismo vehementer reddit suspectos.'

This opinion of the Sorbonne with regard to the new college is to be found in ms. Lat. 3381b, fol. 110 Bibliothèque Nationale conclusion du 30 avril 1530.

Indeed the reactionary attitude of the Sorbonne persisted. It was not until 1751 that a chair of Hebrew was established there. M. Hadas-Lebel, 'Les études hébraïques en France au xviii^e siècle et la création de la première chaire d'Ecriture Sainte en Sorbonne', *REJ*, CXLIV (1-3), 1985, pp. 93-126.

³For a general description see H. Graetz, *History of the Jews from the Earliest Times to the Present Day*, London, 1892, vol. iii, pp. 34-36, and S. Baron, 'A Social and Religious History of the Jews', Vol. x, *Later Middle Ages and Era of European Expansion* Introduction page 7 1200-1650. Columbia, 1965.

Those Jews already in Italy were augmented by immigrants from numerous lands during the first half of the sixteenth century.¹ The most significant influxes were those brought about by the 1492 expulsion of the Jews from Spain and Sicily. These immigrations coincided with the start of the Renaissance which had a notable impact on Jewish culture. One particularly notable feature of the Renaissance in Italy was the emergence of Hebrew printing in which Aldus Manutius (1449 - 1515)² and Daniel Bomberg led the way. As will now be shown Aldus Manutius and Daniel Bomberg were instrumental in extending the influence of Hebrew to France and beyond.

The career of Girolamo Aleandro, who had worked as a corrector for Aldus, illustrates this influence. Aleandro arrived in Paris in 1508, where he displaced Tissard as the leading Greek scholar. In 1511 Girolamo was giving public lessons in Greek and Latin at the Collège de la Marche, as well as private lessons in Hebrew. Among his students in Hebrew were Celse-Hugues Descousu,³ Guillaume Budé (1467 - 1540)⁴ and Vatable (d. 1547). Girolamo recorded his concern over the paucity and high cost of Hebrew books in Paris.⁵ His stated intention was to remedy this situation by producing books

For a particular description, appropriate to this study, of the manner in which kabbalistic influences from Italy reached France through the works of Pico and Ricius see C. Wirszubski *Pico della Mirandola's Encounter with Jewish Mysticism*, Harvard, in assoc'n with The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1989, and F. Secret, Notes sur Paulus Ricius et la Kabbale chrétienne en Italie, *Rinascimento*, xi no 2, 1960.

¹ 'Throughout the first half of the sixteenth century the Papal states received Jews from other areas. There were during 1492-1511 five waves of immigration to Rome from Spain, Sicily, Portugal, Navarre, Provence, Naples, Calabria and Tripoli...' M. Shulvass, *The Jews in the World of the Renaissance*, Leiden, 1973, p. 24.

² Aldus Manutius (family name Mannucci or Manuzio), an Italian printer, editor, and scholar, founded the Aldine Press, a pioneering family printing firm. It was the first press to produce printed editions of many of the Hebrew, Greek and Latin classics and the first to use italic type. This typeface was created to accommodate the requirements for pocket-size books, another significant innovation of the Aldine Press. Educated in Rome and Ferrara, Aldus Manutius founded (1490) his press in Venice, giving rise to a family tradition that would last a century and see the publication of more than a thousand editions. The Aldine Press became noted for its anchor and dolphin signature, or colophon, which first appeared in 1502. The Aldine works are also famous for their use of original woodcuts. Aldus Manutius is also remembered for founding (c.1500) an academy for classical scholars. He was followed by his erudite son Paul, 1512-1574.

³From 1513 he was 'professeur de langues grecque et hébraïque à Paris.' S. Kessler-Mesguich, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

⁴Budé was born in Paris, and was largely instrumental in persuading Francis I to establish the Collège de France.

⁵ See the preface to his *Opuscles* of Plutarch, 1509. F. Secret, *Les Kabbalistes Chrétiens de la Renaissance*, Paris, 1964, p. 151.

on Hebrew, Greek, Syriac and Aramaic.¹ This fine intention was not however carried out, as he left for Germany in 1514. He was later to become the papal nuncio in Germany and in France after which it is difficult to assess his direct contribution to the study of Hebrew in France. If the influence of Aldus Manutius is exemplified by the life of one of his correctors, the influence of Daniel Bomberg is evident from the sheer numbers of his imprints.

Between 1517 and 1549 some 250 Hebrew works flowed from Bomberg's press in Venice. Among them were three editions of the Hebrew Bible. These enabled those capable of reading the annotations which surrounded the text to have access to the comments of leading Jewish exegetes on every book of the Bible. The influence of such works was furthered by the ensuing works printed in Isny, ^{to the South-west of Munich} where Elie Levita (1469 - 1549)² provided an Aramaic dictionary and a glossary of mediæval Hebrew. Paulus Fagius provided complementary works in Latin from the same location.³ He was befriended by Cardinal Egidio da Viterbe (1465 - 1532), to whom he taught Hebrew, although his instructing a Christian attracted hostility from his co-religionists. (It is known that da Viterbe had more than a passing awareness of the Kabbalah because a kabbalistic diagram was recorded as part of his library and he had the Zohar translated into Latin).⁴ These illustrations show how Bomberg's works not only spread throughout Europe, but triggered off further publications.

Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463-1494),⁵ the "father" of Christian Kabbalah,⁶

¹The suggested date for his *Alphabetum hebraicum et graecum* is 1510.

²Known in Jewish circles as Elijah Ba ḥur. He was befriended by Cardinal Egidio da-Viterbe, to whom he taught Hebrew. G. Weil, *Élie Lévi - Humaniste et Massorète (1469 - 1549)*, Leiden Brill, 1963.

³Notably his *Thargum hoc est Paraphrasis Onkelis Chaldaica in Sacra Biblia*, Strasbourg, 1546. This rare book was the subject of the Dorfler Memorial Lecture 1996 by Dr. Piet van Boxel, at Leo Baeck College, London. G. Lloyd-Jones, "The discovery of Hebrew in Tudor England: A Third Language," *Manchester* 1983, pp. 203, 4.

⁴G. Sed-Rajna, 'Un Diagramme Kabbalistique de la Bibliothèque de Gilles de Viterbe', *Hommage à Georges Vajda*, Louvain, 1980, pp. 365-375. H. Graetz, *Popular History of the Jews vol. iv From the first expulsion of the Jews from France (1306) CE to the settlement of Don Joseph Nassi in Turkey (1553 CE)*, New York, 1919, p. 307.

⁵E. Garin, *Giovanni Pico della Mirandola: Vita e Dottrina*, Florence, 1937.

Sir T. More, ed. J. Riggs, *Giovanni Pico della Mirandola: His Life by his Nephew Giovanni Francesco Pico*, London, 1890.

⁶J. Blau, *The Christian Interpretation of the Cabala in the Renaissance*, New York, 1944, p. 19. Kabbalah is the Hebrew word for received tradition, originally designated the legal tradition of Judaism, but it was later applied to the Jewish mystical tradition, especially the system of esoteric mystical speculation and practice that developed during the 12th and 13th centuries. The speculative aspects of Kabbalah (*Kabbalah iyyunit*) were stressed in southern European schools; more practical, socioethical, and sometimes magical themes (*Kabbalah maasit*) were emphasized in northern European circles. Kabbalistic interest, at first confined to a

is significant for our present purposes because Thenaud makes a point of acknowledging him.¹ Pico studied at Bologna, Paris, Padua, Florence and Rome. In 1486, at the age of twenty-four, he went to Rome where he published his "Nine Hundred Theses", and offered to defend them publicly.² These propositions were drawn from the lore of all ages and places, Eastern and Western. Seventy-two of the theses were from kabbalistic sources, and twenty-six are described as *Conclusiones magicæ*.³ He claimed that the main doctrines of Christianity were to be found in the writings of the Kabbalists.⁴ Pico sought

select few, became the preoccupation of large numbers of Jews following their expulsion from Spain (1492) and Portugal (1495). The teachings of Kabbalah, as developed by the visionary Isaac ben Solomon Luria, are credited with giving rise to the Sabbatean movement led by Sabbatai Zevi. Like every other Jewish religious expression, Kabbalah was based on the Old Testament revelation. The revealed text was interpreted with the aid of various hermeneutic techniques. Of the many methods available, the Kabbalists most frequently used three forms of letter and number symbolism: *gematria*, *notarikon*, and *temurah*. The Kabbalists developed distinctive doctrines of creation and of redemption. Their doctrine of creation was built on a theory of emanations and asserted that the world derived from the transcendent and unknowable God (*En Soph*) through a series of increasingly material manifestations (*sephiroth*). The manifestations were repeated, in some versions of Kabbalah, in four interlocking series or "worlds": emanation (*atzilut*), creation (*beriah*), formation (*yetzirah*), and action or making (*assiyah*). By the sin of Adam and the later sins of humankind, the immanent aspect of God, or the *Shekhinah* (divine presence), was exiled in the final *sephirah*, *malkhut* (kingdom). The sexual imagery of Kabbalah treats *Shekhinah* (the word is feminine in gender) as the female aspect of divinity; it symbolically expresses the idea of the restoration of harmony (*tikkun*) as the reunion of the male and female aspects of the divine, that is, as the reunion of divine transcendence and immanence. The classic document of the kabbalistic tradition, the Zohar, was compiled by Moses de Leon about 1290. See also

¹ Arsenal ms. 5061: G. Scholem, "Origins of the Kabbalah," New York, 1987, and J. Dan, "The Early Kabbalah," Dr. R. Kanner, preface by M. Lich, New Jersey, 1986.

Finablement et pour conclusion en cestuy temps ont escript cest Cabale en langue latine les illustres docteurs Paulus Ricius Jehan Pique et Reuchlin.

Folio lx verso.

L'excellence de la langue hebraicque

Quant euz ouy ainsi parler l'hebreu qui disoit que la Cabale nest fors la subtile interpretation de la loy ou le sens spirituel dicelle ie congneu qu'estoit ce que auoit presche nostre dieu et vray messia nos apostres singulierement saint paoul et tous noz docteurs aussi quant il me dist que cestuy saint nom de Cabale a este mis en usage par le conte de mirandule attendu que ceulx qui de present sont ditz cabalistes iadiz estoient nommez Mekablistes

² ed. E. Garin, *Johannes Picus Mirandulanus: Opera Omnia*, Turin, 1971, pp. 104-13.

³ ed. E. Garin, *ibid.*

⁴ G. Pico della Mirandola, *Oratio de dignitate hominis*, with reference to II Esdras xiv

5,6:-

'There is the mystery of the Trinity, there the Incarnation of the Word, there the divinity of the Messiah; there I have read about original sin, its expiation through Christ, the heavenly Jerusalem, the fall of the devils, the orders of the angels, purgatory and the punishment of hell, the same things we read daily in Paul and Dionysius, in Jerome and Augustine. ... Taken altogether, there is absolutely no controversy between ourselves and the Hebrews on any matter, with regard to which they cannot be refuted and gainsaid out of the cabalistic books, so that there will not be even a corner left in which they may hide themselves.'

The Renaissance Philosophy of Man, ed. E. Cassirer, P. Kristeller, H. Randall Jr.,

to show that Zoroaster¹, Moses, Pythagoras and Christ all said essentially the same thing. To do this he turned back to the allegorical and mystical interpretations of texts developed centuries earlier by Alexandrine scholars. It will be seen that Thénau also sought to show, in his kabbalistic works, the harmony of these sources. A further example of how Pico's attempt to reconcile different philosophies was adopted in the sixteenth century in France is his 1489 work *Heptaplus*. In that work Pico took as his subject the first twenty-six verses of Genesis, but the discussion ranged over the whole spectrum of contemporary learning. It was translated into French and published in Paris in 1579 by Nicholas and Guy Le Fèvre de la Boderie.² It is noteworthy that Pico does not mention the Kabbalists in the *Heptaplus*, though he does cite the Talmudists. The conclusion may well be drawn that the work is not kabbalistic.³ Nonetheless it does illustrate not only Pico's widespread ability to incorporate different Jewish traditions, but also demonstrates his acceptance of the Talmud. In this he differed from Thénau who, as we shall see, regarded the 'Thamult des iuifs' as corrupted and vitiated.⁴ It may also be noted that Pico, towards the end of his life, abandoned his reliance on magic, and that his last major work was a lengthy exposure of the falsity of the pretensions of astrology.⁵ In contrast Thénau's last work was rooted in the astrological tradition - indeed it was a horoscope.⁶

Chicago, 1948, p. 252.

¹ Zoroaster's life dates have been traditionally given as c. 628-551 BC, but many scholars argue for earlier dates. During the 7th and 6th centuries BC the ancient polytheistic religion of the Iranians was reformed and given new dimensions by the prophet Zoroaster (or Zarathushtra). Linguistic evidence suggests that he was born in northeastern Iran, but the prophet's message was to spread throughout the Persian Empire. Adopted as the faith of the Persian kings, Zoroastrianism became the official religion of the Achaemenid empire and flourished under its successors, the Parthian and Sassanian empires. Its theology and cosmology may have influenced the development of Greek, later Jewish, Christian and Muslim thought. The Muslim conquest of the 7th century AD marked the beginning of a steady decline of Zoroastrianism. Persecution resulted in the migration (about the 10th century) of many Zoroastrians to India, where the Parsis of Bombay are their modern descendants. For an assessment of the part of Zoroastrianism on Jewish and Christian philosophy see M. Boyce, *Zoroastrianism: A shadowy but powerful presence in the Judæo-Christian world*, Dr. Williams's Trust, 1987.

² N. and G. Le Fèvre de la Boderie, *Heptaple*, Paris, 1579.

Guy (1541 - 1598). Nicholas (1550 - 1613).

³ J. Blau, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

⁴ J. Thénau, Arsenal ms. 5061, folio 60 recto.

Thamult que au iourd'hui nous auons est tiellement vicié et corrompu quil na aucune conuenance avecques le premier laquelle corruption a este introduite pour destruyre ta foy et loy x'riene ensemble pour vituperer blasphemer et detester ton xprit.

⁵ G. Pico della Mirandola, *Opera Omnia - Disputationes adversus astrologos*, Basel, 1572.

⁶ *Généalogie de la très sacrée majestée du Roy très chrestien*, musée Condé de Chantilly, ms. 420, 1533.

The conclusion may be drawn that Italy, due in large part to the presses and to individuals such as Aleandro Girolamo, Elie Levita¹ and Pico de la Mirandola² was an intellectual powerhouse for the dissemination of Hebrew. However there were forces that worked against them, such as an increase in conversionary activity against the Jews which culminated in the 1553 papal order that the Talmud be burned.³ Despite this the impact of the Italian scholars was far-reaching. Pico's most important disciple was the German, Johann Reuchlin (1455-1522) who will now be considered as attention is turned to Germany.

Pico met Johann Reuchlin⁴ in Florence in 1490 and was instrumental in introducing Reuchlin to Jewish mystical writings.⁵ The high standing which Reuchlin went on to achieve is suggested by Erasmus' 1515 letter to Cardinal Raphael Riario of San Giorgio. Erasmus noted '...that excellent man Doctor Johann Reuchlin ... has all Germany in his debt, where he was the first to awake the study of Greek and Hebrew. He is a man with an exceptional knowledge of the languages, accomplished in many subjects, eminent and well-known throughout Christendom for his published works.'⁶

Reuchlin is of particular importance to the present study because he was respected by Thénau, who refers to him as one of three '*illustres docteurs*'

¹G. Weil, *op. cit.* For a direct indication of Levita's influence on France see M. Schwab, *Un Ambassadeur de France et Rabbi Élie Lévitá*, Archives Israélites XXXVI, Paris, 1875.

²Notably C. Wirszubski, *Pico della Mirandola's Encounter with Jewish Mysticism*, Harvard, in assoc'n with The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1989. For a direct indication of Pico's involvement with France see L. Dorez, L. Thuasne, *Pico de la Mirandole en France (1485-1488)*, Genève, Slatkine reprints Paris, 1897, 1976, and the citations by Thénau infra of Pico.

³K. Stow, *Essential Papers on Judaism and Christianity in Conflict*, ed. J. Cohen, New York University Press, 1991, n. 45, p. 423, states that 'prior to the sixteenth century the papacy had not actively sought to promote large scale conversion, but had always spoken of the mass conversion of the Jews in passive terms, as an event which would occur in the distant future. The terminology of later sixteenth century Bulls changes, however, and calls for the active pursuit of mass conversion. This change, along with the establishment of a conversionary program, indicates that in distinction from the policies of their predecessors, the popes of the later sixteenth century were the first ones to pursue a Jewry policy whose goal was mass conversion.' See also I. Zingher, "L'Hébreu au temps de la Renaissance," Leiden, 1992.

⁴Also known later as Rabbi Capnion.

⁵G. Lloyd-Jones, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-32.

⁶M. Krebs, "Reuchlin's Beziehungen zu Erasmus von Rotterdam", *Johannes Reuchlin, 1455-1522*, ed. M. Krebs Pforzheim, 1955, pp. 139ff.

along with Pico and Ricius.¹ He contributed enormously to the establishment of the science of philology. Reuchlin is also noteworthy because his career illustrates many of the attitudes and subjects of concern here: anti-Semitism, the interplay of scholasticism and humanism, and the relative values to be placed on the Talmud and Kabbalah. His career was much influenced by the power struggles of the church. It should be noted that he shared Pico's conviction that the Kabbalah was not just of speculative value but had practical use. It was a means of channelling supercelestial power. It was therefore to be juxtaposed with the Hermetic tradition expounded by Ficino (1433 - 1499)² in Florence. Thenaud acknowledged his debt to Reuchlin in his kabbalistic works, but the uses to which he put his kabbalistic learning were distinctly different as will be explained.

It has been noted above that Reuchlin's passion for Hebrew mysticism was aroused by Pico in 1490. There is, however, evidence that Reuchlin already had an interest in Hebraica generally. According to Melancthon, John Wessel of Gansfort gave Reuchlin instruction in Hebrew in Paris in 1473 at the university.³

Reuchlin's two kabbalistic works were *De Verbo Mirifico*, Basle, (1494) and *De Arte Cabalistica* (1517). Reuchlin's aim was to show that the practice of Jewish mysticism led ultimately to Jesus Christ and that the essential doctrines of Christianity were to be found in the Kabbalah. Thenaud may be considered to have had the same intent, but his expression of it was subtly different. *De Verbo Mirifico* gives prominence to the wonder-working properties of the Tetragrammaton and to the Pentagrammaton - the Hebrew form of the name

¹J. Thenaud, Arsenal ms. 5061, folio lviii recto.

Finablement et pour conclusion en cestuy temps ont escript cest Cabale en langue latine les illustres docteurs Paulus Ricius Jehan Pique et Reuchlin.

²Ficino was the most influential Christian Platonist of the Italian Renaissance. In 1462 he became the head of the Platonic Academy near Florence, where he spent most of his life translating the works of Plato from Greek into Latin and writing commentaries on them and the principal Neo-Platonists. Ficino believed that true philosophy and true religion are in harmony with each other. He stressed themes of good, love, humanity and immortality, and conceived the universe as a hierarchy of beings from God down to prime matter, with humankind, the microcosm, as the centre and bond of the universe. In his *Theologia Platonica* (Platonic Theology, 1482), he combined Christian theology with Platonic philosophy.

³*Corpus Reformatorum*, vol. XI, Halle, 1843, 'Oratio continens historiam Ioannis Capnionis', col. 1002. Cited by G. Lloyd-Jones, *op. cit.* note 18, p. 37, who also cites M. Brod, *Johannes Reuchlin und sein Kampf*, Stuttgart, 1965, p. 80 concerning an otherwise unknown Jew named Calman who taught Reuchlin Hebrew in 1486.

of Jesus. Thenaud shared this interest in the value of the four letter name of God (and gave a lot of attention to other names of God), but did not stress the Pentagrammaton. Thenaud's approach was more akin to Reuchlin's second work, *De Arte Cabalistica*. Common themes include the magical properties of the divine names and the practical properties of the Kabbalah. Thenaud expressed this in his own manner, as will be seen for instance by his inclusion of the order of exorcism in ms. 5061. Note also needs to be taken of the fact that both of Thenaud's kabbalistic manuscripts were commissioned by Francis I. It is clear that Thenaud tailored his works to suit what he considered were the tastes and expectations of his reader. More importantly, of course, he wanted to influence him along specific moral lines.

Religious life in Germany in the early years of the sixteenth century was characterised by disputes.¹ The dispute that concerns us here has come to be known as the Battle of the Books. In early 1510 a converted Jew, Johann Pfefferkorn, approached Reuchlin. Pfefferkorn sought help in the destruction of Hebrew books, in accordance with the order made by the Emperor Maximilian, on the initiative of the Dominicans, that Hebrew books that were inimical to the Christian faith should be burned. Reuchlin not only refused his assistance on this, but insisted on the rights of the Jews to preserve their literature and beliefs, even though he regarded them as suffering from blind unbelief. Reuchlin wanted a dialogue with Jews, and he wanted this dialogue to be on a well informed basis. To this end Christians needed a sound knowledge of Jewish writings and of Jewish philosophy and accordingly he proposed that two chairs of Hebrew be established at every German university for biblical and rabbinic studies. Reuchlin did however agree that works that were positively insulting to Jesus should be burned.

The implications of the Battle of the Books have been assessed from all angles. The important thing for our purposes is that Reuchlin was not only convinced of the value of the Kabbalah, but was also not prepared to condemn the Talmud, on the historical grounds that Christians had not found it offensive in the past.² Reuchlin was such an influential scholar in promoting the Kabbalah

¹For a review of the disputes that concerned Reuchlin, the Jews, the German Dominicans, and Rome, see H. Graetz, *op. cit.*, vol. iv, ch. 14, where he deals with the Battle of the Books, and with the 'Epistolæ obscurorum virorum'.

²G. Lloyd-Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

in Christian circles that full consideration needs to be given to his views on the relationship between Talmud and Kabbalah.

In *De Arte Cabalistica* Reuchlin gave his views on the similarities of Talmudists and Kabbalists. Then he passed on to the differences. Reuchlin admitted that Talmudists and Kabbalists are alike in their belief that there were two worlds.¹ After that measure of agreement the two divide. Reuchlin expressed a marked preference for the Kabbalist 'happy he is and blessed',² whereas the Talmudist remained in the world of the senses. Reuchlin admitted that the two did have a measure of interdependence, and that there were, therefore, things in common between both groups.³ The underlying intent of the two groups was, however, very different. The Talmudist, said Reuchlin, concluded from the Scripture that the relationship between man and God was akin to that of slave and master. In contrast the Kabbalist, no less devoted to the Law, concluded that man's relationship with God was that of a blessed and beloved son.

Lefèvre d'Étaples, to whom reference has already been made above, voiced his approval of Reuchlin's stand over the Battle of the Books. He wrote to Reuchlin from Paris in 1514 saying, 'If you conquer, we conquer with you'.⁴ This epitomises the manner in which France was, in some respects, the beneficiary of a Renaissance learning which in this instance had originated in Italy and had reached France via Germany. Specifically it shows that Reuchlin, who was, after Pico, the most learned and productive Hebraist with pronounced sympathies for the Kabbalah, came to exert a considerable influence in France in the early sixteenth century.

It has been observed above that in the late Middle Ages some of those Christian Hebraists who were active in France had close connections with England and that some were indeed English. It is a previously unacknowledged

¹*De Arte Cabalistica*, folio xv recto 'Estque Thalmudistaru' & Cabalistaru' ea in re unanimis arbitrat' q' duo 'int mundi, ...'

The first is the intellectual world, 'Primus intellectualis'. This is the world to come given as עולם הבא in the original. The other is the physical world, 'secundus sensibilis'. This is the present world given as עולם הזה in the original.

²*Ibid.* 'Cabalista foelix ille atque beatus ...'

³*Ibid.* '... & suum desyderium trahit. ...'

⁴J. Herminjard, *Correspondance des Réformateurs*, Paris, 1866, vol. 1, p. 17, cited by G. Lloyd-Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

fact that late mediæval French Christian Hebraist circles were so reliant on 'the English connection'. In the sixteenth century, however, the situation was reversed. The state of Hebrew learning in England was somewhat inferior to what was found in Europe and was highly dependent upon it. Factors that led to the upsurge in interest in Hebrew were the desire for reform within the church, the decision to have the Bible available in English, different types of theological controversy, plus an interest in the Kabbalah and apocalyptic writings.

The University of Oxford, which had been nominated by the council of Vienne (1311 - 1312) to establish a chair for the teaching of Hebrew had failed to comply, though there is evidence that in 1320 a converted Jew had taught Hebrew there for a short while.¹ But in effect little happened in Oxford, even despite the decree being reissued by the Council of Basle in 1434.

In Cambridge John Fisher (1504-1535) made strenuous efforts to promote the study of Hebrew, which was one of the main objectives of the founding of St. John's College in 1516. This initiative was similar to those being taken in continental Europe. In 1498 the College of San Idelfonso near Madrid had been founded, and it was here that the converted Jew Alfonso de Zamora was appointed the first professor of Hebrew in 1508. There was no such pool of converted Jewish teachers in England: officially there were no Jews resident in England at the time and therefore there could be no converts to teach Hebrew. In 1520 the highly successful Louvain Collegium Trilingue, in the Netherlands, was founded.²

¹ R. Weiss, 'England and the decree of the Council of Vienne on the teaching of Greek, Arabic, Hebrew and Syriac', in *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, XIV, pp. 1-9, noted by Lloyd-Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

²This college, which was for the study of Latin, Greek and Hebrew, was established with the encouragement of Busleiden and Erasmus. H. de Vocht, *Jerome Busleyden, Founder of the Louvain Collegium Trilingue: his life and writings*, Turnhout, 1950, p. 90. F. Nève, *Mémoire historique et littéraire sur le collège des Trois Langues à l'Université de Louvain. Relations de S. Petri et d'autres savants du XVI e siècle avec l'université de Louvain, et les derniers temps de l'enseignement de l'Hébreu au Collège des Trois Langues*. Brussels, 1856.

A number of gifted Englishmen had some knowledge of Hebrew. At least three of these scholars had close connections with France. Gregory Martin (died 1582), who was a proficient Hebraist studied in Paris, returned to Cambridge and later fled to France, where he translated the Old and New Testaments into English.¹ Ralph Baynes (c. 1504 - 1560) later to be Bishop of Lichfield was an important grammarian who published a number of works, in Paris, on Hebrew grammar, such as *Prima Rudimenta in Linguam Hebræam*² and *Compendium Michlof*. He was professor of Hebrew in Paris in 1550. A third was John Udall (died 1592). The first extant⁴ Hebrew grammar written in English was his posthumously published *Key to the Holy Tongue*.⁵ This was a translation of a 1567 work by Martinus from La Rochelle.⁶

From the English point of view it can therefore be claimed that whereas up to the sixteenth century individual English Christians contributed significantly to Hebrew learning in France, during that century the English were more dependent on the French. Notwithstanding that a number of Englishmen made signal contribution to the development of Hebrew studies in France the main flow of scholarly influence was probably in the opposite direction.

It has been noted above that there were highly significant personalities whose lives were lived in more than one country, and whose influence was even more widespread. Erasmus of Rotterdam (1469-1536) was just such a man. He is of particular significance for the present study. Thenaud had a high regard for him, likening him to the sun which illuminates the sky.⁷ In the autumn of 1499 Erasmus came to England from Paris, where he had been studying for a doctor's degree. In Oxford he met, and was much influenced

¹ W. McKane, *Selected Christian Hebraists*, Cambridge, 1989.

² R. Baynardus, *Prima Rudimenta in Linguam Hebræam nunc primum ædita*, Paris, 1550.

³ R. Baynardus, *Compendium Michlol., hoc est absolutiss. grammaticis Davidlis Chimhi, nunc primo editur, autore Rodolpho Bayno, Cantabrigensi*, Paris, 1554. *See Introduction, page 19*

⁴ G. Martin, *Dictionarium quatuor linguarum, Hebraicæ, Græcæ, Latinæ, et Anglicæ, et vocabulorum ac phrasium secundum cujusque linguæ proprietatem*, pre 1582, is attested as existing uncompleted in manuscript. *See Introduction infra. pp. 28-35.*

⁵ P. Martinus, I. Udall, *Key to the Holy Tongue*.

מפתח לשון הקדש, Leyden, 1593.

⁶ P. Martinus, *Grammaticæ Hebræ libri duo*, Paris, 1567.

Arsenal ms. Fr. 3358 *Triumphes des vertuz* folio 106 recto.

... la louange e superbe louange et collacion que folie faict de soymesmes prinse
dun traicte de celluy tresexcellent docteur Erasme qui decore et clarifie nostre seicle

(sic) et eage si comme le soleil faict le ciel.
J. Thenaud, "Triumphes des vertuz", Arsenal ms. 3358, folio 106 recto.
Introduction page 17

by, John Colet.¹ Erasmus' attitude to Christianity and to classics was that the latter were imbued with moral precepts and ethical principles that were of value to the former. In the style of the Humanists he regarded the schoolmen as barbarians, and emerging as he was from a monastic background he regarded his former colleagues in a similar light. Colet's contribution was to give a Christian orientation to the enormous literary talent of Erasmus. That at least was the intent of a challenging letter which he wrote to Erasmus. This letter has been quite properly described as the most important one that he ever received.² Although this letter has been lost, the contents of the reply show that Erasmus left England stirred, but not fully committed to the task of relating Christianity to the best of classical learning. He did however leave with the well-established intent of learning Greek, which he started on his return to Paris in 1500. His attitude towards Greek and Hebrew is exemplified by his comments, (regarding Aquinas) on Romans i 4:-

There is not one of the scholastic theologians who has more solid learning ... Think of what that master mind could have achieved if he only had had Greek and Hebrew ...

One should note that this arch-proponent of the need to go back to the original sources paid only lip service to Hebrew. He was in favour of using Hebrew sources in principle, but in practice he failed to learn the language, although he did make an attempt.³

¹John Colet (c. 1467 - 1519) taught at Oxford from 1496 to 1504 when he became Dean of St. Paul's Cathedral. F. Seebohm, *The Oxford Reformers*, London, 1914, pp. 69, 99 ff., and 294. P. Allen, *Opus Epistolarum Erasmi*, IV, ep. 1211, Oxford, 1947, pp. 507-527.

²E. Harbison, *The Christian Scholar in the Age of the Reformation*, Philadelphia, 1956, p. 76.

³The same attitude was expressed by Sir Thomas More, a close friend of Erasmus. In 1518 he wrote to the Vice-Chancellor, Proctors, and Faculty of Oxford on the subject of humanistic education. His position was that although Greek, Latin, indeed any education, were not needful for one to be saved, Philosophy and the Liberal Arts were of value in approaching Theology. The Queen of Heaven could be adorned with the spoils of the Egyptians, and he failed to see how Theology might be studied 'without some knowledge of languages, whether Hebrew or Greek or Latin... The New Testament is in Greek ... Not half of Greek learning has yet been made available to the West ; and however good the translations have been, the text of the original still remains a surer and more convincing presentation.' E. Rogers, *The Correspondence of Sir Thomas More*, Princeton, 1948, pp. 112-120.

In March 1530, on the direction of Francis I, the *lecteurs royaux* commenced their appointed work in Paris. There were two chairs of Greek, one of Mathematics and two of Hebrew. The incumbents of the Hebrew chairs were François Vatable (d. 1547),¹ and Agathius Guidacerius (1477 - 1540).² The following year they were joined by Paul Paradis (d. 1549).³ Among their successors (together with their dates as *lecteur*) were A. Restault de Caligny (1540 to 1565), Ralph Baynes (1549 - 1560),⁴ Jean Mercier (c. 1560 - 1570),⁵ Johannes Quinquarboreus (1558 - 1587)⁶ and Gilbert Génébrard (c. 1570 - 1591).⁷ Portraits still exist of Vatable, Guidacerius, Paradis, de Caligny, Mercier, le Comte, Baynes, Quinquarboreus and Génébrard.⁸ The very existence of these portraits may be an indication of the esteem in which Hebraists, dating from 1530, were held.

¹François Vatable, also known as Vatablus, Ouatablé, Gastabled, from Amiens, was a well recognized Hebrew scholar, whose ability is demonstrated in such works as his commentaries on Nahum, Zechariah, and Habakkuk *Naum cum commentariis R. David Kimhi, à Francisco Vatablo*, Paris, 1539, *Zecharias cum commentariis R. David Kimhi*, Paris, 1540, and *Habacuc cum commentariis R. David Kimhi, à Francisco Vatablo*, Paris, 1539, as well as in his *Biblia sacra, hebraica, græce, & latine. Latine interpretatio duplex est, ætera vetus, altera nova, cum annotationibus Francisci Vatabli*, Heidelberg, 1586.

²Also known as Agathon, and Agacius he studied under Jacob Gattai. He was appointed, with Pagninus, to teach Hebrew at the university of Rome in 1513. When Rome was sacked in 1527 he lost his library and went to Cardinal Sadoletto in Avignon. He failed to get a post at the Louvain Trilingual college. See H. Galliner, art. 'Agathius Guidacerius 1477 ? - 1540 An early Hebrew Grammarian in Rome and Paris', *Historia Judaica*, II, 1, pp. 85 - 101 New York, 1940. His early *Grammatica Hebraicæ Linguae*, Mazzochius, Rome, 1517? is to be noted. In Paris Guidacerius produced further works such as his 1539 ספר הדקדק *Grammaticæ in Sanctam Christi linguam institutiones*, and his 1540 translation of

ספר מכלל הדקדק ... *Liber Michlol* ...

³Paul Paradis, originally Paul Canossa, was from Venice. He was a converted Jew who taught at the Collège from 1531 to 1549. He was an expert in Talmud and Kabbalah.

He served as Hebrew teacher to Marguerite of Navarre. H. Galliner, *op. cit.*, p. 96. His sister Françoise was a *dame d'honneur* to the queen of Navarre and then to Catherine de Médicis. He was not married but left a son Charles who was legitimized by Henri II in 1549, who also gave him bountiful praise.

⁴Also known as Rodolphus Baynardus he was in voluntary exile in France, where he was appointed Professor of Hebrew at Paris University 1550. Soon after the accession of Mary he returned and became the Bishop of Lichfield in 1554. That same year Paris saw the publication of his *Compendium Michlol., hoc est absolutiss. grammaticis Davidlis Chimhi, nunc primo editur, authore Rodolpho Bayno*. Five years later he was deposed due to Elizabeth's accession.

⁵Among his prodigious output there were commentaries on books of the Bible, a translation of the gospel of Matthew - *Besorath Mathay*, Paris, 1555, an edition of the Hebrew Bible (Paris, 1541), grammars on Aramaic לוח דקדקא כשדאח או ארמאח *Tabulæ in grammaticam linguæ Chaldææ, quæ & Syriacæ dicitur ...Accessit ... libellus de abbreviatonis Hebreorum*, and לוח דקדקא *Tabulæ Grammaticæ Chald.*, both Paris, 1560, and works on the Talmud.

⁶Also known as Jean Cinquarbres.

⁷S. Kessler-Mesguich, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

⁸A. Lefranc, *Histoire du Collège de France*, Paris, 1893, p. 232.

Paris was not the only French city where courses of instruction in Hebrew were offered. Pagninius (1470 - 1536) taught in Avignon and in Lyons until his death. In Bordeaux Hebrew was taught in 1553 by Jean André, a converted Jew from Padua. The University of Pont-à-Mousson, in the present day Alsace-Lorraine, which had been set up by Gregory XIII in 1572 also offered courses of instruction.¹ Reims had the expatriate Hebraist Gregory Martin until his death in 1582, though there is little evidence of a serious desire to teach Hebrew there. A further indication of the growth of interest in Hebrew is the list of places where there were presses which printed Hebrew - La Rochelle,² Haguenau, Lyon, Paris and Strasbourg.³ Reims also had a Hebrew press due to the presence there of the expatriate Hebraist Gregory Martin. Despite Martin's pioneering work there is little evidence of a serious desire to teach Hebrew there. The life and the achievements of Martin, as an Hebraist who lived and worked in sixteenth century France, have been barely recognised. This situation will now be redressed with particular note being taken of his pioneering use of Hebrew printing at Reims.

Gregory Martin and the use of Hebrew in Reims. c. 1580

As is well known printing was introduced into Europe around 1455 by Johann Gutenberg (d. 1468).¹ Hebrew printing followed closely. One of the first Hebrew books printed was Maimonides' famous *Mishneh Torah*, which was probably published in Rome between 1474 and 1479. From Italy, Hebrew printing spread to Spain and Portugal and very possibly to Constantinople.²

It was not until 1488 that the first Hebrew letters were printed in France³. They

¹ S. Kessler-Mesguich, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

² La Rochelle לה רושל Jérôme Haultin 1587 - 1600 heb. 1590.

³ "... les seuls lieux d'impression connus (de caractères, et non seulement de livres hébreux) pour le XVI siècle sont Haguenau, Lyon, Paris et Strasbourg; n'y ont travaillé que des imprimeurs chrétiens." J-P. Rothschild, note 7 p. 186, *L'Hébreu au temps de la Renaissance*, ed. I. Zinguer, Brill, Leiden, 1992.

¹ The claim that may be made for Waldfoghel and his *ars artificialiter scribendi* has not been established. A. Swierk, *Der Gegenwärtige Stand der Gutenberg-Forschung*, Stuttgart, 1972, concludes that "Zeugnisse über Waldfoghels zweijährige Tätigkeit und über die seiner Schüler sind nicht vorhanden; er selbst ist 1446 im Dunkel der Geschichte verschwunden."

² B. Hill, *Incunabula, Hebraica and Judaica. Exhibition Catalogue*, Ottawa, 1981, p. 1.

³ M. Marx, *History and Annals of Hebrew Printing in the Sixteenth Century*, British Library microfilm in roll 12 for France, Belgium, Holland, England, Spain and Portugal. Book 23, where he states that:-

appeared in a translation of Bernard von Breydenbach's description of his voyage to the Holy Land "*Peregrination de oultre mer en terre sainte*". This book, which was translated rather freely by Nicholas le Huen, and which was published by Michel Topie and Jaques Heremberck included seven copper plates and fifteen woodcuts in which some Hebrew letters figured. The first use of Hebrew type, however, did not occur for another twenty years. On 29 January 1508 Gilles de Gourmont published François Tissard's Hebrew and Greek grammar.¹

Paris soon achieved a dominant position in Hebrew printing in France. The Stephanus (Estienne) family in particular provided generations of printers. Henri Estienne (circa 1470 - 1520) was followed by Robert (1503 - 1559) and his son Henri (circa 1531 - 1598). Rothschild argues that the only places where Hebrew printing was carried out were Haguenau, Lyon, Paris and Strasbourg.² But in fact this list is incomplete. In the first place, reference to France in *Index Aureliensis III / 3 Clavis* also cites La Rochelle as a place where Hebrew printing was known.³ We know, for instance, that Hebrew

This is not strictly speaking a translation, Le Huen having used Breydenbach's book as the groundwork of the narrative of his own journey. Dates, names and essential particulars were altered, and the account of Le Huen's return journey is entirely new. Where, however, Le Huen did not follow Breydenbach's itinerary, the original account is simply given in translation. There are 7 folding views printed from copper plates (first book printed in France with copper plate illustrations) and 15 large woodcuts. Both woodcuts and copper plate illustrations are free imitations of those in the original Mainz editions and are of considerable artistic merit.

¹ *Tabula elementorum hebraicorum. Documenta ut debeant illa elementa proferri ac legi. Ut Hebraei numeros signant. Oratio dominica hebraicis characteribus impressa*
M. Marx, *ibid.*

"Die ersten hebraeischen Schriften, die in Frankreich hervorgebracht hat, waren in Holz geschnitten. Sie erschienen in François Tissard's hebraeischen und griechischen Grammatik, bei Gilles de Gourmont in Paris am 29 Januar 1508.

Am 28 Februar 1520 erschien das erste hebraeische Buch in Frankreich, wieder bei Gilles de Gourmont in Paris, Kimchi's hebraeische Grammatik, zugleich das erste, das von gegossenen Schriften gedruckt war. Es erschien als Frucht achtzehnmonatigen Bemuehungen von Evêque Augustin Justiniani, Professeur de la langue sainte, dans le collège de Rheims, der damit den hebraeischen Buchdruck an der Université de Paris eingefueht hatte."

The mention of Justiniani, Bishop of Nebbio, also known as Giustiniani, is noteworthy. In that same year of 1520 he also published *Dux Neutorum* a translation of *Guide to the Perplexed*, and *Salvaticis Porchetus de Victoria Porcheti adversus impios Hebreos*.

² "... les seuls lieux d'impression connus (de caractères, et non seulement de livres hébreux) pour le XVI^e siècle sont Haguenau, Lyon, Paris et Strasbourg; n'y ont travaillé que des imprimeurs chrétiens."

J-P. Rothschild, *op. cit.*, n. 7 p. 186.

³ La Rochelle לה רושל Jérôme Haultin 1587 - 1600 heb. 1590.

works by Petrus Martinius were printed there.¹

In addition, as we shall now see, Reims was also a town in which Hebrew printing was known, for Gregory Martin's book *Discoverie of the Manifold Corruptions of the Holy Scriptures by the Heretikes of our daies, specially the English Sectaries, and of their foule dealing herein, by partial and false translations to the advantage of their heresies, in their English Bibles used and authorised since the time of Schisme* was published there.

Gregory Martin (d. 1582) was one of the original scholars at St John's College, Oxford, where he was Greek lecturer from 1564 to 1568. Then Martin went into the service of Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, as tutor to his son the Lord Philip, (afterwards Earl of Surrey), and his brothers. There is no doubt that Martin's skill in Hebrew and Greek were widely recognized. When Martin visited Oxford with his patron, the duke was greeted by a speaker at St John's who said "*Thou hast, O illustrious Duke, our Hebraist, our Grecian, our poet, our honour and glory*".²

Martin's subsequent history was affected by the politics of his time. The Act of Uniformity and the Act of Supremacy of 1559 under Elizabeth I enforced the Protestant religion by law, but the immediate effects on Catholics, such as Martin and the Duke of Norfolk were not unduly harsh. In 1570 the intemperate attack of Pope Pius V against Queen Elizabeth changed all this. Thereafter the treatment of Catholics became increasingly severe. Martin's patron, the Duke of Norfolk, was committed to the tower in 1570; Martin openly denounced the Protestant religion and left for the safety of France.

¹P. Martinius, *Accessit τεχνολογια item grammatica Chaldæa quaternus ab Hebraeæ differt*. Rupellæ, H Franciscum, 1568, pts. 2 and 3 ex officina H Haultin, 1591.

²*Habes, illustrissime dux, Hebræum nostrum, Græcum nostrum, poetam nostrum, decus et gloriam nostram.*

Quoted by P. Bliss, *Athenæ Oxonienses*, Gregory Martin, Oxford, 1813, p. 487.



Gregory Martin¹

Later he was to write:-²

¹By kind permission of His Grace The Duke of Norfolk: photograph Courtauld Institute of Art. Unknown 19 th century artist. Possible overpainting of an earlier painting. Arundel Collection.

² Quoted in W. McKane, *op. cit.*, p. 77 from *Athenæ Oxonienses* p. 489 (with the spelling modernised.)

I chose rather to forsake all, than do against my belief, against my knowledge, against my conscience, against the law of Almighty God. For a time I lay secretly in England, afterwards I came beyond the seas into these Catholic countries, out of schism and heresy, for the which I do thank almighty God much more, than for all the estimation I had or might have had in England. Whatsoever my estate is here, I do more esteem it, than all the riches of England as it now standeth.

Martin joined the college which Cardinal Allen had formed at Douai for Catholics in exile from England. In 1573 he was ordained priest, and joined the faculty as a teacher of Hebrew. Five years after that he moved with the college to Reims, where he was greatly appreciated by Allen who described Martin as an able linguist and potential Bible translator.¹ Bible translation was one of Martin's chief tasks, although the general attitude of the recusants towards Bible translation was never more than lukewarm.² The work had financial problems, which were only partially solved by Pope Gregory XIII giving a monthly pension in 1575 and by Philip II of Spain promising an annual contribution. Despite the unreliability of these payments the end result was *The New Testament of Iesus Christ, translated faithfully into English, out of the authentical Latin* (1582) published by John Fogy.

The book which concerns us here is Martin's *Discoverie of the Manifold Corruptions of the Holy Scriptures by the Heretikes of our daies, specially the English Sectaries, and of their foule dealing herein, by partial and false translations to the advantage of their heresies, in their English Bibles used and authorised since the time of Schisme*. Allen³ mentioned this work in a

¹*cum ad hanc rem viros iam habeamus aptissimos. (for we already have men most fitted for the work)*

Dr. Allen to his friend Dr. Vendeville on 16 Sep 1578. Southern, A. *Elizabethan Recusant Prose*, London and Glasgow, 1950, p. 232.

²*Licet enim optandum esset fortasse ut nunquam in barbaras linguas Scripturæ verterentur, tamen cum tanta sit hodie vel ex hæresi vel aliunde curiositas hominum etiam non malorum, ...*

For although it would perhaps be desirable that the sacred writings should never be translated into the vernacular, nevertheless since in these days, either because of the spread of heretical opinions or for some other reason, even men of good will are apt to be inquisitive,

...

A. Southern, *ibid.*

³T. Knox, *Letters and Memorials of Cardinal Allen*, London, 1882, p. 109.

letter, in Italian, to George Gilbert dated 15 January 1582, in which he noted: "Of necessity we ought to have it printed." Printed it was at the end June 1582, which was a couple of months after the appearance of the New Testament. The Old Testament was finished at about the same time, but the publication was delayed until 1609 or 1610 due to lack of money.

The significant aspect for the purpose of this note is that *Discoverie*, which was printed in English with some Greek, also has a number of pages which have Hebrew type in the margin.

Martin's motivation for *Discoverie* was his perception of what he regarded as the errant and schismatic direction being taken by the English church. The impact of his books on the authorities in England is clear in that Thomas Cartwright was immediately given the task of refuting the translation of the New Testament and William Fulke, Master of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge and Vice-Chancellor of the university was given the task of refuting *Discoverie*.¹ The following year Fulke published his riposte entitled *A Defense of the sincere and true Translations of the holie Scriptures into the English tong, against the manifolde cavils, frivolous quarels, and impudent slanders of Gregorie Martin, one of the readers of Popish divinitie in the trayterous Seminarie of Rhemes*. (London, 1583).

Fulke's book reprints Martin's *Discoverie* paragraph by paragraph; it uses Hebrew in the margins and also in the text. (The first Hebrew printing in England is the 1524 use of woodblocks in London,² but it was not until 1563 that movable type was first used for Hebrew characters.³) In the bitter dispute between English Catholics and Protestants no opportunity to score points was to be neglected. It may be that Fulke sought to demonstrate his superiority by using Hebrew in the text itself.

Samples of *Discoverie* are given on the following pages in order to give

¹ P. Milward, *Religious Controversies of the Elizabethan Age - A Survey of Printed Sources*, London, 1977, pp. 46-50.

² *Encyclopædia Judaica*, 11, 481. R. Wakefield, *Oratio de utilitate trium linguarum*, London, 1524.

³ W. Musculus, *Common Places of Christian Religion*, 1563; and in 1588 a pamphlet included a 14 line sonnet, in Hebrew, by Theodore Beza which celebrated the defeat of the Spanish Armada.

examples of the Hebrew font used at Reims by Fogny in 1582. At the end of *Discoverie* there is a list of the errors entitled "*The faultes correcte thus*". Reference is made to the omission of vowel points from Hebrew in the margins. These missing vowels are:-

1. *Holem* Page 210¹ shows קִרְר instead of קִרְרִי. In Fulke's *A Defense* the holem is correctly inserted. (See page 374)² Similarly Martin's page 316³ has לֹא instead of לֹאִי. Fulke has לֹאִי. (See page 523).⁴

1

CHAP. 13. 210

A Discoverie o

humbly. but they kno
Prophete speaketh of a
if it had pleased them to

קִרְר Hebrue vword fully and
sense of the holy Gho

2

goeth humbly: we imagine or conceive no m
he is an humble man, and behaueh him selfe k
know very well, the Prophet speaketh of an ost
it had pleased them to haue translated the Heb
and significantly, in the sense of the holy Ghost,

קִרְר

3

hurt the partie that borovver
לֹא rooted in most mēs hartes, th
such vsurie very lawvful, an
חֲסִידִי mortally that vvay. Vwhere:
לֹא חֲסִידִי in this place of holy Scripti
נִסְכָּי vword of hurting or not hurt
נִסְכָּי - seen by the Geneua bibles)b

4

2. Kibbutz. Page 211¹ has פֶּרֶק instead of פֶּרֶק. Fulke is correct with פֶּרֶק. (See page 375)². Similarly Martin's page 134³ has חֲקִים instead of חֲקִים.

3. Segol. It is noted that a few copies lack the vowel segol, although

*but that usurie is not here forbid-
that borroweth, which is so rooted in
hinke such usurie very lawfull, and
ye. Where Almightye God in this
not a word of hurting, or not hur-
Geneua Bibles,) but sayth simply:*

לֹא תַשִּׁיחַ

לְאַחֶיךָ

*l to thy brother to vs (Breake off, by Munsters owne iudge-
signifieth rather, and more principally,
y, the other worde whiche they translate,*

בִּצְדָקָה
פֶּרֶק

*with almes: altering and translating ἐν ἐλεεμο-
reake of thy sinnes by righteousness. First, the σύναις λυ-
s against them, vvhich is v word for ἰρωσαι.*

*ccor'ccording to the vulgar and cōmon
SecōSecōdly, the Chaldee word vvhich
illare, breake of, by Munsters owne
it in lexico Chald. signifieth rather and*

בִּצְדָקָה
פֶּרֶק

*hey deface these vsual and known words Dan.4.24.
Redime eleemosynis peccata tua,
with almes: altering and translating ἐν ἐλεεμοσύναις
y sinnes by righteousness. Firſt, the σύναις λυ-
s, whiche is worde for worde according to
in reading: Secōdly, the Chaldee worde
Breake off, by Munsters owne iudge-
signifieth rather, and more principally,
y, the other worde whiche they translate,
Scriptures signifieth also, eleemoſy-*

בִּצְדָקָה
פֶּרֶק

this is not the case here. See the segolate noun **סֶלַח** on page 49¹.

The Hebrew font used in *Discoverie* is one that was widely used in Renaissance Europe. For instance it can be shown by the PANAT technique² that the font used is an exact match with Hebrew characters in *Elementarium 'ebraicum*³. The following frames show Hebrew characters from *Discoverie* inverted and pasted onto a page of *Elementarium 'ebraicum*. The characters are moved into position and then in the PANAT technique they are made transparent whilst still negative. The consequence of this overlaying is that the whole rectangle turns black, which proves a perfect match, which indicates that the fonts are identical.

חקים
 tied, διχαώματα, iustifications or
 the old Testament you might
 tend, that you follow the Heb
 and therefore there you transla
 ordinances. But euen there also,
 Seuentie Greeke interpreters

image, molten image, namely in the first
naundement, vwhere you know in ^{εἰδωλον}
treeke it is idol, & in the Hebrue, such ^{לדב}
rd as signifieth onely a grauen thing,
cluding this vword image: and you
that God commaunded to make the
s of Cherubins, and of oxen in the

² Positive And Negative Addition Technique, developed by the author.

³ Bibliothèque Nationale, res. p. 379 (2), *Elementarium 'ebraicum*, page 48 shown.

Unfortunately this book starts at page 3.



SENTENTIAE QVAE-
dam insignes sacrae scripturae nu-
mero & ordine alphabetico, ad
tyronum exercitationem.

לֹא

א

1. Reg. 8.

אֵין אָדָם אֲשֶׁר לֹא יִחַטֵּא :

ב

Irm. 17.

The portion (opaque) is moved into place.

א

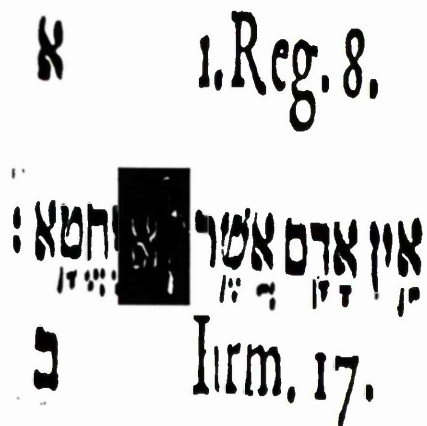
1. Reg. 8.

אֵין אָדָם אֲשֶׁר לֹא יִחַטֵּא :

ב

Irm. 17.

The portion is then made transparent.



It can be concluded then that in 1582 there existed, in Reims, at the premises of John Fogny a press which was able to print Hebrew text, although some vowels could not be supplied by the printer, as we know from Martin's own words. Clearly what had happened is that the characters had been supplied, probably, from Paris, and unfortunately for Martin there was a shortage of vowels. It is also clear that Fogny lacked the ability to reproduce font. The fact however that Fogny was able to print Hebrew characters establishes Reims as a centre of Hebrew printing in sixteenth century France. This is a noteworthy addition to the short list of sixteenth century French printers able to print Hebrew. It may also be inferred that the presence of Hebrew type in *Discoverie* contributed to the very considerable impact which the book made in England.

Thus by the middle of the sixteenth century Hebrew had become a major factor in France. For Christians it was no longer an almost inaccessible language invoked uniquely in disputations with Jews. It was a central feature, with international ramifications, in the confrontations between Catholic, Lutheran and Reformed Christians.¹ Hebrew also had a significant contribution to make on a more philosophical level. In Italy, the source of the Renaissance, it was

¹This is exemplified by the situation that arose in Reims as noted above.

the Platonic Academy of Florence that was the powerhouse of ideas. These ideas spread from Florence to Paris partly because of the Medici family, whose members were highly influential in the court of the last of the French Valois kings.¹ Many of the ideas of the scholars of Florence were derived from Latin translations carried out by Marsilio Ficino. These translations concerned all the rediscovered works of Plato, Plotinus and other Neo-Platonists.² These discoveries were however to be grafted onto mediæval traditions. The Florentines tried to do this by applying Neo-Platonic mysticism. Under the leadership of Ficino, Florentine Neo-Platonism aimed at reconciling philosophy and religion in the widest sense. Religion was to be viewed in as broad a sense as possible; thus the Hebrew tradition was also to be included. However for Ficino, Plato was central and Pseudo-Dionysius³ was the most significant mediator of that tradition. It is also to be noted that Plato himself was the inheritor of an earlier tradition. For instance Pico considered that 'All the Greeks amongst whom is found something of the divine, such as Pythagoras, Plato, Empedocles and Democritus had the Egyptians for masters. The philosopher Numenius says that Plato is no other than the "Athenian Moses"'.⁴ This desire to bring together all of human knowledge, universally and harmoniously, was a widespread consequence of Ficino's philosophy. As an illustration of this desire, Yates cites Pico's and Ficino's references to the hieroglyphs of the Egyptians, the Orphic *nocturnal*, and Zoroastrianism. She fails however to include the Hebrew tradition in the list. This tradition however was widely believed to be an essential ingredient of universal truth, particularly in its mystical aspects. This may be illustrated by the content and influence of a 1525 work by Giorgio (1466 - 1540), a Venetian Franciscan.⁵ It is *De harmonia*

¹The daughter of Lorenzo, Duke of Urbino, was Catherine de' Medici, who married Henry II of France. Marie de' Medici, who became the second wife of Henry IV of France, was the daughter of Cosimo I's successor, Francesco de' Medici.

²The Florentine Academy did not make the present day distinction between Platonism and Neo-Platonism. Plotinus, Proclus, Porphyry, Iamblich, and Pseudo-Dionysius were all regarded as 'Platonici' by Ficino. E. Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology*, New York, 1939, p. 130.

³Dionysius the Pseudo-Areopagite is the name given to the author of certain mystical theological writings composed c. 500. In the Middle Ages he was thought to be an Athenian converted to Christianity by Saint Paul. His writings are important because of their attempt to apply Neo-Platonism to Christianity. They were particularly influential in the development of scholasticism, medieval mysticism, and beliefs about angels. The writings consist of ten letters and four treatises: *The Celestial Hierarchy*, *The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, *The Divine Names*, and *Mystical Theology*.

⁴Dedication of the *Heptaplus* to Lorenzo de' Medici (*Opera Omnia*, Basle, 1494, I, i).

⁵Also known as Franciscus Georgi, François Georges de Venise, Georgius, Ziorgi, Zorzi, he was attached to the Franciscan convent of San Francesco della Vigna in Venice.

mundi totius cantica tria. In 1545 it was printed in Paris by Berthelin and in 1579 it was translated by Guy Le Fèvre de la Boderie and published in Paris.¹ The Hebrew and particularly the kabbalistic influence is evident throughout. It is sufficient here to note that the work was bound with a translation of Pico's Heptaplus, that from the outset Giorgio perceived a connection between Pythagoras, Kabbalists, Aristotle's ten categories and the ten *Sephiroth* of the Kabbalists² and that Giorgio's kabbalistic views had a pronounced impact on Guy's *La Galliade* 1578.³ Pico himself at the start of *De hominis dignitate*

¹G. Le Fèvre de la Boderie *L'Harmonie du monde, divisée en trois cantiques. Oeuvre .. traduit & illustré par G. Le Fèvre de la Boderie. Plus l'Heptaple de J Picus, Comte de la Mirande, traduit par N. Le Fèvre de la Boderie*, Paris, 1579.

²There is a revealing passage in the second book about the twenty-two letters of the Hebrew alphabet to which are added the ten divine measures, and their relevance to the thirty-two paths of wisdom. The passage also gives the sources for this information. It is so significant that the translation and the Latin are given below.

Liure second 32 page 631 ch 7

*A quel degré d'intelligence peut parvenir l'Ame
margin Sephir ; lezzirah ; Zohar & ; Tikun ha Zo- ; har ; Daniel*

text has

l'ay trouué en une Théologie antique, fort celebre & segnallée qu'on attribue au Patriarche Abraham, qu'il y a trente & deux sentes de sapience, ou trente & deux degrez d'intelligence selon les trente et deux nombres qui sont contenues en la diction du coeur, escript en Hebrieu en ceste maniere, לב, Leb. Desquelles lettres l, Lamed vaut 30, & b Beth 2, qui ensemble ioncts font 32, qui est nombre de iustice, car il est tousiours partissables en parties egalles, iusques à l'unité. Dauantage, ce nombre est assemblé non sans grand mystere des 22 lettres de l'Alphabet & des dix Sphires Speherales ou mesure diuines, par lesquelles Dieu mesure toutes choses. Dequoy sont establis ces 32 degrez d'intelligence, ausquels il est concedé de monter au coeur net et bien disposé, selon ce qui est dict és Pséaumes de Daud. Il a bien disposé les degrez en son coeur.

Reperi in celeberrima Theologia antiqua Abrahamæ patriarchæ ascripta triginta duas esse semitas sapientiæ, aut triginta duas gradus intellectus, iuxta triginta duos numeros, qui continentur in dictione cordis Hebraicæ conscripta, quæ sic exaratur לב. Quarum literarum, l, dat. 30 & b 2 qui simul iucti 32, numerum quippe iusticiæ, quia semper diuisibilis in partes æquales, usque ad unitatem. Qui item numerus coaceruatur non sine magno sacraméto ex 22 litteris alphabeti & 10 annumerationibus uel mensuris diuinis, quibus Deus omnia metitur. Et quibus constituuntur illi triginta duo gradus intellectus, ad quos cordi bene disposito & ad mundo, datum est conscendere iuxta illud quod dicitur in Daudico carmine

Ascesiones in corde suo disposuit.

³G. Le Fèvre de la Boderie, *La Galliade ou de la Révolution des Arts et Sciences*, Paris, 1578. He makes numerous references to Kabbalistic works. Among the most striking instances of the way in which he applies his kabbalistic learning are the following :-

He derives the name of France from the Old Testament - Obadiah 20.

P. 12 left margin:-

'La Gaule ou Frâce est dite en Hebrieu צרפת Zarpeth qui signifie la Repurgee. ainsi la nôme le Prophete Abdias.'

Hebrew has Ob. 20:-

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said that man was the last of God's creations 'as Moses and Timæus testify'.¹ This illustrates the manner in which Florentine Neo-Platonists blended Platonic and Hebraic kabbalistic sources. This same attempt to relate classical philosophy to Hebraic Kabbalism spread to France, where it came to the notice of Francis I. The role of Francis I in taking initiatives for the good of his country is well recorded and has been referred to above. One of these initiatives stemmed from his desire to learn about the Kabbalah for the good of France. He accordingly ordered one of his subjects, Jean Thenaud, to research the topic and to report back to him. This royal command gave rise to the kabbalistic works of Jean Thenaud and these are the subject of the study which follows.

JEAN THENAUD

Jean Thenaud was born in Melle, near Poitiers, at an unknown date towards the end of the fifteenth century.² He declared that his Christian parents were one of the evidences of special grace granted to him.³ We know that he valued his upbringing in the house of Orleans and Angoulême.⁴ The same manuscript also states that he had brothers but as there is no mention of

וְגִלְתָּ הַחֵלֶּה לְהוֹיָה לְבָנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל אֲשֶׁר-כְּנָעִים עַד-צָרְפֶּת
וְגִלְתָּ יְרוּשָׁלַם אֲשֶׁר בְּסִפְרָר יִרְשׁוּ אֶת עָרֵי הַנֶּגֶב:

He claimed that France was under the especial protection of the angel Zarfatiel:-
page 38 left in the margin:-

צִרְפַּתִּיאֵל le Genie de la Gaule repurgee

text has:-

'L'Archange qui regit celle part du haut Ciel

A qui Gaule est soumise, est dite Zarfatiel,'

¹ *Sed opere consummato, desiderabat artifex esse aliquem qui tanti operis rationem perpenderet, pulchritudinem amaret, magnitudinem admiraretur. Idcirco iam rebus omnibus (ut Moses et Timæusque testantur) absolutis, de producendo homine postremo cogitavit.* G. Pico della Mirandola and G.F. Pico della Mirandola, *Opera Omnia*, Basle, 1494, I, p. 314.

Cited by F. Yates, *op. cit.*, p. 88, note 1.

² *Explorateur des quatre fleuves - Triumphes des Vertus (Cardinalles). Traités I & II: BN ms. Fr. 443, folio 16. F. Secret, Les Kabbalistes Chrétiens de la Renaissance, Paris, 1964, p. 153 puts his date of birth between 1474 and 1484.*

³ *La sainte et très chrestienne cabale metrifée*, BN ms. Fr. 882, dedication, line 29.

'Que procee suis de cretiens parens.'

⁴ BN. ms. Fr. 421. *Vie de Jerome*. This anonymous work has been attributed to Thenaud, and this attribution can be safely maintained.

Folio 4 recto-

*le glorieux saint iheronime - Je côme v're treshumble seruiteur prestre indigne
considerant que mes parens pere mere et freres ont este nourriz en la noble maison
dorleans et dengoulesme qui est une maison la plus noble de toute la royaulme de
France. Apres la maison de la Royalle maieste qui est la principale.*

sisters, it is presumed that he had none. The other circumstances that he regarded as evidences of special grace were that he was male, that he lived in a time of peace, that he had enjoyed the cleansing of baptism, that he had received instruction in the true faith and in the commandments of the church along with the sacraments and that he had been received into orders.¹ He considered that the supreme aspect of his own happy circumstances was that Francis I, whom he addressed as "the Dazzling, August and Most Serene King of the French, Monarch most Illustrious, ruling overall, Bearer of the Invincible Sceptre, Pillar of the Faith, and Column that cannot be broken"² was like himself from Angoulême.

As a young man, Thenaud entered the religious life of the *Cordeliers*³ at Angoulême, where he came under the protection of Louise, Comtesse d'Angoulême,⁴ the mother of the future King Francis I. Indeed he continued to enjoy support from the family throughout his life. Thus in 1511 he was commissioned to undertake a pilgrimage to Egypt and to Bethlehem. This voyage had far-reaching consequences and will be discussed more fully below. In 1514 he became 'Gardien' of the *Cordeliers* in Angoulême. On 1 January 1515 Francis became King and later in that same momentous year Thenaud was reminded that he was still in favour when Louise granted him the legal title to some gardens in Angoulême for his order.⁵ Evidence of royal favour

¹*La sainte et très chrestienne cabale metrificée*, BN ms. Fr. 882, dedication, lines 27 to 37.

*Le premier est que oultre mauoir fait hõme
Il ma donne specialle grace en somme
Que procree suis de crestiens parens
En crestiente Et en temps apparens
De seure paix Si que apres lablution
Du saint baptesme ay eu instruction
De vraye foy et des commandemens
De sainte eglise et de ses sacremens
Et mesmement que de religion
Et ordres saintz iay eu susception
En angoulmoys vostre pays natif*

²*La sainte et très chrestienne cabale metrificée*, BN ms. Fr. 882, dedication, line s 1 to 4.

*O Cler auguste et tresseremissime
Roy des francoys monar`q illustrissime
Sur tous regnàs portât sceptre inuicble
Pilier de foy coulumpne inconcussible*

³Old French *cordeler*, now *Cordelier*, Franciscan friar of the strict rule, so called from the knotted cord which is worn round the waist. This cord was called the *cordeliere*, now *cordelière*. A similar cord was originally put round the armorial bearings of widows and maidens to mark their devotion to St. Francis of Assisi.

⁴Louise de Savoie (1476 - 1531), wife of Charles d'Angoulême (1460 - 1496), and later Duchesse d'Anjou. She figured prominently in Thenaud's works.

⁵Engels, *op. cit.*, '1515 Louise de Savoie lui faire don de quelques jardins pour y

lasted throughout his life. In 1532 Francis ordered his treasurer to make a grace and favour payment of three hundred *livres tournois* to 'maistre Jehan Tenaudy, ausmonier du roy et abbé de Melignetz' (more commonly known as Mélinais)² in the diocese of Angers. Research by the writer has unearthed previously unrecorded details of Thenaud's time in Mélinais, where he became the abbot in February 1529. These discoveries from the Bibliothèque Sainte Geneviève tell of the foundation of the abbey by Henry II of England in 1183 and of its stormy history; there is an incomplete list of the incumbents which notes that 'Jean Tenault' was the last 'Abbé Regulier' (sic); details are recorded of agreements and contracts with local personages, one of which records the sale of 21 folios to the abbey in 1538.³

bâtir son nouveau couvent.' See Nanglard II, p. 433.

¹P. Gasnault, art. 'Une lettre autographe de Jean Thenaud SI', in *Vivarium*, vol. X, no. 2, 1972, p. 105 which concerns BN. ms. Fr. 15628, f. 101, no. 291. It records that on 6 November 1532 'François I mandait au trésorier de son Épargne de verser une gratification de 300 livres tournois à maistre Jehan Tenaudy, ausmonier du roy et abbé de Melignetz ... en faveur de ses bons et agréables services.'

This document is analysed in 'Catalogue des actes de François I', II, Paris, 1888, p. 236.

²Dom L. Cottineau, art. Mélinais in *Répertoire Topo-Bibliographique des Abbayes et Prieuries*, t. 2. Macon, 1939.

Mélinais, also known as Melinum St Jean, in the region of Ste Gemme sur Loire, in the canton Ponts-de-Cé was an Augustinian abbey founded by S Regnault, disciple of Robert d'Arbrissel in 1180 under the direction of Henry II of England, Count of Anjou.

Later it was joined to the Collège de la Flèche, Angers.

See also P. Chevalier, Notice historique sur l'abbaye de Mélinais, *Mém. soc. agric. Angers*, 1851, B. II, p. 157.

³C. Kohler, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Ste Geneviève II*, 1896.

These records at this library contain numerous previously unrecorded mentions of Thenaud, including an erasure and correction of his name which was spelled variously. In the interests of completeness full notes are given below of these instances, from which the date of his appointment, his death and the intriguing mention of the purchase of parchments can be verified. Ms. 675 Saint Jean du Mélinais (Abbaye de) au diocèse d'Angers. Titres et chartres de cette abbaye. l.330. Ms. 608 Pièces y relatives l 314. Saint Jean du Melinai près la Flèche. Fol. 404. H fin - fol. 20. Recueil de pièces concernant la fondation et l'histoire.

Ourage écrit dans l'abbaye. l 132. Fondateur V S Regnault Prieur V La Granche (Le P. de) Chanoine V Guyot (Le P) Vaudin (Le P). Ms 608. Pièces y relatives l 314.

Folio 404 founded by Henry II of England 1183. *On ne peut donner un catalogue exacte des Abbes soit Reguliers ou Commendatoires. Les abbayes et les thresors dicelle aiant ete pillies plusieurs fois mesme depuis cent ans comme il apert par des monitoires qu'on a obtenu de Rome. Voici neantmoins un Extrait d'un vieil necrologe sans datte et sans ordre.*

There are fifteen names (numbers 6 or 7 or 8 missing) ending with *Renalu de Barra Abbas Joannes de Barra Abbas Joannes Blondellus decimuquartu Abbas Guillelmu Moron Abbas Joannes de Campi decimusexta Abbas. Outre les contenus dans le susdit necrologie il se trouve que Jean Tenault a ete le dernier Abbé Regulier.* The latest date is 1649. Ms. 675 Mélinais p. 181:- *declaration d'herisagere fournit a frere Jean Thesnaud Docteur en Theologie abbé de Melinai du 1 May 1540.* p. 177 *Accord entre frere Jean Thenaud Abbé en les religieux de Melinai et noble homme François Menonesery* Undated. The next item is:- *Eschange Jean Thenaud 6 nov 1540.* p. 178. *Foy et hommage par Jean Thenaud Docteur en Theologie Abbe de Melinai 1534.* Ibid., *Autre foy hommage du meme Jean Thenaud Abbe de Melinays a la ditte demoiselle anne de* (p. 179) *Boiglanfray Dame des terres en Seigneuries des grands et petits Boislangfrays 20 avril 1542.* p.184. *contrat de vente faite par noble Personne Olivier de Nesdes Prêtre frieur de la Grange a l'abbaye de*

*contrat de vente faite par noble Personne Olivier de Nesdes Prêtre
frieur de la Grange a l'abbaye de Melinais d'une vente de ving ung
folios a prendre sur le lieu de la Grange du 14 juillet 1538.*

There is evidence that Thenaud was not entirely happy with that appointment: on 1 August 1533 Thenaud was in Angoulême and "*n'était pas satisfait de l'abbaye de Mélinais ...*" He did however remain abbot of Mélinais up to the time of his death. Engels, in a discussion about Thenaud's dates and with respect to a list of known *Gardiens* (Nanglard II, p. 437), noted that Thenaud was *Gardien des Cordeliers* at Angoulême until death¹his which is supposed to have occurred in 1540/1541.² In fact, however, Jean Thenaud died in 1542 or soon after. There is a manuscript included in the catalogue edited by Kohler which specifically mentions Thenaud in 1542. On 20 April of that year Thenaud paid homage to the "*demoiselle anne de Boiglanfray Dame des terres en Seigneuries des grands et petits Boislengfrays*".³

Illustrations of Thenaud occur with some regularity in his manuscripts. The following samples (taken from some of his works which will be discussed more fully below) show him in the habit of a *Cordelier*. Invariably he is shown in the vicinity of members of the family of Francis and invariably he is in a lowly pose.

Melinais d'une vente de ving ung folios a prendre sur le lieu de la Grange du 14 juillet 1538.
Next item is:- *Declaration d'herisagere fournie a Jean Abbé de Melinais du 18 novembre 1512 .p. 192. Aduen fourny a Jean Thenaud Docteur en Theologie Ausmonier du Roy Abbe de Melinais par Sanson 17 sep 1536. p. 198. transaction Jean Thenaud .. noble homme François Menon 20 juillet 1537. p. 222. Prise de possession de l'Abbaye de Melinais par frere Jean Thenaud (sic) Thenaud du 16 fevrier 1529.*

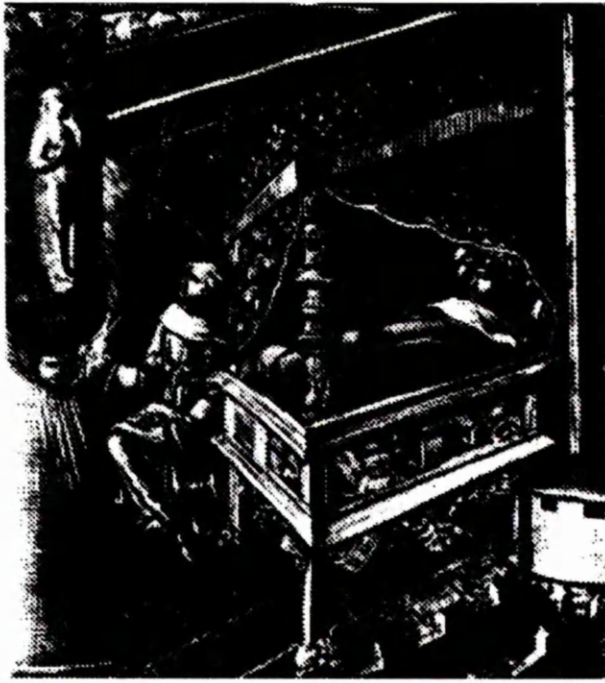
¹P. Gasnault, 'Une lettre autographe de Jean Thenaud SI', in *Vivarium*, vol. X, no. 2, 1972, p. 105.

²J. Engels, 'Notice sur J Thenaud', *Vivarium*, VIII, 2, 1970; IX, 2, 1971; X, 2 1972, p. 103:-

'... on trouve Jean Thenaud avec la date de 9 décembre 1514, qui fut donc une bonne année après son retour en France. Il va de soi que, gardien dès 1514, il ne pourroit l'être encore en 1502. Sur la liste, Thenaud est suivi immédiatement de Noël Guérin, avec la date de 27 juillet 1541. C'est pourquoi Leproux (p. 33, p. 38 note 58) admet que Thenaud, grâce à la faveur dont il jouissait auprès de la famille royale, aura été continuellement réélu dans la charge, triennale mais renouvelable, de gardien jusqu'à sa mort, supposée survenue en 1540/1541'.

³C. Kohler, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Ste Geneviève II*, 1896. pp. 178, 179. Ms 608 Pièces y relatives I 314.

'Autre foy hommage du meme Jean Thenaud Abbe de Melinays a la ditte demoiselle anne de Boiglanfray Dame des terres en Seigneuries des grands et petits Boislengfrays 20 avril 1542'.



BN ms. Fr. 882, folio 2.

Thenaud at the bedside of Francis I, when Charles d'Angoulême appears in a dream. Here Thenaud is the intermediary between the glorified Charles and the new young King.



Vienna, ms. 2645, 1520, p. 3.

Thenaud about 1520 being roused by an astrologer.¹

¹*Trois résolutions et sentences, c'est assavoir de l'astrologie, du poète, et du théologue, sur les grandes conjonctions, moyennes et petites qui se font ou signe de pisces*, Vienna, ms. 2645, 1520.



BN. Ms. Fr. 144 folio B.

Thenaud offers the second volume of *Triumphes de Vertuz* to Louise, who is referred to on the placard as the Divine Latone, mother of Apollo and Diana the perennial source of Virtues. A clear picture may be gained of Thenaud's development, attitudes and concerns from a survey of his own manuscripts and of his one published work. This survey of his works will now be carried out and will conclude with information about him gleaned from a highly independent source - Rabelais.¹

Thenaud recorded his homage to Louise in his first work, *La Margarite de France*.² This work can be accurately dated on internal evidence to 1508.³ In this work Thenaud describes himself as a doctor of holy theology and a member of the 'freres mineurs'.⁴ However his name does not figure in the lists of Paris doctors of theology.⁵ This makes Poitiers, because of its proximity, the most likely source of his doctorate. The three treatises into which *La Margarite de France* is divided reveal Thenaud's attitudes to questions such as the primal language and the role of the Jews in history. Other scholars have not studied this manuscript, which is partly due to the fact that it was lost to the sight of scholars for years, before being discovered in the British Library.⁶ Thenaud based *La Margarite* on Annus de Viterbe's work on

¹Francois Rabelais was born in Chinon, Touraine in 1494 and died in 1553.

²'A ma souueraine et tres genereuse dame et princesse la contesse dengoulesme frere Jehan thenaud.' *La Margarite de France*, BM ms. Add. 13969, folio 6 recto.

³'Et iacoit que lannee presente soit lunziesme dicelluy tresxrien et tresserenessime Roy loys douziesme.' *op. cit.*, folio 4 verso.

Louis XII 1498-1515.

⁴'A ma souueraine et tres genereuse dame et princesse la contesse dengoulesme frere Jehan thenaud des freres mineurs le meindre et des docteurs en sainte theologie le minime.' *La Margarite*., folio 6 recto.

⁵J. Farge, *Biographical Register of Paris Doctors of Theology, 1500-1530*, Toronto, 1980.

⁶*La Margarite* is prefaced with a manuscript note that it was purchased of Tho. Rodd 11/3/1843, at the Lord Kingsborough sale in Dublin. As late as 1972 J. Engels claimed that

Pseudo-Berosius (c. 1488) in order to give a history of the kings that ruled in Gaul from the sons of Japhet to Charles VIII (1498).¹ The work was submitted to Thenaud's protector François Demoulins, also known as de Rochefort, who was closely connected with Louise de Savoie. Demoulins was to become *grandaumônier* to Francis I, who then appointed him bishop of Condom. In 1526 he was removed from Condom, and finished his life as abbot of St. Maximin at Micy sur Loire.² Thenaud had chosen a well placed protector in Demoulins, a man who will appear again later in this study.

La Margarite always views the Old Testament as being chronologically reliable.³ Thenaud attempted to reconcile any differences in chronology which occur between Hebrew writings and those of the classical world.⁴ Historical references to the Jews abound as chronological markers to the classical world. Thus, for instance, Thenaud used the dates of the rulers of Israel in order to fix the dates of the rulers of Greece and Assyria - 'En Israel regnerent Joachab Joas et Jheroboam le second. En corinthe Aristemides En lacedæmoine helene En Assyrie le dernier roy sardinapallus.'⁵

Thenaud had a high regard for the precision of Hebraic scholarship. This is evident from the respectful manner in which he describes the achievement of

Actuellement, aucun exemplaire de la Margarite de France n'est signalé ni en France ni ailleurs, Vivarium vol. VIII no 2 1970, vol. IX no 2 1971, vol. X no 2 1972, p. 113.

¹ *La Margarite* preface 'Le nombre ordre et temps des tres nobles Roys qui ont regne ce gaule depuys cent quarante quatre ans apres le deluge jusque a lan mille quatre cens quatre vingt dix sept.'

² J. Engels, 'Notice sur J Thenaud', *Vivarium*, VIII, 2, 1970, p. 115.

³ The following is but one example of dependence. *La Margarite* folio 8 recto. 'De creacion du monde jusques au deluge en quel còmente le second eage selon les hebreux furent mil six cens cinquante et six ans.'

⁴ *La Margarite*, folio 26 recto. '... par ce que les hebreux ont grande contrariete avecques les aultres historiographes touchant le premier eage ainsi `g appert au còmentement de cestuy liure.'

⁵ *Ibid.*, En celuy temps furent senson (Samson) qui jugea le peuple disrael et hely (Eli) on quel se commence histoire du liure des Roys. ...

Folio 28 recto.

En celuy temps Neh (Noah) jugea le peuple disrael, En cestuy temps furent homere hesiode et polimides poetes Item saul et dauid, En cestuy tẽps regna salomon en Judee.

Folio 28 recto.

En cestuy tẽps Roboam regnoit en Judee ...

Folio 29 recto.

En celluy tẽps regnerent en Judee Jozans Azarias Athalia et Joas regna une partie de son temps. En Israel regnerent Dehosias Jozà et Jheu ... Et furèt en celuy temps les prophetes helie et zacharie.

Folio 29 recto.

En Israel regnerent Joachab Joas et Jheroboam le second. En corinthe Aristemides En lacedæmoine helene En Assyrie le dernier roy sardinapallus.

the translators of the Septuagint.¹ He records how the seventy-two scholars who were sent (six from each tribe) to Ptolemy in Egypt to carry out their great task of translating the divine law were so successful that they all finished on the same day without a single letter of variance between them. Thenaud also notes admiringly that they also achieved their work despite their being separated for the seventeen days. Thenaud recognised the literary achievement of Philo,² and acknowledged that Jews had undergone suffering for the sake of the law of God.³

Thenaud was no doubt well aware of the bloody struggles that had punctuated Jewish history⁴ though he passed over, without comment, the treatment meted out to the Jews in France. Despite his stated admiration for Hebrew scholarship he was not averse, at that time, to recording the view that the Jews had been held to be blasphemers of the name of God.⁵ This attribution is to be found in his early work *La Margarite* concerning the reign of Philippe Auguste (1165-1223).

*Phelippes Auguste ordonna loy pour reprimer les blasphemateurs
du nom de dieu ... de paris et de son royaulme les Juifz qui lors
estoient riches et puissans*

Notwithstanding Thenaud's admiration for much of Hebrew and Jewish scholarship and culture he was, none the less, a son of his age. He apparently believed that the Jews of fourteenth century France were instrumental in well-poisoning and that their motive was to attack the kingdom of France at the behest of the King of Grenada.⁶

¹ *La Margarite* folio 39 recto.

'Eleazarus enouye soixante douze saiges et scauans cest ascauoir dune chacune lignee disrael six au roy degipte nòme ptholemee le premier pour que selon son desir luy translataissent la loy diuine de hebreu en grec ce quilz feirent en dix sept jours et combien quilz fussent enfermes en diuers lieux et tous separez ils acheuerèt tous leur translacion en ung meme jour et sy ny auoit difference aus dittes tràslacions dune seule lettre.'

² *La Margarite* folio 44 verso.

Et Philo Juif qui còposa le liure de sapience en grec Item mathatias du quel est parle on liure de machabees ...

³ *Ibid.*,

Symon Mathatias apres ce que moult eut souffert pour la loy de dieu ...

⁴ *La Margarite* folio 53 recto.

⁵ *La Margarite* folio 111 recto.

⁶ *La Margarite* folio 120 recto:-

La Margarite is a rich source of information about Thénau's early views on that burning issue of the day - the identity of the primal language. The mediæval search for the first language or *Ur-Sprache* - was a subject of widespread interest and *La Margarite* gives us valuable information on Thénau's beliefs. These need to be considered in the light of competing views about the primal language. Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa (1401 - 1464) for instance, did not think that the primal language was Hebrew, but 'an idiom brushed from men's lips in the instant of the catastrophe at Babel and now irretrievably disejected among all living speech.'¹ Hebrew gnostics on the other hand held that the Hebrew of the Torah had been the language of God. One of Thénau's contemporaries, Paracelsus,² (1493 - 1541) argued that Hebrew itself had suffered as a consequence of the Fall, which had led to discord and dispersal. Paracelsus relied quite extensively on his observation that dispersal and division in many cultures was linked with the number seventy-two. (The relevance of this number in Thénau's ms. 5061 will be studied in detail *infra* in connection with the names of the seventy-two angels.) This connection was widely upheld late into the sixteenth century.³ Another contemporary of Thénau's who held views on the primal language was the Kabbalist Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim (1486-1535).⁴ He claimed that Aramaic was the language spoken

Phelippes le long 1318 empoisonner toutes les fontaines et puyts des x'riens pour les faire mourir. Et se vouloyent faire par le conseil des juifz qui les avoient subournez par pecune lesquelz juifz faisoient ce par le enhortement du roy de grenade sarrazin qui souët avoit este opprime par les francoys. Et par ce moyen deuoyent les ditz juifz tenir la seigneurie de france par layde du roy de grenade et furent lesditz juifz bannis de France. ...

¹G. Steiner, *After Babel - Aspects of Language and Translation*, Oxford, 1975, p. 62.

² Also known as Theophrast Bombast von Hohenheim, was a Swiss alchemist and doctor of medicine. In support of this contention he noted that the division of mankind into seventy-two parties is a commonplace in many cultures.

³There is a striking instance of this in G. Le Fèvre de la Boderie, *La Galliade ou de la Révolution des Arts et Sciences*, Paris, 1578. Guy gives pride of place to the manner in which France (whose very name Gaul he derives, on page 1, in the margin, from a Hebrew root גלל Galal dont est deduit le mot de Galliade, signifie retourner & reposer) is the true recipient of the dispersal of the 72 descendants of Noah, Ianus, and how it is the most favoured of the 72 'Appartemens'.

⁴Author of the 1510 *De occulta philosophia*, and a native of Cologne, he had expounded Reuchlin's *De verbo mirifico* at the University of Dôle in Burgundy in 1509. This activity was vigorously attacked by local Franciscans. Agrippa sought to purify natural magic through allying it with the religious magic of the Kabbalah.

P. Béhar, *Les Langues Occultes de la Renaissance*, Paris, 1996, ch. 2, pp. 29-62, deals with Agrippa's debt to Reuchlin, the influence of Neoplatonism, hermetism and Arabic magic on the 1510 version of *De occulta philosophia*, and the contribution of the Kabbalah to the 1533 imprint.

by Adam. These scholars attributed great importance to locating the primal language in the belief that its recovery would lead to perfection through the correct use of language. Hebrew was naturally one of the foremost candidates and the consequences were profound. One consequence was a widely held veneration for the integrity and perfection of the Torah. Another consequence was that the very characters of the Hebrew alphabet were accorded special value in their own right.

Thenaud, in *La Margarite*, does not claim that Hebrew was the primal language in fact. On the contrary he gave pride of place to the language of Phrygia. He related the tale of the dispute between Phryges and Archades about the primal language, as a result of which four infants, and four nurses whose tongues had been cut out, were isolated for twelve years. At the end of that time the youngsters were found to be speaking the language of Phrygia.¹ Later in this study we shall see how Thenaud, in his kabbalistic works, revised his opinion of the primacy of Hebrew.

Another of Thenaud's early works is *La Lignée de Saturne : Traité de Poésie ou Traité de Science Poétique*.² This manuscript can be dated later than 1508 (because he had finished *La Margarite*) and earlier than 1515 (because of the dedication to the Duke of Angoulême, who became Francis I on 1 January of that year). It is an adaptation of Giovanni Boccaccio's *Genealogy of the Gods*.³ Although there is no kabbalistic influence evident in *La Lignée de Saturne*, the work is of some significance for our present purposes for two reasons. In the first place it illustrates the manner in which Thenaud strove to communicate his message using classical antiquity. Secondly the motive of the work was the moral protection of the future king. Thenaud was carrying out his duty as chaplain or 'rhetoriqueur' to the young Duke of Angoulême. This moral concern was shared by Thenaud's protector, François Demoulins, to whom a similar, but earlier work, called *De Saturne roy antique*, has been attributed.⁴ The moral intent of this work is evident from the illustration

¹*La Margarite* folio 65 recto.

²BN ms. Fr. 2081.

³Boccaccio (1313 - 1375) Paris born Italian writer.

⁴G. Mallary Masters, *La Lignée de Saturne*, Geneva, 1973, following Paulin Paris, attributes both BN. ms. fr. 2081 and BN ms. Fr. 1358 to Thenaud. Although BN ms. Fr. 1358 is anonymous there are adequate grounds for supporting its attribution to Demoulins. A-M. Lecoq, *François I^{er} imaginaire Symbolique & politique à l'aube de la Renaissance française*,

which opens Demoulins' treatise and which is reproduced below.



BN ms. Fr. 1358 folio 1 verso.

The recipient of this work was Francis, who as Duke of Angoulême, had obtained permission from Louis XII to take part in a military expedition in Italy. In March 1511 Francis accompanied the King to Lyon, Grenoble and Valence in preparation for the expedition. François Demoulins was in attendance and used the time to finish the treatise. The subject of the treatise was Saturn who was depicted as the King of the Latins, and the father of the Olympians. Essentially the work is an allegorical consideration of time. Time was of the essence, and the author complained that he himself had been deprived of sufficient time to complete his writing due to the marches of the expedition.¹ The moral tone was dramatically reinforced by the picture above which shows Time and Fortune. The danger of a misspent youth was signalled here as sexual disease - '*grosse verole*' - shown above approaching Tempus who has a clock on his head and a scythe in his hand. In contrast to the machinations of Tempus and Fortuna there is at the bottom right a depiction of a heroic figure being supported by France. The moralistic tone of the picture is amplified in the text, which calls on good Frenchmen to serve the King, for the time is propitious for the gaining of great honour. In the event there was no expedition. Francis' time for glory had not yet come. But Demoulins had carried out his guiding task and Thenaud followed suit with his *La Lignée de Saturne*.. This work is early evidence of Thenaud's concern for the moral welfare of the royal

Paris, 1987, p. 123.

¹BN ms. Fr. 1358. '*les longs chemins des montagnes que vous avez ces jours passés l'ont tellement accourci qu'il ne m'a donnée loysir du tout escrire que je devoys.*'

family. That concern was to remain a central feature of his life.

Another member of the future royal family was also the recipient of an anonymous work which Lecoq quite rightly attributes to Thenaud.¹ The recipient of this work² was Louise de Savoie (1476 - 1531), the wife of Charles d'Angoulême. The work is a French translation of three Latin manuscripts which dealt with aspects of the life of Jerome. Thenaud held Jerome in high regard, which is one obvious reason for wishing to attribute the work to him.³ Furthermore the style of writing (such as the prodigal use of adjectives separated by the copula 'et', and such as the wordiness of the titles⁴) is typical of Thenaud. Another aspect of Thenaud's style was the humble manner in which he described himself. In this work the author describes himself at the end of the prologue as the very humble servant and unworthy priest. Furthermore the prominence and the distinction given to women is a notable characteristic of almost all of Thenaud's works. In the image below, taken from the first folio, Louise Countess of Angoulême kneels and receives from the female figure, probably representing Virtue, a book of divine origin, in the presence of Jerome.

¹A. Lecoq, *op. cit.*, pp. 72, 73.

²BN. ms. fr. 421.

³J. Thenaud, Arsenal ms. Fr. 5061, folio 96 recto, where Thenaud describes Jerome as one of the four luminaries of the world.

'Car en la primitiue furent selon ledict saint jeroisme soixante et douze sectes et escolles dheretiques Je vey puy apres les noms et volumes des quatre lumieres du monde des quatre fontaines de science qui sont saints Ambroys Augustin Jeroisme et Gregoire Si ie vouloys dire et nommer tous aultres docteurs catholiques qui ont saintement et diuinement escript despuys ledict temps desquelz les œures me paroissent la le nombre darifmetique my faudroit.'

⁴This work has an excellent example on the first folio where Pythagoras is described as the 'very great and very wise philosopher Pythagoras mirror of wisdom' - *'Le tresgrant et tressaige philosopx pictagoras mirouer de sapience.'* BN. ms. Fr. 421.



BN. ms. fr. 421 folio 1.

It may be noted in passing that the spelling of Pythagoras - 'pictagoras' in this work - is at variance with the spelling throughout manuscripts such as ms. 5061 which has 'Pytagoras'. This variation (the scribal hand in both cases is remarkably similar) may be accounted for in terms of dating.¹ The dating of ms. 5061 will be discussed below, but it is c. 1520. The date of ms. Fr. 421 is certainly after 2 December 1509 (when Marguerite d'Angoulême married the Duke of Alençon, because she is referred to in the text as 'Madame d'Alençon' and before 1 January 1515 (when Francis became King, whereas in the text he is referred to as 'dauphin'). Lecoq is even more precise in limiting the dates. She justifiably introduces consideration of the dates of Thénau's visit to the Holy Land to place the date of composition between 1509 and 1511, the year of departure. This visit to the Holy Land was a highly significant event for Thénau, and gave rise to the only book of his which was printed -

¹As an illustration of the manner in which the written form of French was rapidly approaching modern French compare the foregoing footnote with Thénau's c. 1518 BN. ms. fr. 882 prologue lines 21 and 22 which have:-

De Socrates philozophe tressage

En bonnes meurs et scientific usage

Le Voyage et Itinaire (sic) de oustre mer par Frere Jehá Thenaud Maistre en ars docteur en Theologie & gardien des freres mineurs d'angoulesme Et premierement dudict lieu Dangoulesme iusques au Cayre. The events of that visit will reveal how Thenaud's attitudes, particularly towards the Jews, were changed.

The voyage, which started on 2 July 1511 was undertaken on the direction of Louise de Savoie and Francis. Thenaud was to offer gold, incense and myrrh in Bethlehem on behalf of his patrons.¹ The voyage also had political implications,² as Thenaud was part of an embassy to Qanson Ghory in Egypt.³ Qanson Ghory, the *Sultan (Soudan)* in Egypt had come to the throne at a difficult time. One of these difficulties was a confrontation over Rhodes which had arisen because the *Chevaliers* had defeated Qanson's army and fleet. That fleet had been carrying supplies destined for the Red Sea where Qanson Ghoury's forces were threatened by the arrival of Portuguese forces. It was at the instigation of Portuguese *Chevaliers* that 18 galleys from Rhodes had attacked the Egyptians on 21 August 1510. Some were burned and the others were taken to Rhodes. When Qanson heard of the loss to the fleet he ordered reprisals; one reprisal was the arrest of Philippe de Peretz, French and Catalan consul in Alexandria. He was taken in chains to Cairo to the *massera* prison.⁴ Other responses were the arrest of merchants and of the guardian of the site of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.⁵ The site was closed to Latins. Qanson

¹ *Itinaire* page Fi.

Et je fuz au couvent de Bethlehé le vingt et uniesme Daoust enuiron onze heures au matin: auquel lieu premierement offrir en la Sainte chapelle de la Natiueté Or myrrhe Et incens: Que auoye apporte & prepare selon le mandement et vouloir de ma souveraine Tresdoubtee: et illustre dame: Qui vouloit telles choses estre offertes audit lieu a son intention: Et de monseigneur a present nostre roy tres augusteur serenissime.

² From 18 to 22 July 1511 Thenaud was at Alençon receiving instructions from Louise, whom he calls '*ma superillustre dame, tresexcellente fleur productive de sa sacrée majesté*' as well as obtaining the services of a secretary/companion for the voyage - François de Bonjean. de Bonjean was the secretary and financial controller to Marguerite. In 1518 he became 'notaire' and secretary to the King. He died in 1529. The provisions made for Thenaud's voyage were therefore generous, which Thenaud himself acknowledged - '*... pourvoir de or, argent, en tres bonne quantité et de tous aultres choses necessaires à voyager, tant pour luy que pour moy, lequel me fut aussi gracieux, loyal, amy et secourable que fut Achates à Eneas, ...*'

Passing through Le Mans, Vendôme, Blois, Bourges, Moulins, Lyon and Vienne Thenaud received further instructions in Saint Vallier, this time from Francis. Then he travelled to Valence where he received the letters from King Louis XII destined for Qanson Ghoury.

J. Thenaud, *Le Voyage d'Outremer* tr. C Schefer, *Recueil de Voyages*, no. 5, 1882, pp. 2-4.

³ F. Secret, *Les Kabbalistes Chrétiens de la Renaissance*, Paris, 1964, p. 153.

⁴ R. Fulin, *Diarii e Diaristi Veneziani*, Venice, 1881, p. 221.

⁵ This was frà Francesco Soriano, a Venetian, who had exercised the role of guardian of

Ghoury then sought the assistance of Louis XII in resolving the matter. The embassy which Thenaud joined was charged with resolving these major diplomatic problems. Thenaud's sympathies may be seen from the description which he gives of the *nobles chevaliers de Rhodes*. He termed them '*inconcussible coulompnes de la foy*' (unbreakable columns of the faith).¹ It is to be noted in passing that he also applied this title to Francis himself.¹ Nevertheless Qanson Ghoury was not totally hostile to Christianity, which he demonstrated by ordering repairs to churches in Jerusalem, Ramlah, Bethlehem and Beirut.² A second political task given to Thenaud was to make an assessment of the military state of Persia,³ though he failed to travel anywhere near Persia in the event. In his own words '*ce que deliberay faire, mais maintes*

Sion convent intermittently since 1493.

¹BN. ms. Fr. 882 dedication line 4.

² C Schefer, *op. cit.*, p. xlv. Proof of the close connections between Egypt and the West are first the fact that Qanson Ghoury's adviser, the *Grand Drogoman*, was the Spanish-born Tangiberoy and secondly the mission of Peter Martyr to Qanson Ghoury. This mission was on the orders of Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castille. It ended with Peter Martyr's return to Grenada in 1502.



Qanson Ghoury
Sultanus Cansaues Gauris
from C. Schefer, *ibid.*

Melik el Achraf Aboul Nasr Qansou Ghoury was proclaimed Sultan by the Emirs in 1500 after the death of Thouman-Bay. He died on 24 August 1516 of apoplexy during the battle with Sultan Selim at Merdj Dabik near Aleppo.

³Persia was ruled by Shah Ismail (ruled 1500 to 1523), founder of the Safavy dynasty. At the time of Thenaud's embassy Ismail was engaged in his conquest of Khorassan, the North-West of Persia. C. Schefer, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

choses me empeschoyent le susdict voyage."¹

Armed with his instructions and in the company of the embassy Thenaud travelled down the Rhône and thence to Egypt. The meeting with Qanson Ghoury was finally achieved, though not without adventure. According to Thenaud he encountered further misadventures on his desert trip to Sinai, though the record of these is largely borrowed from earlier sources. Thenaud summarized his travels as being divided into three '*peregrinations*'. The first was to Sinai, the second was to Bethlehem and the third was to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The account includes a report on Thenaud fulfilling the demands made on him to worship in Bethlehem, and carries details of the religious dispute between the Latins and 'Georgiens' concerning an altar. Thenaud records how, on his return to Cairo, he was able to achieve a diplomatic resolution of this matter with Qanson Ghoury.²

As a result of the voyage he published *Le Voyage*, which appeared in Paris in 1530³ and again in an edited form in 1882.⁴ The eighteen year gap between Thenaud's return and the date of publication has led to debate as to the time of writing; the present writer's opinion is that an early date is likely and that the delay was a consequence of geographical factors (Thenaud's ecclesiastical duties kept him away from Paris), historical factors (such as the dramatic turn

¹ '... veoir *Sophy* et sçavoir quelle estoit sa court; ...' *Ibid.*

² 'Le tiers oratoire est ung autel que ont les Latins au mont Calvaire † que les Georgiens (qui disent toute la chappelle à eulx appartenir), voulurent destruire en baillant faulx à entendre au Souldan, moy estant là; mais je retournay au Cayre pour solliciter nostre truchement, consul et ambassadeur qu'ilz impetrassent envers le Souldan qu'il fust réparé, ce qu'il fit et obtint monsieur l'ambassadeur, maistre André Le Roy qui luy cede et vient à grande gloire.'

C. Schefer, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

³ Engels discusses the claim that the *Voyage* may have been written as early as 1512. He notes that it must have been after January 1515 because François d'Angoulême was referred to as "roy et empereur" and after 1523 because the capture of Rhodes by Soliman is mentioned. Notice sur J Thenaud, *Vivarium*, vol. VIII no. 2 1970, vol. IX no. 2, 1971, vol. X no. 2 1972. 1970 Holban argues against a late date, on the basis that this mention of Rhodes could have been added subsequently. One of Holban's points against a late date is that Thenaud, on his return from the Holy Land could have used his new found leisure time to write and to study for his doctorate. Her case is actually stronger than she appreciates, because she assumed that Thenaud gained his doctorate after his return from his voyage. Holban was however unaware of Thenaud's 1508 self description as a doctor of Theology given in *La Margarite* folio 6 recto.

A ma souueraine et tres genereuse dame et princesse la contesse dengoulesme frere Jehan thenaud des freres mineurs le meindre et des docteurs en sainte theologie le minime ...

Thenaud would not have been burdened with doctoral studies at that time and would therefore have been well able to write up his journey.

⁴ C. Schefer, *op. cit.*.

of events surrounding the accession of Francis in 1515) and personal factors. The first of these personal factors concerns Thenaud's interest in informing and directing the royal family. He had little interest in informing the masses and so he had little motivation to disseminate his experiences. The second personal factor is his stated reluctance to have works printed. He was strongly against the growing habit of any self considered expert getting his thoughts published.¹

Although the *Voyage* contains tales which were borrowed from other travellers, it is to be valued for the insight that it gives into Thenaud's meeting with Jews and with Marranos. The impression given is that these meetings were a great novelty for Thenaud. He described the clothing of Jews, and differentiated their headgear from that worn by 'mores' and 'chrestiens'.² He recorded his beliefs about the inner motivation of Marranos. He supported the not uncommon view that they were feigning Christian belief, and that they retained their ceremonies when they could.³

On the other hand Thenaud's attitude to the part of the Jews in the crucifixion of Jesus is to be noted, because he attributed the responsibility to Pilate. We know this because of an event that happened on his return journey towards France. Poor weather forced a delay on the island associated with Pontius Pilate. Thenaud remarked on the historical connection of the diminutive island (*l'isle de Ponce*) with Pilate who had been its ruler - *seigneur*. He blamed Pilate for iniquitously sentencing '*Nostre Seigneur à mort*.' ⁴

¹Ms. Fr. 5061 folio c recto:-

*Mais tout ainsi qu a present tous labeurent
Tenir propoz des sciences quilz ignorent
En mesme estat ung tas de gens barbares
Veulent escripre Et leurs escriptz ignares
Font publier par uniuersitez
Comme seroyent lettres et usitez*

²*Entre aultres estioét trois ou quatre iulifz qui prendrent la tocq' iaulne si tost q' susmes en Alexandrie q'est le signe p leq' l on les cognoist, côme on faict les mores a la tocq' blâche: & les chrestiens a la tocq' pse. De marràs pires q iulifz mariez en Auigné a Montpellier et alétour: ayàs leurs parés & affins en Turquè Alexandrie Et au Caire: estoit grád nóbre.'*

J. Thenaud, *Voyage* p. Aiii.

³*Ibid.*

Le sd marràs sont iulifz q faignét estre chrestié gardàs leurs ceremonies quât ilz peuét.

⁴*'Le neufviesme eusmes tourmente telle qu'il nous convint prendre port en l'isle de Ponce, moult petite (c'est assavoir de xv milles de circuyt seulement) mais moult renommée pour celluy fameux Pylate, seigneur d'icelle isle, qui iniquement sentencia Nostre Seigneur à mort ...'*

Thenaud's attitude to the Jews, or at least to the Kabbalists among them, may be properly regarded as one of increasing respect. This process is perhaps indicated by the terms used in the later works, such as the Arsenal ms. 5061, where he referred to his Hebrew guide as *le venerable et moult profond hebreu ... Raby et seigneur*.¹ Such an attitude was at odds with the established views of the masses, but it was in line with the emerging attitude to Hebrew and Jewish learning which Francis himself did so much to foster.²

The final point about the *Voyage* is that it refers to a work by Thenaud which is not extant. This is his translation of the epistles of Saint Paul. Thenaud hoped, with God's help (*Dieu aydant*) to produce the translation soon (*bientost*).³ In the light of other references by Thenaud to mystical happenings it may be surmised that he would have given considerable attention to Saint Paul's rapture to the third heaven which is described in II Corinthians xii.⁴

C. Schefer, *op. cit.* p. 13.

¹ Folio 57 bis recto.

²From an early date it was recognised and predicted that Francis had a keen concern for the advancement of Greek, Hebrew and Latin. See BN ms. Fr. 1680 *Le livre de la dédicace du temple saint françoys* at the end of one of the refrains about the dedication, as cited by E. Lecoq, *op. cit.* p. 64:-

La langue grecque, hébraïque et latine

Sera soubz luy serviable et encline.

³C. Schefer, *op. cit.* p. 126. '*De cest maniere ay escript en nostre translation des Epistres du glorieux Monsieur Saint Pol qui seront produictes, Dieu aydant, bientost en lumiere.*'

⁴NASB has II Cor. xii 1:-

Boasting is necessary, though it is not profitable; but I will go on to visions and revelations of the Lord.

2. I know a man in Christ, who fourteen years ago - whether in the body I do not know, or out of the body do not know, God knows - such a man was caught up to the third heaven.

Arsenal ms. Fr. 5061 gives a leading place to this event in Paul's life where it is juxtaposed with the mystical experiences of St. Francis, Moses and Elijah.

Entre lesqueulx il fault premierement mettre les apostres qui selon ta foy croyance apres maintes oraisons ieunes et abstinences recepurent visiblement le saint esprit qui les remplit de tous ses dons cestassavoir de sapience entendement conseil force science pitie et crainte et oultre ce leur octroya le don de toutes langues Ce qui fut puy apres communique a plusieurs comme au docteur de ta loy Paoul qui fut raui iusques on troysiesme ciel on quel il veit les secretz quil nosa reueler Cecy aduint aussi a cil paouure stigmatise francoys le quel en ses grandes deuociens et ferueurs fut tiellement transforme en lamour de cil que tant il aymoient que les signes et stigmates parurent imprimez pout tout iamais en son corps et est aduenue a aultres innumerables non seulement du temps passe mais du temps present que lon dict estre en ta loy Aussi Moyse en sa quarantaine et Helye estoient tielz

As will be seen later Thenaud's (Vienna, ms. 2645) 1520 *Troys résolutions et sentences, c'est assavoir de l'astrologie, du poète, et du théologue, sur les grandes conjonctions, moyennes et petites qui se font ou signe de pisces* is mainly an exposition of these verses.

One consequence of Thenaud's travels was a change in his self perception. After the voyage he customarily described himself in terms connected with his travels, such as poor pilgrim (*pauvre pèlerin*), and explorer (*explorateur de Paradis terrestre*). He was often represented in the illustrations as such a traveller. These images are prominent in his monumental (non-kabbalistic) manuscripts which were destined for the four leading members of the household of Francis. (Thenaud did not overlook other members of the household. He even used the occasion of the death of the three month old Louise, the oldest daughter of Francis, in September 1518 to convey his message to the royal family. In 1519 Francis' imperial ambitions were prominent, and Thenaud combined those ambitions with the death of Louise. Thenaud imagined Charles VIII giving a heavenly reception to the little Louise arriving in paradise under the leadership of Saint Michael and in the company of ten thousand angels. Thenaud imagined God using the occasion to announce not only that Francis would soon become emperor (*de bref empereur*), but that the new arrival would herself be enthroned and able to intercede on behalf of the royal family and of France.)¹ The four living recipients - Marguerite the sister of Francis, Francis himself, the dauphin Francis (1518 - 1536) and his mother the Queen, Claude (1499 - 1524) each had one treatise dedicated to them. Each treatise declared the triumph of the Virtue appropriate to the recipient. Marguerite had Prudence, Francis I had Force, the dauphin had Justice and Claude had Temperance. The first two treatises of *Explorateur des quatre fleuves* are in one volume. The presentation copy is in Russia,² but two scribal copies are in Paris - one is in the Bibliothèque Nationale and the other in the Arsenal.³ The third and fourth treatises of *Explorateur des quatre fleuves* are also in one volume, and the only known copy of this is in Paris.⁴ Dating of the various copies of *Explorateur des quatre fleuves* is not straightforward. Despite the

¹BN. ms. Fr. 2286. The attribution of this work to Thenaud by A-M. Lecoq, *op. cit.*, p. 526, n. 32 and by M. Holban, 'Le vrai Jean Thenaud', *L'Humanisme français au début de la Renaissance (XIVe Colloque intern. de Tours)*, pp. 193-205, Paris, 1973, is well founded.

²*Explorateur des quatre fleuves* - Le Triumphe et recueil des Vertuz or Triumphe de Vertus Traités I & II:

Leningrad, Saltikov-Chtchedrine, ms. Fr. F. V. XV, Eloquence I.

³*Explorateur des quatre fleuves* - Le Triumphe et recueil des Vertuz or Triumphe de Vertus Traités I & II:

a) BN ms. Fr. 443.

b) Arsenal ms. Fr. 3358.

⁴*Explorateur des quatre fleuves* - Le Triumphe et recueil des Vertuz or Triumphe de Vertus Traités III & IV:

BN ms. Fr. 144.

mention of the very first, the Triumph of Prudence, in *Margarite*¹ there is no doubt that the end of Thénaut's voyage is the earliest possible date for these works. The three extant copies of the first volume all give different dates according to internal evidence. The latest is the Arsenal manuscript which refers to Francis I's twenty-seventh year (between 12 September 1519 and 12 September 1520).² It is sufficient for our purposes here to make some general observations about *Explorateur des quatre fleuves*.

The first point to make is that all four works are of enormous length and have numerous full folio illustrations, which would have rendered them unsuited for publication. Similarly the intended readers were the members of the royal household, so the works may have had relatively limited appeal beyond that circle.

Secondly, and notwithstanding the observations just made above, the works do have significance from the literary point of view. *Explorateur des quatre fleuves* contains the first French translation of Erasmus' *In Praise of Folly*.³ Thénaut's admiration of Erasmus, which has been noted above, lead him to make this translation.⁴ It also served as a vehicle for Thénaut's views on Reformation, which was to be mediated by the personification of Prudence and her daughter.⁵ Thénaut was equally outspoken on clerical folly. For example he included sections on the folly of those who carried images and relics - '*La folie des porteurs d'images et de Reliques*',⁶ the folly of Bishops - '*La folie des Euesques*' and the folly of Popes - '*La folie des papes*'.⁷

Thirdly it is to be noted that there are no evident connections with the Kabbalah.

¹*La Margarite*, folio 60.

²Arsenal ms. Fr. 3358, folio 181 verso.

³Erasmus' work came out in Paris in 1511, but the first French translation (which was anonymous) was printed in Paris in 1520.

M. Holban, 'Extrait de la version française de l'Éloge de la Folie d'Erasme due à Jean Thénaut', *Études rabelaisiennes*, ix, 1971, pp. 66-69.

⁴Introduction page 18.

⁵Arsenal ms. Fr. 3358, folio 133 verso.
Ch. 10.

'Coment prudence envoya sa fille des precieuses et orientalles perles la Margarite pour confondre folie et son trosne. Aussi pour rappeler la turbe lexeplorateur et autres deuoyez quelle remect en bonne voye. Et leur enseigne la fontaine de la Reformation qui se troue au pied de la trone.'

⁶Arsenal ms. Fr. 3358, folio 119 verso.

⁷Arsenal ms. Fr. 3358, folio 130 recto.

On the other hand there are, as will be shown, evident similarities in style between these works and the overtly kabbalistic ones. First, women play a prominent role in all of them. Secondly, high value is placed on the number four which in various citations is related to the four members of the family, the four rivers of Paradise, the four worlds and the Tetragrammaton. The *raison d'être* of these monumental works just described was that the souls of the members of the royal household may return safely to God. This motivation was inspired by Ficino's description in his *Commentary on Plato's Banquet* where God, having infused his light into the soul desires to lead them to the state of blessedness.¹ Ficino describes how this was to be achieved by means of the four Virtues of Prudence, Force, Justice and Temperance. Prudence was the prime Virtue and the one that enabled the others to have effect. Individuals, according to their peculiar constitution which was a function of the infusion of the divine light, would be lead to the state of blessedness by means of these Virtues, with Prudence the first among equals. Thenaud adopted this same single intent not only in the four non-kabbalistic treatises considered above but also in his kabbalistic ones. Furthermore, as will be shown below, he employed the same methodology for both sets of works.

Just as the four extant copies of *Explorateur des quatre fleuves* are in two volumes, one of which only exists in one location, so also Thenaud's kabbalistic works are in two separate volumes, with only one extant copy of the earlier. Further similarities are that the kabbalistic works entered the royal collection of Francis and have never been published.

The first of these kabbalistic works is *La sainte et très chrestienne cabale metrificée*. The only known copy of this manuscript, which is in verse, is in the Bibliothèque Nationale.² From the conclusion the work can be dated between 12 September 1519 and 12 September 1520.³ The manuscript has eleven

¹Commentary on Plato's Banquet, fourth discourse, ch. V.

²BN ms. Fr. 882. It has 58 folios, and is splendidly bound in red with the Fleur de lys decoration of Louis XIV. The history of the bibliography of this ms. is laid out by J. Engels,

'Notice sur J. Thenaud', *Vivarium* vol. X, 2, 1972, pp. 121-2.

³BN ms. Fr. 882, folio 53 recto, lines 15 to 21:-

*Dieu tout puissant qui seul cree et procree
Tous les espritz A ton ame cree
Vingt cinq ans a come bien le remembre
Et fut ung iour douziesme de septembre
Laquell lors par tresdoulce armonie
Et merueilleux ouurage fut unie*

illustrations. The first of these has been reproduced above and shows Thénault at the bedside of Francis. This treatise on the Kabbalah owes much to Christian Neo-Platonism of the fifteenth century. There is a clear dependence on the philosophy of Ficino, who held that there was a close parallelism between the visible world and the invisible world. It will be shown below, in the highly important section on Thénault's Cosmology, how he reconciled Catholic and Hebrew kabbalistic perceptions of this parallelism.

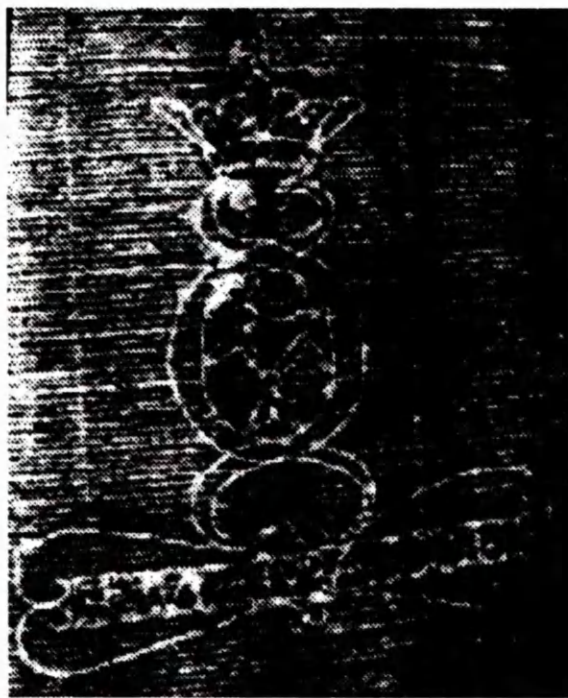
In 1519 Francis was presented with this first kabbalistic work by Thénault. The king was not happy with it and declared his dissatisfaction. Thénault was commanded to prepare a further submission. This second attempt by Thénault *Traité de la cabale* or *La Cabale et l'estat du monde angélic ou spirituel* was in prose except for the prologue and epilogue. It did not make such overt use of the Cosmology and Angelology of Dionysius, but was still much influenced by it. Considerable use was made of *De Sancta Cruce* by Rabanus Maurus. Thénault also acknowledged the influence of Pico, Ricius and Reuchlin. There are three known manuscripts of this 1520-1521 work, which are to be found in Nantes, Paris and Geneva.

The copy in the Nantes public library - ms. 521 (Fr. 355)¹ - is written on paper and the writer has been able to submit the paper to the prototype of his patented 'SOBER'² process for the digitalization of watermarks with the following result.

Par icelluy a ton corps quant fus ne.

¹A. Molinier, *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques de France, Départements*, t. XXII, Nantes, Quimper, Brest. Paris, 1893, p. 80.

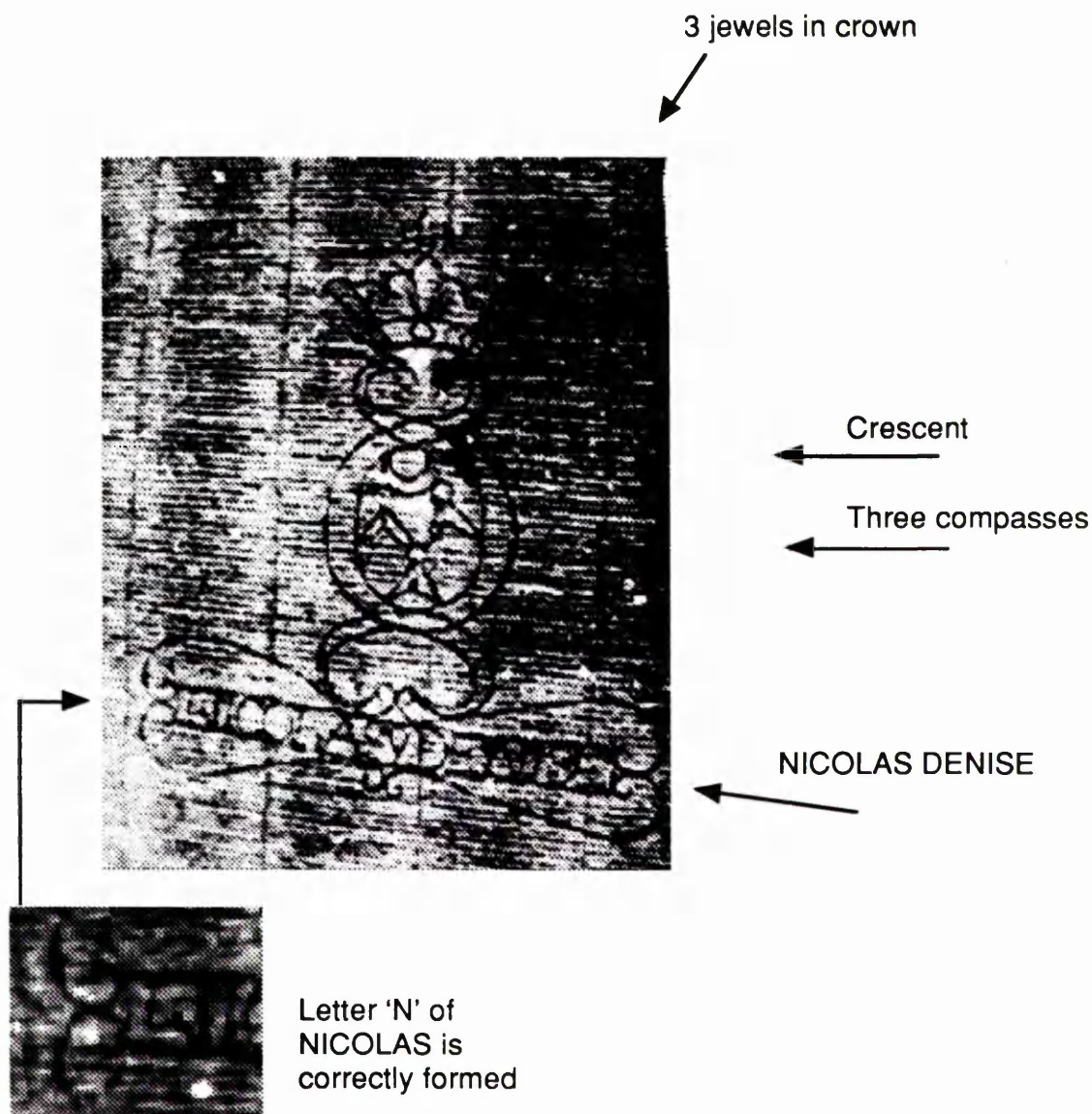
²Small Opening Book Examiner and Recorder, Patent applied for 9519855.2.



Nantes ms. 521 page 108.

Courtesy of Nantes Médiathèque.

In order for the inscription in the watermark to be read it needs to be viewed from the other side. Flipping the image horizontally has the same effect. In the following image the original has been flipped, inverted, enhanced and annotated.



The three compasses which can be discerned in the image were the arms used by two papermaking families. These were the Leclerc and the Denise families. In the opinion of Mr. J. S. G. Simmons of All Souls College, Oxford, the watermark seems to be more "Denise¹ than Leclerc" and the paper is "second quarter of the seventeenth century".² This has been confirmed by reference to L. Leclert *Le Papier*, and by detailed analysis of the watermark.

¹According to L. Leclert, *Le Papier. Recherches et notes pour servir à l'histoire du papier, principalement à Troyes et aux environs depuis le 14 siècle*, Paris, 1926, p. 302 the Denise family was known at Troyes from the 15 th century. See M. de Caumartin, *Procès verbal de la Recherche de la noblesse de Champagne*, 1673, vol. 1 p. 194. In 1663 Pierre Denise was recognized 'noble'. The family adopted the arms of a predecessor, Jacquette de Bray, from her grandmother Simonne Le Compasseur; the arms were given as "d'azur, à trois compas d'argent, à l'engélure d'or". The armorial watermarks used by Jean, Edmond, Claude and Nicholas Denise 'sont tous dépourvus de l'engélure imposée par le juge d'armes en 1663'.

No one in his genealogy was listed as a paper maker.

²Private letters to the author from Mr. J. S. G. Simmons of All Souls College, Oxford, 16 and 23 February 1997. I am indebted to Mr. Simmons for this information and for his reference to L. Leclert, *Le Papier*.

It is immediately evident from the enhanced image above that the watermark incorporates the name 'NICOLAS DENISE'. There were two such men. The first Nicolas was the son of Edmond Denise and Anne Nivelles and it is known that he died about 1628 - 1630.¹ The second Nicolas was baptized on 4 August 1594 and it is known that by 1662 he '*ne vivait plus*'.²

It is therefore clear that the late date suggested by Simmons for the Nantes ms. 521 is well founded, though it could be first quarter of the seventeenth century. The annotations given above are to be considered in the light of the comments in *Le Papier* which concern two images, both of which closely resemble the Nantes ms. 521 watermark under consideration here. There are some small but significant differences. The first image in *Le Papier* which concerns us is Plate XXXIV number 119. This is not a watermark, but was found printed in red on a ream-wrapper. It includes a crescent, it has numerous jewels in the crown, it is use-dated 1629 and it has NICOLAS DENISE (with the letter 'N' of Nicolas is correctly disposed). The second image is Plate XXXV number 118 and this is a watermark. However it shows no crescent, there are three jewels in the crown, it is use-dated 1636-1637, it has NICOLAS DENISE, but the N is reversed. The conclusion to be drawn is that the Nantes ms. 521 watermark shown above is undoubtedly the one used by Nicolas Denise and that although it shows minor differences from No. 119 in *Le Papier* it is datable to the second quarter of the seventeenth century. This discovery rules out the possibility that Nantes ms. 521 was used by the scribe in the preparation of ms. 5061. The significance of this late date is recognized *infra* in the full treatment of the lists of angels' names.³ Additionally it is to be noted that the front cover of Nantes ms. 521 bears the note: '*Ce livre appartient a Claude de Bourges conseiller Secretaire du Roy maison couronne de france de ses finances, ancien echevin de la ville de Paris 1654.*' In summary then the latest possible date for Nantes ms. 521 is 1654 and the most likely date, based on the watermark study, is second quarter of the seventeenth century. This is a significant discovery, because hitherto no reliable date has been given for Nantes ms. 521.⁴

¹ There were mills at Barbery, Fouchy, La Moline, Le Roi, Sancey and Vannes. The first Nicolas is known to have used the mill at Fouchy in 1628. L. Leclert, *op. cit.*, p. 308.

² L. Leclert, *op. cit.*, p. 313.

³ Introduction page 106 ff..

⁴ J. Blau, *op. cit.*, p. 97 note 70 was only able to deduce that this manuscript '*... may be a copy of either the Paris manuscript which I have been able to use or the later Geneva manuscript used by Thorndike.*' Blau was wrong in his first deduction, because the Paris ms.

The book has 205 pages and describes itself as 'Introduction en la Cabale - divisée en sept traictez es par chapitres.' The book ends with the delivery of the Pilgrim, by Dame Simplicity, from the hand of the Hebrew Kabbalist. Her description of Kabbalah is derisory.¹ According to this passage Dame Simplicity denounced the Kabbalah as '*mensonges deripsions trompeuses et illusions*'.² Although this same sentiment is expressed in ms. 5061 the impact is far less because it is in a relatively obscure place - it is followed by the concluding treatises. The content of the work however displays more sympathy for Hebrew and more respect for the Hebrew Kabbalah than ms. Fr. 882. For instance the increasing respect for the Hebrew tongue is reflected in the sixth treatise, chapter two, which concerns itself with the excellence of Hebrew.³ The Kabbalah was said to exceed other so-called sciences in every respect.⁴ kabbalistic techniques are advocated for personal spirituality⁵ and the very letters of the which he used was not Arsenal ms. 5061 but BN. ms. Fr. 882, the poetry precursor which had not been acceptable to Francis. He may well have been correct in the second deduction as the study of the 72 angels' names given here indicates.

¹Nantes ms. 521 (Fr. 355).

How dame Simplicity took me from the hands of the above mentioned Kabbalist and assured me that all his words and doctrines were only lies, misleading derisions and illusions. Final Chapter, page 198.

Comment dame Simplicite me mist hors les mains du susd' hebreu Cabaliste en massurant que toute ses paroles et doctrines non sont fors mensonges deripsions trompeuses et illusions chapitre dernier feuillet c iiii xx xviii.

²The impact is far less in ms. 5061 because the equivalent passage occurs in a more obscure position, in that it is followed by treatises five and six. Furthermore it is noteworthy that whereas Nantes ms. 521 Fr. 355 attributes '*mensonges*' to the Kabbalists, ms. 5061 folio 10 verso attributes them to Islam:-

Si aussi lon veult faire comparacion dicelle es mensonges tromperies et fallaces qui sont en la secte de Machomet.

³Nantes ms. 521 Fr. 355.

Praise and Excellence of the Hebrew language. Chapter two, page 131.

La louange et excellence de la langue hebraique chapitre deuxiesme feuillet cxxxi.

⁴Nantes ms. 521 (Fr. 355). Sixth treatise.

How the Kabbalah exceeds all other sciences in dignity, sanctity and perfection, so that in comparison with it they do not merit being called sciences, chapter three, page 143.

Comment la Cabale surmonte en dignite saintete et perfection toutes autres sciences tellement que les autres en comparaison d'elle ne meritent estre dictes sciences chapitre iii feuillet cxliii.

⁵Nantes ms. 521 Fr. 355. Sixth treatise.

How is to prepare oneself for the Kabbalah and to practice it by purification of life, by perfection of faith, and by elevation of spirit. Chapter four page 149.

Comment il se fault preparer pour estre suffisant la cabale et pour la pratique par purification de vie foy parfaicte et par eslevation desprit chapitre quatriesme feuillet cxlix.

Hebrew alphabet were claimed to be endowed with special significance.¹ Firstly they could signify numbers, secondly they could signify all of creation in the three worlds (the angelic, the celestial and the elementary), thirdly they had a meaning dependent on grammar and fourthly they were to bear a meaning assigned by the human will.

The copy in Paris (ms. 5061 at the Arsenal library) is a magnificent parchment volume bearing the arms of France and which was almost certainly the edition presented to Francis in 1521. This date of 1521 is based on internal evidence. Folio 71 verso has '... et pour ce que cest huy le mil cinq cens et xxi. de sa naissance ...' In the light of Thenaud's well-known interest in satisfying royal commands it is safe to accept this date of 1521 for the completion of the work. Nantes ms. 521 is similar in content to ms. 5061, though there are highly significant differences. Most notably ms. 5061 is longer due to two additions. The first of these additions is in verse and is a commentary on adaptations of images adapted from Rabanus Maurus' *De Laudibus Sanctæ Crucis*. The second of these additions is the final (sixth) treatise. It is a description as to how the angelic world influences the celestial world. 'Comment le monde angelic influe on (sic) monde celeste.'² In the concluding sentences Thenaud has the Hebrew Kabbalist state that as Christians hold the Kabbalah to be superstitious and damnable he will reveal no more of its arcane lore. Did Thenaud count himself among these 'aultres x'riens' (other Christians)³ who had such a dismal view of the Kabbalah? Was it simply a rhetorical device to conclude his work or was he protecting himself from a potential charge of judaizing? His growing appreciation of Hebrew scholarship has been

¹Nantes ms. 521 Fr. 355. Sixth treatise.

How Hebrew letters signify four things. First numbers. Secondly each and every creature in all the three worlds. Thirdly any particular thing according to their founding grammatical institution, and Fourthly many other things according to the will. Chapter five, page 153.

Comment les lettres des hebreux signifient quatre choses Premierement nombres secondement toutes et chacunes creatures qui sont en trois mondes, Tiercement aulcune chose particuliere selon leur premiere Institution de Grammaire et Quartement maintes aultres choses volontaire chapitre cinquesme feuillet cliii

²ms. Fr. 5061, folio 111 recto .

How the angelic world governs the celestial by four quaternaries.

Comment le monde angelic gouuerne le celeste par quatre quaternaires.

The table of contents does not list the third and final chapter of this closing treatise, which is a declaration of the above mentioned chapters on how the influx of the angelic realm on the world may be reduced to a quaternary. Folio 114, chapter three.

³Ms. 5061 folio 116 verso.

demonstrated above; certainly his later works (horoscopes) rely on a cosmology which is in exact agreement with the cosmology which he regards as kabbalistic.

This cosmology supported the view that the human spirit, on account of its superiority to all heavens, may, by fasting, prayer, sacrifice and other spiritual activities, acquire the friendship and familiarity of angels who govern the heavens, the stars and the planets. These angels could divert the fatal laws and effects of the stars, mitigate the effect of divine laws and enable adepts to engage in works that lie beyond human ability as did the prophets and patriarchs of old.¹ The conclusion to be drawn is that although Thenaud, at the conclusion of his second kabbalistic work, recognises that Christians regarded the Kabbalah as superstitious and damnable he himself was totally dependent on a cosmology which he regarded as kabbalistic.

The copy in the Geneva Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire - ms. Fr. 167 - was made in 1536 by Francis Gryvel (francoys gryuel) for Thenaud himself, who was described as '*reuerend pere en Dieu Fr Tenaud Abbe de Mellynays*'.

² Listed by Jean Senebier in his catalogue of the Geneva library as *Introduction à la Cabale*,³ this manuscript book was given to the city in 1725 by A. Sarasin. This copy is in the same order and is very similar to the Nantes edition,⁴ though there are some significant differences. First of all it does not have the same conclusion as ms. 5061 which was added, no doubt, for the King. Geneva ms. Fr. 167 differs from the other two in other respects, such as the inclusion of different amulette designs for the service of exorcism. These, and other differences will be noted in the fuller study of ms. 5061 below. The presence of these additions raises the possibility that there may have been a further copy upon which Gryvel based his version of 1536.

¹Ms. Fr. 5061, folio 116 recto and verso.

²The spine has OEUURE CABALIS. The back cover has a note '*Ce liure a escript francoys gryuel demoua Angiers Pour reuerend pere en Dieu FI Tenaud Abbe de Mellynays 1536 le 19e de May*'.

³J. Senebier, *Catalogue Raisonné des Manuscrits Conservés dans la Bibliothèque de la Ville et République de Genève*, Genève, 1779, pp. 418-420. He comments on the poor state of the illustrations as follows:- '*... une foule de peintures qui, malgré leurs vives couleurs, sont couvertes des ténèbres les plus épaisses quand on veut en approfondir le sens.*'

⁴See Introduction page 104 ff. for an assessment of the spellings of the names of the 72 angels. This close similarity indicates that Nantes ms. 521 was highly likely to have been copied from Geneva ms. Fr. 167, Gen. 1045.

Certainly he had extra material to draw upon.

The conclusions that may be drawn are as follows. Based on the evidence from the watermarks research, Nantes ms. 521 is at least a hundred years later than ms. 5061, so it cannot have been the scribal copy used in preparation for the 1521 presentation of ms. 5061 to Francis. Similarly there is no reason to doubt the accuracy of the claim that Geneva ms. 167 is to be dated 1536; indeed the respectful mention of Thenaud in that copy supports this contention. Arsenal ms. 5061 is therefore the earliest known copy with its date of 1521. As Arsenal ms. 5061 went into the personal possession of the royal household, and as the scribe who prepared it must have had material from which he worked, there must have been other copies which are not now available. The very existence of a copy (Nantes ms. 521, Fr. 355) made in the second quarter of the seventeenth century shows that this kabbalistic work by Thenaud remained known and valued in certain circles for at least a century after his death.¹

The order of the known manuscripts is therefore:-

- | | | |
|----|---------------------------|-----------|
| 1. | Arsenal ms. 5061 - | 1521 |
| 2. | Geneva ms. Fr. 167 - | 1536 |
| 3. | Nantes ms. 521, Fr. 355 - | 1626-1651 |

Thenaud's preoccupation with cosmology had also been expressed in a 1520 work *Troys résolutions et sentences*.² Here he was at pains to counter the alarm raised by an unfavourable conjunction of planets which was due in 1524. This work has been attributed to Thenaud by Lecoq and this attribution

¹J. Blau, *op. cit.*, deals with the dates of Thenaud's kabbalistic manuscripts, but is to be corrected. Blau was unaware of Arsenal ms. 5061, but he had seen BN. ms. Fr. 882. He mistakenly assumed that BN. ms. Fr. 882 was directly connected with Nantes ms. 521 and with Geneva ms. Fr. 167. In order to rectify this situation Blau's note 70 from his pages 96 and 97 is copied below verbatim:-

Thorndike, *History of Magic and Experimental Science*, VI, 452-53, discusses briefly a manuscript of a different treatise on the cabala written by Thenaud in 1536, apparently at the request of Francis I. This manuscript is at the University of Geneva (MS Français, No. 167); see Senebier, *Catalogue raisonné des manuscrits de Genève*, p. 420. Another manuscript of 205 leaves, described as "L'Introduction en la cabale," dedicated to Francis I (MSS de la Bibl. de Nantes, No. 521) may be a copy of either the Paris manuscript which I have used or the later Geneva manuscript used by Thorndike. Gautier-Vignal, *Pic de la Mirandole*, quotes from but does not identify a manuscript by Thenaud in which there was a direct ascription to Pico.

²J. Thenaud, *Troys résolutions et sentences, c'est assavoir de l'astrologue, du poète, et du théologue, sur les grandes conjunctions, moyennes et petites qui se font ou signe de pisces. L'an mil vcc iiiie*, 1520. Stadtsbibliothek, Vienna, ms. Fr. 2645.

can be safely maintained.¹ It consists of three dialogues and typically, for Thénau, the whole is in the form of a dream. The pilgrim, a favourite device of Thénau, encounters, in his dream, first, the astrologer, who fears the great conjunction predicted for 1524.² Thereafter he meets a poet and a theologian (St Paul) who lay claim to having comprehended the secrets of God.

The work opens in an earthly paradise where France is likened to a garden (*... ung grant et delicieux jardin ...*) where the Fleur de lys (*... le sacre liz de france ...*) exceeds all other plants of the earth, and under whose *ombre et odeur* all the other nations of the earth which have ever been, dwell in peace and felicity. Skillfully Thénau pictures the flowers and branches forming the two triangles made familiar in his other kabbalistic works. He then relates this imagery not only to France, but to the royal family.³ It is especially noteworthy that the cosmology which Thénau elsewhere attributes to the Kabbalah is here related to Francis. The margin has a comment that all the graces and influences of the angelic and celestial worlds descend on the spirit and on the body of our most serene Augustus and King Francis.⁴

¹A-M. Lecoq, op. cit., p. 403.

² Ms. 2645, folio 1 verso has:-

... le general deluge et uniuersel cathaclisme qui deuoit infalliblement venir a son dire en lan Mil cinq cens vingt quatre. Pour la grande coniunction de Saturne et Iupiter ou signe de pisces qui est signe aquee. Ensemble pour aultres maintes coniunctions.

³Folio 3 verso

... Je vy les fleurs et branches dudict lyz par ouuraige diuin sy tres bien entrelassees quelles faisoient deux triangles moult semblables at conformes a ceulx de gloire et triumphe qui sont es cieulx surimperialux esquelz estoyent six escuz de liz. Desquelz resultoit le tresparfait plusque pur et argente quadrangle de pardurable amour et inseparable unyon royalle. Lequel quadrangle estoit semence de celestes hermynes prouidence au Roy Lepreux Arthus de bretagne.

⁴Folio 4 recto.

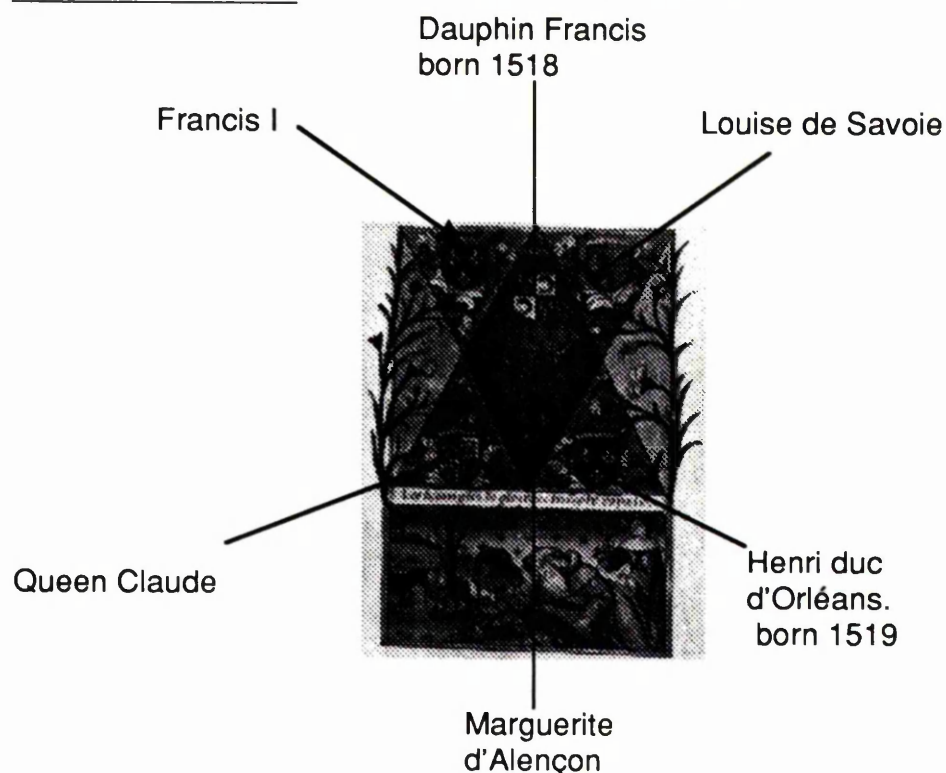
Toutes les graces et influz des mondes angelic et celestes descendent en lesprit et corps de notre tresseremissime Auguste et Roy francois.



Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, ms. 2645, folio 2.¹

¹The following (reduced) diagram shows the connections that Thenaud establishes between his Cosmological diagrams and the royal household, whose arms are in the places indicated.

The text adopts the same cosmology found in the earlier kabbalistic works.¹ The purpose of the text is achieved by the pilgrim, shown sleeping rather uncomfortably in the image above. The pilgrim rebuts the case presented by the astrologer. He makes extensive use of the arguments of Agostino Nifo's *De falsa diluvii prognosticatione*.² The point which is relevant to our present topic however occurs in the closing argument. From folio 42 to the end Thenaud considers the description which Saint Paul gave of his elevation to the third heaven, in II Corinthians xii 2-4. Paul explains³ that not only are there three heavens, but that they are to be understood in three different ways.⁴ Significantly for the present study it is this final argument which rehearses the cosmology that Thenaud regards as kabbalistic.⁵ He presents Saint Paul as recognizing



¹Folio 4 recto.

... les benoistz seraphins influoyent charite et grace surceleste. Les Cherubins sapience. Les throsnes equite et iustice. Les potestes magnanimite et prouesse. Les principautez foy et religion. et les dominations perseuerance et stabilite ...

²This work had appeared in December 1519 in Naples. Thenaud's use of the work illustrates his efficiency in analysing the work, and in adapting it for his own similar purposes. Thenaud also translated and used Lucian's True Histories and Icaromenippus. Folio 14 recto of Thenaud's translation here opens with reference to *La nauigation de lucaromenip ensembles les merueilles quil trouua tant en la mer que es Isles*. ... Folio 33 recto has *ici commence le voyage celeste de lucaromenip*.

³Folio 45 recto.

⁴Folio 45 recto has margin:-

Les trois cieulx esquelz saint pol fut rauy se entendent en plusieurs facons.

⁵Folio 46 recto

... Ou ces troys cieulx te signifieroit les troys mondes qui sont lelementaire le celeste et langelic. Desquels as sceu maintz secretz par mon precepteur gamaliel et par les cabalistes.

the three worlds of the elementary, the celestial and the angelic. He has Paul acknowledge Gamaliel¹ as his teacher, as well as acknowledging the Kabbalists as authoritative. This is a tantalising glimpse of the approach that Thenaud would no doubt have elaborated in his lost work on the letters of St. Paul.

The extent to which Thenaud has maintained the kabbalistic cosmology emerges from folios 47 onwards. Thus in the first heaven God is in his creatures, and in mere creatures there are nine heavens.² In the second, all things are in God and live in God.³ In the third heaven God is in himself, incomprehensible.⁴ The strictly hierarchical nature of his cosmology is summarized in the penultimate comment:-⁵

The heavens, the elements together with all celestial and elementary things obey the will of the holy and blessed angels, who are obedient to the will of God.

The closing remarks which Thenaud puts in the mouth of Paul, (who addresses the pilgrim as *Imbecille pelerin*) describe the manner in which one may be preserved from the flood and from the evil effects of planets, heavens and stars. Typically for Thenaud, he includes a plea for prayer for Francis, who

¹Gamaliel I was a Jewish sage, a grandson of Hillel, who was president of the Sanhedrin early in the first century. He is associated in Jewish tradition with a ruling easing the way for the remarriage of widows. Gamaliel I is known to Christian tradition from the Acts of the Apostles, which portrays him favourably as the teacher of Saint Paul (Acts xxii) and the advocate of the Apostles before the Sanhedrin (Acts v). Jewish- Christian relations in Paul's and Gamaliel's time were on a quite different basis from those that arose after the struggles of the Jews for survival which followed the catastrophic destruction of Jerusalem. This destruction followed the national revolt against Rome in the sixties which had not been supported by the Christians. It is also essential to remember that Paul's letters were written in the context of a dialogue within Judaism. Gamaliel's tolerance may not have been typical, but the evidence for any very early widespread violent reaction issuing in the persecution of Christians by Jews is not impressive. W. Davies, *Jewish and Pauline Studies*, SPCK, 1984, p. 136.

² Folio 50 verso to 51 recto.

³ Folio 51 recto to 52 verso.

⁴Folio 53 recto interestingly has the plural "soymesmes", and the text the plural "luymesmes"

uel ie by
 luymesmes
 cōprie
 ou. 3. cil. dieu
 est en soy mesmes
 Incomprehensible.

⁵Folio 54 verso. Les cieulx Les elemens ensemble toutes choses celestes et elementaires obeissent au vouloir des saintz et des benoistz anges qui sont obeissans a cil de dieu .

has been 'supercelestially given on the first day of Janus'.¹

The conclusions to be drawn from this assessment of Vienna ms. 2645 are that Thenaud's cosmology underpinned this work and that he regarded his cosmology as kabbalistically valid and relevant to the royal household.

The last of Thenaud's works is the 1533 *Généaltic de la très sacrée majestée du Roy très chrestien*. Although this work - an elaborate horoscope for Francis I - is a dozen years later than ms. 5061 its value for us is that it shows that Thenaud continued his preoccupation with Cosmology. It is also significant that, on the evidence of this last document, he did not develop any further interest in the Kabbalah. Indeed references to the Jews in this work are sparse, with only passing mention to Jews such as 'Abraham iuif'.² The conclusion which could be drawn is that the increasing respect which Thenaud was showing for the Kabbalah at the time of writing ms. 5061 is not evident in this his final work. On the other hand there is considerable evidence in the Geneva copy by Gryvel that Thenaud did continue to further his knowledge of the Kabbalah. Three illustrations of this from *Généaltic* are the acknowledgement of Raby Hama's '*Liure de speculations*',³ the medical attributes of '*Abracadabra*'⁴ and the Hebraic amulettes as mentioned above which were used in the service of exorcism.⁵ These, and other, distinctive features of the Geneva copy, will be discussed below, in the appropriate place, in the detailed assessment of Arsenal ms. 5061.

A quite different perspective on Thenaud may be gleaned from François Rabelais. Rabelais who was born in Chinon, Touraine, in 1494, died some nine years after Thenaud on 9 April 1553. It is noteworthy that Rabelais, in his early years had close links with the Franciscans. In 1520 he was studying Greek in the Franciscan monastery at Fontenay-le-Comte, which is some sixty kilometres to the north west of Melle, Thenaud's birthplace. Five years later Rabelais was authorized by the Pope to transfer to the Benedictine

¹ Folio 57 verso. *supercelestement donne ou premier jour de Janus ...*

² *Généaltic de la très sacrée majestée du Roy très chrestien*, from the Condée museum in Chantilly, ms. 420, 1533, folio 9 recto, '*Ptholomee et haly dient ... Aussi Abraham iuif ... Omer ... et aultres astrologues ...*'

³ Geneva Bibliothèque publique et universitaire - ms. Fr. 167, folio 147 recto.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Op. cit.*, folio 183 recto.

order. Subsequently he qualified as a doctor, (1530) practised medicine in Lyon and then became the *curé* of Meudon. Our concern here derives from his satirical prose masterpieces *Gargantua* and *Pantagruel* (1532-64). His references to Thénaut are sometimes overt and sometimes less so. The most overt reference occurs in *Gargantua*, 1534, XV, where there is mention of a report attributed to 'Thénaut' concerning the way that the sheep of Scythia and Syria had such massive tails that each one was provided with a 'charette'.¹ This shows that Rabelais was aware of Thénaut and his travels and that he was sufficiently highly regarded to be quoted as a source of information. Other references are less overt but are even more intriguing. Perhaps the most intriguing is the possibility that Rabelais used our Jean Thénaut as the basis for 'Frère Jean' - one of the characters in *Gargantua*.² Alluding to this 'Frère Jean' there is the memorable question '*chantons beuvons, un motet entonnons. Où est mon entonnoir?*'³ This may be translated literally as 'Let us sing, let us drink, let us intone a motet. Where is my funnel?' The word translated as 'intone' from 'entonnons' may be derived either from 'entonner' meaning to pour a liquid into a barrel 'un tonneau' or from 'entonner' meaning to start a tune by giving the tone or note. Was Rabelais giving a ribald pen picture of Jean Thénaut? Was he suggesting that he was no more than an empty barrel? This certainly seems to be the case, and if this is so it gives a very different view of our author from the one that he himself presented.

In order to assess that central feature of Thénaut's philosophy - his cosmology - we now return to the 1519 ms. Fr. 882.

One of the 'illustrations' in ms. Fr. 882 was left blank. Nonetheless this blank is of particular interest and merits attention. This 'illustration' occurs on folio

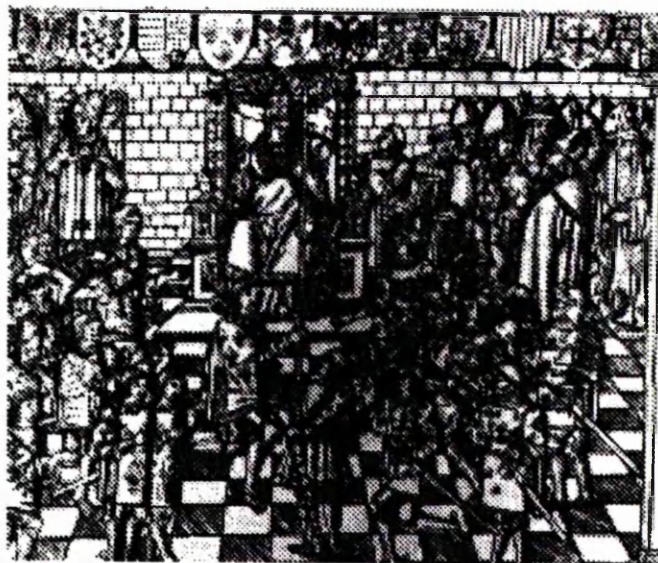
¹*Gargantua*, 1534, XV. Si de ce vous esmerveillez, esmerveillez vous davantaige de la queue des beliers de Scythie, que pesoyt plus de trente livres, et des moutons de Surie, es quelz fault (si Ténaut dit vray) affuster une charrette au cul pour la porter, tant elle est longue et pesante." See C. Schefer, *Le Voyage d'Outremer, Recueil de Voyages*, no. 5, 1892, chapter II, p. 43.

²*Op. cit.*, 1534, V. M. Holban, 'Autour de Jean Thénaut et de frère Jean des Entonneurs', *Études rabelaisiennes*, IX, Geneva, 1971, pp. 49-65.

³Rabelais also refers to this character as '*Frère Jean des Entonneurs*' and as '*Frère Jean des Entommeurs*'. This practice of using 'm' for 'n' was also used to register a point when 'âmes' was written 'ânes'.

22 verso. It bears the heading '*La croix blanche en banniere Cabalisee par lettres selon Rabanus*'. The importance for this study is that images by Rabanus were made into an essential feature of Thénau's second and final kabbalistic work - Arsenal ms. 5061. Note therefore needs to be taken of the following three aspects:- the significance of the *croix blanche*, the imagery of it bequeathed by Rabanus, and the use that Thénau made of that bequest.

The *croix blanche* was a subject of immediate contemporary importance. Francis had been given what was described as a piece of the true cross by Pope Leo X in December 1515 in Bologna. This gift was accompanied by encouragement to Francis to undertake a crusade. He later declared his enthusiasm for such an act of war, but in the event did not carry it out.¹ The following illustrations show the Pope giving the emblem to Francis and then a Christian army under the sign of the cross battling with the Turks in front of Jerusalem:-



Le Grant Voyage de Jherusalem, Paris, 1517,
after A-M. Lecoq, p. 262, fig. 112.

¹C-D. Rouillard, *The Turk in French History, Thought and Literature, 1526-1660*, Paris, 1941, p. 35.



Le Grant Voyage de Jhérusalem , Paris , 1517,
after A-M. Lecoq, p. 262, fig. 113.

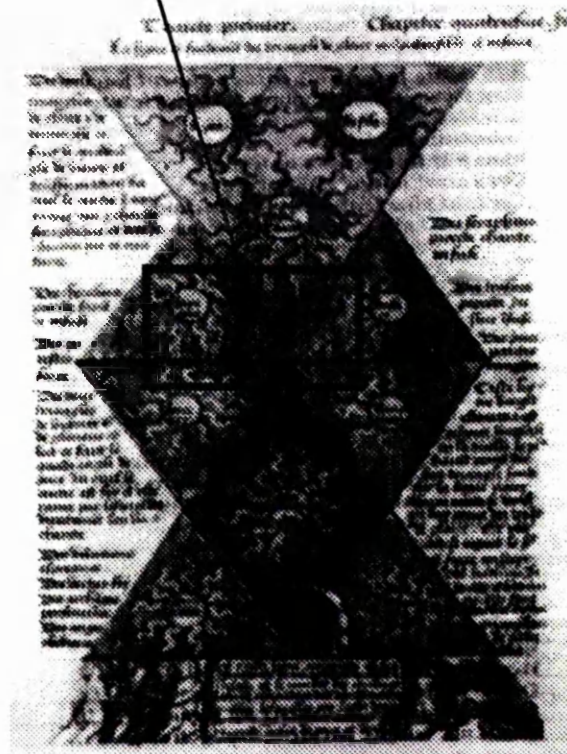
The historical origin of the effectiveness of the cross in battle is to be traced back to the Emperor Constantine (270/288 - 337) whose victory over Maxentius in 312 in front of the walls of Rome ensured that Christianity would be the official religion of the Empire. Later images show this victory-bringing cross as a kind of baton. The most striking examples of this are the images by the German Benedictine Bishop Rabanus Maurus (c. 780 - 856) which were valued and copied throughout Europe in the Middle Ages. A printed edition appeared in Pforzheim as early as 1503, from which the following is taken:-



Rabanus Maurus, *De Laudibus Sanctæ Crucis*, Pforzheim, 1503, p. Bd 1
verso.

After A-M. Lecoq, p. 308, fig. 129.

In the images devised by Rabanus the regal figure is Louis I (778 - 840), otherwise known as Louis le Débonaire or Louis le Pieux. The son of Charlemagne and Hildegard he was famed as Emperor and King of the Franks (814 - 840), maintaining his throne in the face of revolts by his sons Lothaire, Louis and Pépin. Detailed reference will be made below of the manner in which Thénau uses this image (and other images) from Rabanus Maurus. It is sufficient for the moment to note that whereas Thénau's later Arsenal ms. 5061 replaces Louis with Francis, no such image occurs in the manuscript under assessment here - *La sainte et très chrestienne cabale metrificée*. This is the image which was omitted from folio 22 verso. Thénau was however well aware that the cross could serve his purposes excellently, and there are two important illustrations of this in ms. Fr. 882. The first illustration is on folio 14 recto. This image is typical of Thénau's cosmology, a subject which will be considered fully later. For our immediate purpose, which is to show the use that was made of the image of the cross, it is sufficient to observe that the artist had placed a cross centrally in the image, as may be seen from this enlargement of the image, which is entitled '*La ligne et fondement du triangle de gloire incomprehensible et infime*'.



Furthermore the cross is white or silver - *la croix blanche* - which accords with the remarks made above. The presence of the cross is not remarked upon in the accompanying description which surrounds the image. The cross may therefore have been an addition. Indeed it has soaked through the surface perhaps suggesting that different ink was used and is clearly evident on the verso as can be seen in the accompanying illustration:-

ances ont des inferieurs
 ultz/ont seigneurie et puissance
 ion ou au seigneur arroyance
 nre sont aussi par droicture
 sans desdain ou murmure

The second illustration from ms. Fr. 882 which shows the importance which Thenaud gave to the cross is on folio 22 recto. This figure, which is entitled '*La figure du susdit uniuersel selò les hebreux cabalistes*' will be discussed more fully below in comparison with the figure which immediately precedes it, which is entitled '*La figure de tout le monde selon les docteurs catholiques*'. The point to be noted here has not been recorded previously, and once again shows the specific symbolic value that Thenaud attributed to the 'T' or cross. (This letter 'T' was employed elsewhere by Thenaud in ms. Fr. 882 and in ms. 5061 as a symbol. For instance it appears in the exorcism service carried out by the Hebrew Kabbalists.¹ Furthermore Thenaud makes it abundantly clear elsewhere that the 'T' and the cross are to be equated.)² This image from folio 22 is reproduced (reduced) on the following sheet, but the central part has been enlarged. It shows a silver / white 'T'.

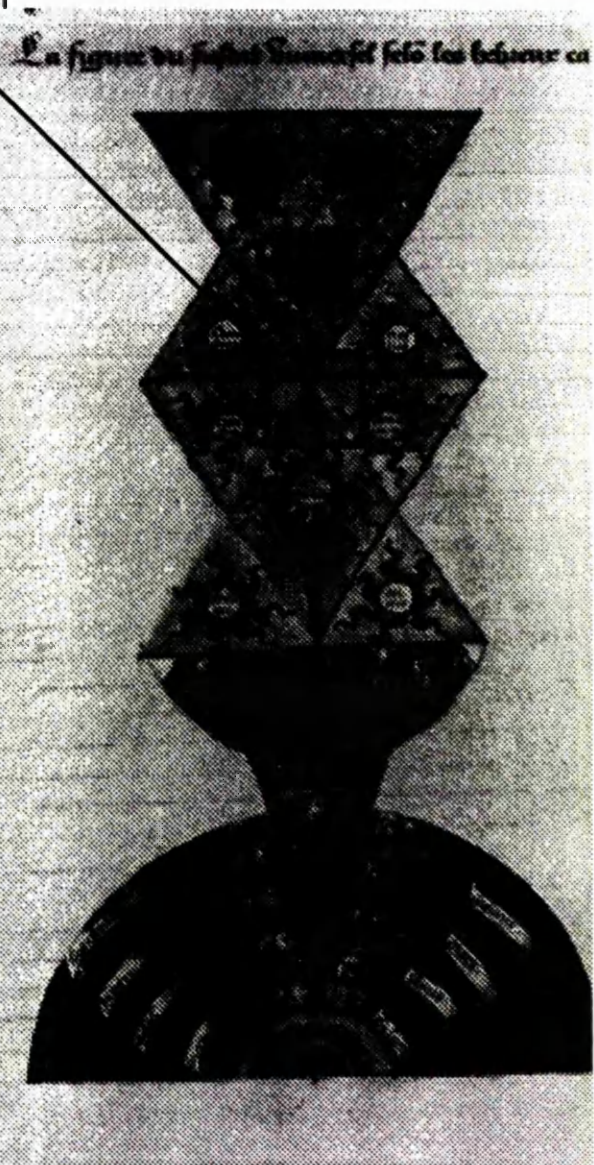
¹Ms. 5061, treatise 4, ch. 12, folio 90 recto.

fruite de dieu En chascun desqu
 vne lame d'argent qui auoit le su
 rour **T** dor qui signifioit que
 tous les rebelles et contempteur

The illustration above (cropped) shows the letter T which is described as the golden sign of the divine victory which signifies that by the effusion of blood all rebels and all those who hold the divine majesty in contempt will be vanquished and by which the penitent will be reconciled.



Leningrad Saltikov-Chtchedrine State Library , ms. Fr. F.V.XV.I vol. I, cited by A-M. Lecoq, *op. cit.*, p. 111. Here Saint Jerome encourages the explorer to share the victory of the daughter of Prudence.



Thenaud's purpose was to ensure the spiritual welfare of the royal family,

whose head had commanded him to assess the Kabbalah. It is therefore essential to investigate Thénau's own sources of information about the Kabbalah.

Thénau acknowledges his debt, concerning the Kabbalah, to Ricius, Pico and to Reuchlin. It might therefore be expected that he would be equally favourably inclined to the Kabbalah. This was not the case as may be seen from the prologue to our manuscript under discussion. There he warns the King of the danger of entering territory which cannot be entered without sinning and declares that it is preferable to remain ignorant.¹ Furthermore he declares his determined intention of representing Kabbalah in a Catholic sense. The idea that the Kabbalah could be intrinsically Christian was not at variance with the above mentioned sources as we have seen. Thénau pursued the matter in a novel direction. He followed Pico and Reuchlin in regarding the Catholic and most holy Kabbalah as a form of 'Reception'.² He regarded the matters that were to be received as sacraments. These hidden sacraments

¹BN ms. Fr. 882, Prologue, p. 4.

*Ne aultres aussi Car il vault beaucoup mieulx
Estre ignorant que denquerre ou chercher
Ce qui ne peut estre sceu sans pecher.*

²Thénau's most likely source for this definition was Reuchlin's *De Arte Cabalistica*, folio 74 recto, which has 'inde ad posterios alphabeticaria haec Cabala id est receptio ...'

The context is the way in which Jeremiah, after three years of devoted study of the book of Creation created a man on whose head was written 'God the Tetragrammaton is True'.

The man erased the letter **ש** from the word **אמת**, thus changing 'Truth' to read 'Dead'.

Jeremiah responded angrily and received the reply from the man that the reason for the act was that men everywhere had failed the Creator. Jeremiah was then instructed that he could lay hold of the Creator by laying out the alphabets in the dust. 'That is why Jeremiah used to say that he then received from God himself the virtues and powers of the alphabets and exchanges of their elements. For the purpose of the combinations of letters he had already known from the book of Creation. From that time on this alphabetical Kabbalah or Receiving has travelled to posterity and through it are laid open the greatest mysteries of the divine.

When we have led that Name, so great and worthy of all the praise of which men are capable, through all the combinations of letters from the first to the last, then its divine knowledge will show itself to us freely. Then, so long as it finds us worthy and endowed with pure hearts, sincere faith, firm hope and ardent love, it will offer its riches to our wishes and will in mercy put them into our power.' Folio 73 verso, 74 recto.

Thénau gives no indication that he was aware of the connection between **קבל**, meaning *to receive, to take* and Kabbalah. It is far more likely that Reuchlin with his proficiency in Hebrew was aware of this connection, but there is no use of Hebrew script in these lines in *De Arte Cabalistica*, folio 74 recto, as the following excerpt shows.

**tionem coniugationis de libro creationis ante nouerat. Inde ad posterios
alphabeticaria haec Cabala id est receptio transmigravit per quam arcana
diuinorum maxima panduntur. Cum enim p oēs literarum combinatiōes**

'*Des sacramens absconsez et mussez*' were revealed sometimes by God and sometimes by angels for the purposes of allowing one to escape the tribulations of this life which may come from visible or from invisible enemies, so that one may live a tranquil life in joy, repose, peace, rejoicing and security now (by means of contemplation) and in the future (as the consequence of holiness).¹

The comments on the images from ms. Fr. 882 above show that - literally - Thenaud placed the cross centrally.

More than anything it is cosmology which underpins Thenaud's writing. It will now be shown that he adopted a cosmology based on that of Dionysius the Areopagite and that he adapted it in a unique manner. Thenaud first expressed this scheme of cosmology in *La sainte et très chrestienne cabale metrificée* ms. Fr. 882 and later amplified it in ms. 5061.

Consideration will now be given to three of the images from ms. Fr. 882. The first is found unpaginated between folios 6 and 7. It shows an equilateral triangle over which is to be found the word ABISSUS. The preceding text is overtly trinitarian, describing the will of the Father, the power of the Son and the nearness of the love of the Spirit.² Not only is this folio unpaginated, which indicates that it was an insertion, but it is in a much more ornate hand than the surrounding text. Furthermore the verso gives the sources for the image;

¹BN ms. Fr. 882, Prologue, p.4.

*La catholique et tressainte caballe
Que interpretons reception loyalle
Des sacremens absconsez et mussez
Qui reuelez nous sont et adressez
Par foyz de dieu et des anges aussi
Pour paruenir a auoir par cecy
Vraye notice et seure congnoissance
De luy et ses separez substances
En tel facon que par layde dicelles
Pourrons fuyr les fraudes et cautelles
Des ennemys visifz et inuisibles
Et tous effors malings faulx et nuisibles
Si que viurons en lors tranquillite
Joye repos paix liesse et seurte
On monde bas par contemplation
Et on futur par sainte fruition.*

²BN ms. Fr. 882, folio 6 verso:-

*Ce triangle te representera
La voulonte du pere et monstrera
Du filz aussi le pouuoir plus apres
Du saint esprit lamour prochain et pres*

the first one is described as *Ex cabala hebreorum* , after which there are references to David's Psalms xvii and cxxxviii, Romans xi and a quotation from Dionysius' *Mystica Theologica*.

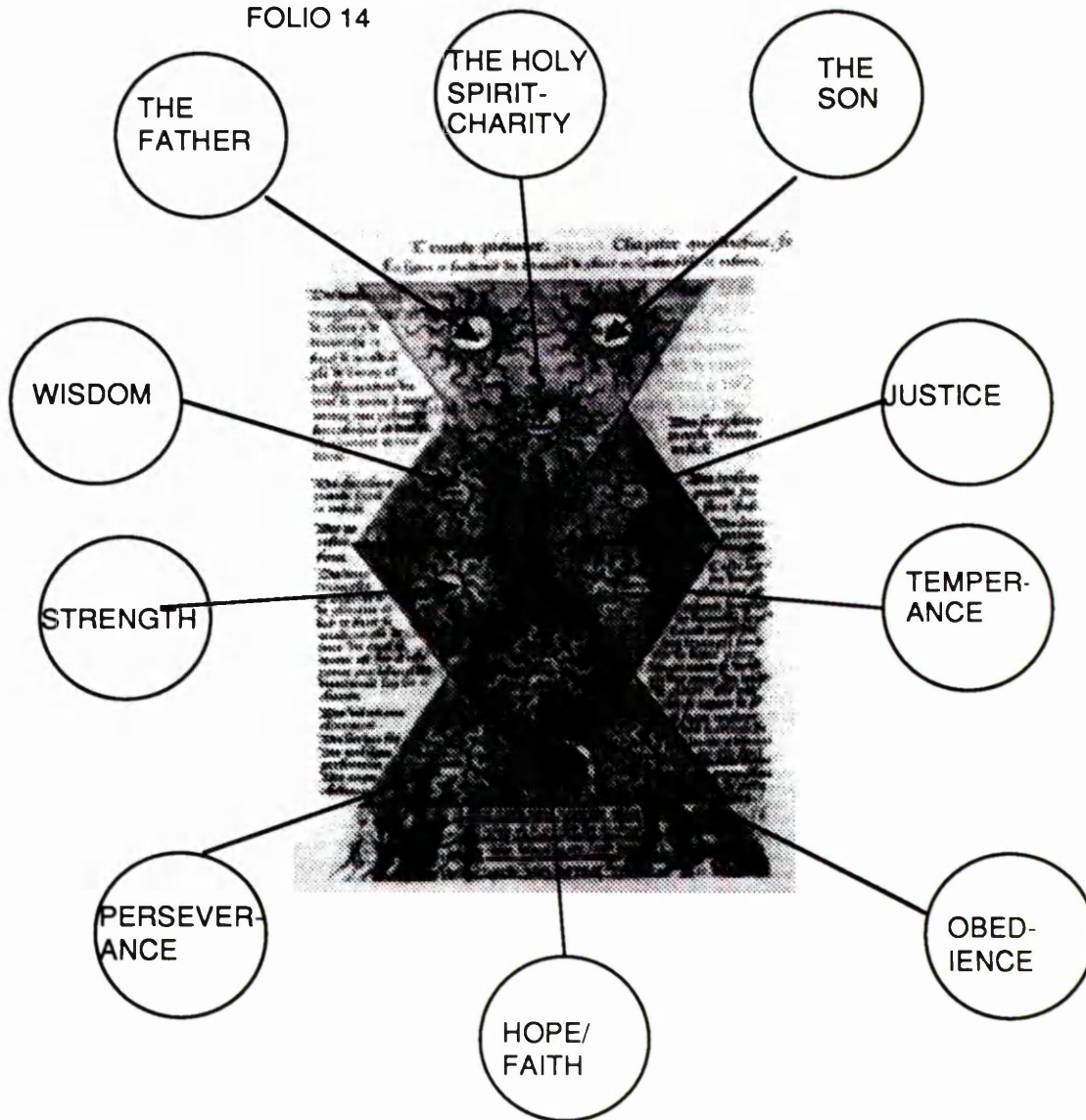
The second image is on folio 8 verso. In this case the written text and the illustration are integrated on the one page. The image shows two interlocking triangles. The upper triangle again represents the trinity - there is a central label declaring that these three are one. The lower triangle is for the '*Seraphins*', (at the apex of the triangle and associated with Charity), the '*Cherubins*' (left lower and associated with Wisdom) and '*Throsnes*' (right lower and associated with Justice).

The third image is on folio 14 recto. In this case one set of interlocking triangles is placed above the other set. The upper set - which will be called a quadrangle hereafter - is a copy of the quadrangle on folio 8. The lower quadrangle represents the virtues of *Force* (Strength), *Temperance*, *Esperance* (Hope), *Foy* (Faith), *Perseuerance* (Perseverance) and *Obedience*.



BN. ms. Fr. 882 folio 14 recto.

This image is so fundamental to Thenaud's cosmology that reference should also be made to the following annotated version of this image.



The header of folio 14 reads '*La ligne et fondement du triangle de gloire incomprehensible et infime*' (The line and foundation of the triangle of incomprehensible and unfathomable glory). The legend at the base is notable for the contribution it makes towards an understanding of Thenaud's views on the underworld. It reads '*En ceste ligne noire qui est le fondement de toute hierarchie celeste est le combat des malings espritz alencontre des ames raisonnables lesquelles par laide des bons anges veullent entrer es quadrangles de paix et union*'. (In this black line which is the foundation of every celestial hierarchy is the combat of evil spirits against rational spirits who with the help of good angels want to enter into the quadrangles of peace and union.) It seems to have much in common with decorations found in cathedrals to

depict the elect being shepherded (to the left) towards paradise, whilst the damned are impelled by demons to the jaws of hell. Thenaud's references elsewhere to the underworld are scant. It is always to be born in mind that he was writing for his '*trescretien*' Francis whose salvation was of course never in question.

This reference here to the 'celestial hierarchies' seems clearly enough to echo Dionysius the Areopagite while other themes in the legend at the base, notably the inspiration of splendour from above may well be derived most immediately from Ficino's *De sole et lumine*.

The text to the left and to the right of the image on folio 14 also mentions the celestial hierarchies and gives introductory information as to how these orders of angels operate. There are nine angelic orders:- Seraphin, Cherubin, Thrones, Principalities, Powers (*Potestez*), Dominations, Virtues, Archangels and Angels.¹ Brief mention is made of the effects generated by those orders and of the way in which these orders are organized into an hierarchy. These notes may be seen as nothing more or less than a summary of Thenaud's cosmology.²

It is worth noting that in chapter 5 of his work '*De coelestia Hierarchia*'

¹Nine orders of angels were referred to by Cyril of Jerusalem in *Cat.* 23, 6 and by Chrystostom in his *Homily on Genesis* 4,5, but Dionysius was the first to present these nine orders in triads organized in accordance with Proclus' triads.

²Folio 14:-

The details are worth recording in full and are translated as follows:-

On the left of the image:-

From the two triangles of glory and triumph are made the quadrangle of union and transformation whose centre is uncreated love which by created, seraphic charity is communicated to the creatures.

From cherubins proceeds infused wisdom.

From Powers (Potestez) Strength.

From the two triangles of victory and glorious combat is made the triangle of peace from whose centre is faith and hope by which one proceeds directly to charity.

From Dominations hope.

From Virtues faith.

From Archangels perseverance.

From Angels obedience.

On the right of the image:-

From the Seraphins proceeds infused charity.

From Thrones proceeds infused justice.

From Principalities temperance.

This silver line which is called virginal whose highest point of the lower triangle is based upon the black line of humanity is united with the low point of the triangle of glory. And so is made evident the holy and sacred mystery of the divine and human natures which make up the tree of life in the midst of paradise.

Dionysius lists the nine members of the three hierarchies.¹ In the first are Seraphin, Cherubin and Thrones. In the second are Dominations, Virtues, and Powers. In the third are Principalities, Archangels and Angels. One difference between Dionysius and Thénauud concerns the 'ranking' within those hierarchies. Generally Dionysius grants Seraphins no priority of rank over other members of the first hierarchy. They all receive God's gifts without an intermediary.² In Thénauud's scheme Seraphins occupy the summit of their triangle. Indeed as may be seen from the annotated image of folio 14 given above Seraphins occupy the same position as '*Le saint esprit*'. Similarly Thénauud's adherence to the triangular arrangement is not found in Dionysius. Dionysius' scheme is essentially one of vertical subordination of the three hierarchies.³

The uniqueness of Thénauud's arrangement of the celestial hierarchies will now be illustrated by comparison with other solutions.

A Bohemian fifteenth century solution shows, reading the three rows left to right, the three hierarchies of *Cherubin, Seraphin* and *Troni (Prima ierarchia)*, *Potestates, Dominationes* and *Virtutes (Secunda ierarchia)* then *Angeli, Archangeli* and *Principatus (Tertia ierarchia)*.⁴

¹ διάκοσμος or διακόσμησις or ἱεραρχία.

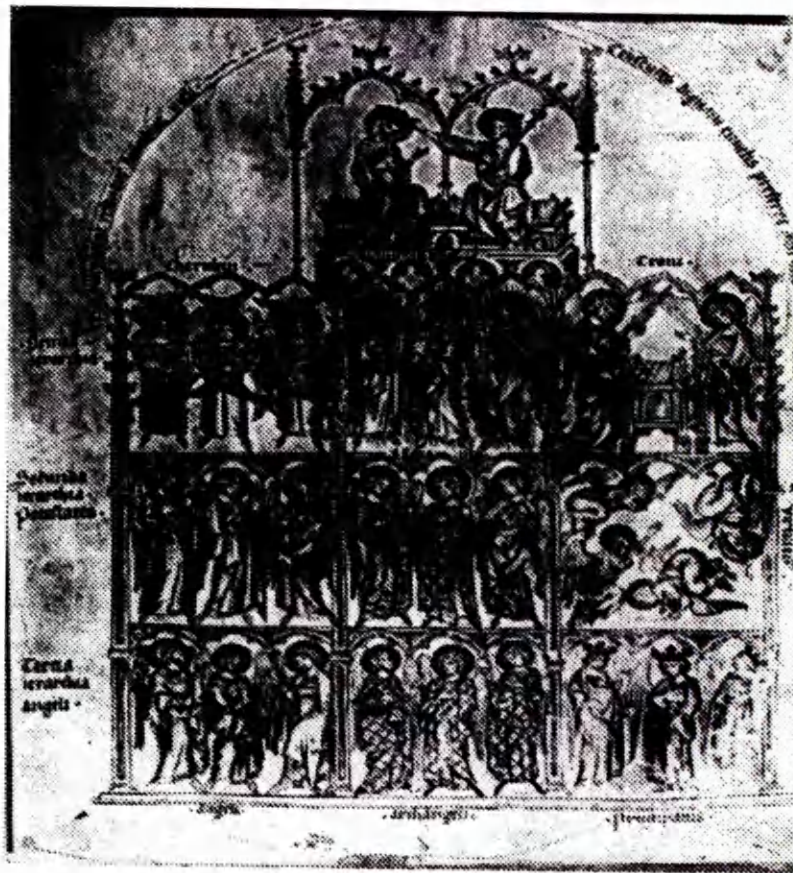
² This first Hierarchy is in a direct - ἀμέσως - relationship with God, so they receive his gifts and surround him in a permanent way - (τὴν περί θεὸν οὖαν ἀεί). They are united to God in a permanent way - προσεχῶς. As to the question of one order of angels occupying a superlative position, the superlative ὑψηλῶν is applied to the relatively lowly order of Thrones. See *De coelestia Hierarchia*, Celestial Hierarchies - CH - 205C where it applies to all three hierarchies ὑψηλοτέρου φωτός. Therefore the Seraphins are given no priority in this hierarchy, except for occasional references, such as Isaiah vi 1,2. According to Dionysius Cherubin, etymologically speaking, are derived from source of knowledge, or wisdom. C.H. 205B, τὴν δὲ ὀνομασίαν χερουβὶν πλῆθος γνῶσεως ἢ χύσιν σοφίας. Thénauud also links Cherubin with Wisdom. R. Roques, *L'Univers dionysien. Structure hiérarchique du monde selon le pseudo-Denys*, Paris, 1954, p. 135.

³ R. Roques, *op. cit.*, p. 146 'Ainsi l'ordre dionysien réside dans une subordination verticale et non pas dans une égalisation horizontale. De ce point de vue, nous comprendrons que, dans les triades hiérarchiques, chacun des ordres composants se répartisse lui-même en puissances premières, moyennes et dernières, comme d'ailleurs chacune des intelligences. ... Malgré ses protestations de rigoureuse fidélité aux données de l'Écriture, c'est bien sur l'univers intelligible des néo-platoniciens que Denys a calqué sa hiérarchie céleste.'

⁴ E. Urbánková, K. Stejskal, *Pasionál Premyslovny Kunhuty, Facsimile of Tractatus de mansionibus caelestibus*, Prague, 1975.

Fr. Colda, *Passional of Cunegund*, Prague State Library, XIV A 17.

I am indebted to Mr. Michael Evans and his staff at the Warburg Institute for this reference, for this image and for the following German and Italian ones.



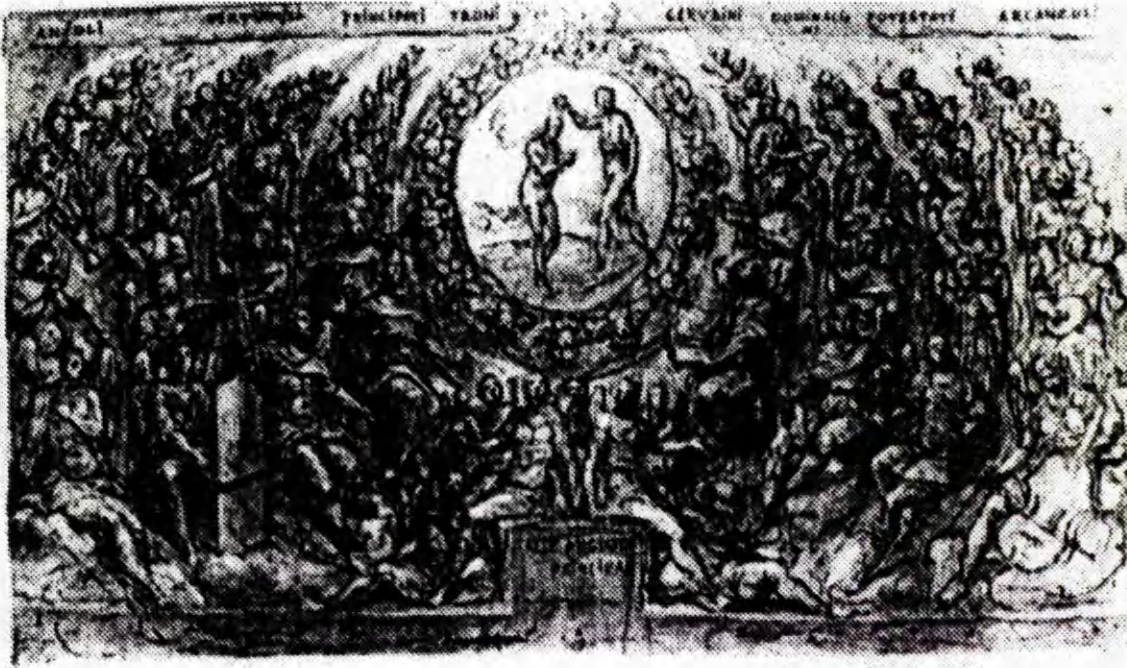
A German solution is shown below in this illustration which represents the Mass of St. Gregory. Here the angels are in an upper row of four (*Chorus throni*, *Chorus cherubin*, *Chorus seraphin* and *Chorus dominaciones*) and a lower row (*Chorus archangeli*, *Chorus principatus*, *Chorus virtutes*, *Chorus potestates* and *Chorus angeli*).¹



An Italian formula is found in a representation of the Baptism of Christ. Here the angels are in concentric circles. Seraphin are central. Reading outwards to the left the order is: Thrones, Principalities, Virtues and Angels. Reading outwards to the right the order is: Cherubin, Dominations, Powers (*Potestati*) and Archangels.²

¹Mass of St. Gregory, Munich, CLM 8201, folio 94 verso, detail.

²Baptism of Christ, very probably late sixteenth century. Christchurch Oxford, 1255 Byam Shaw catalogue no. 832. A note in the Warburg Institute archives states 'Venetic near Domenico Tintoretto Palma Giovane.'



It can be seen from the above then that Thenaud's arrangement is entirely novel. Further research has led to an intriguing possible source for Thenaud's arrangement of the interlocking triangles - viz. a type of engraving found quite commonly in his time. The image copied below is the cover of a translation of the Psalms published by Le Fèvre d'Étaples in 1509 some ten years before. We know that he was not only a contemporary of Thenaud, but was actually introduced to Louise de Savoie by him.¹ This increases the possibility that Thenaud had seen this illustration.

¹J. Engels, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

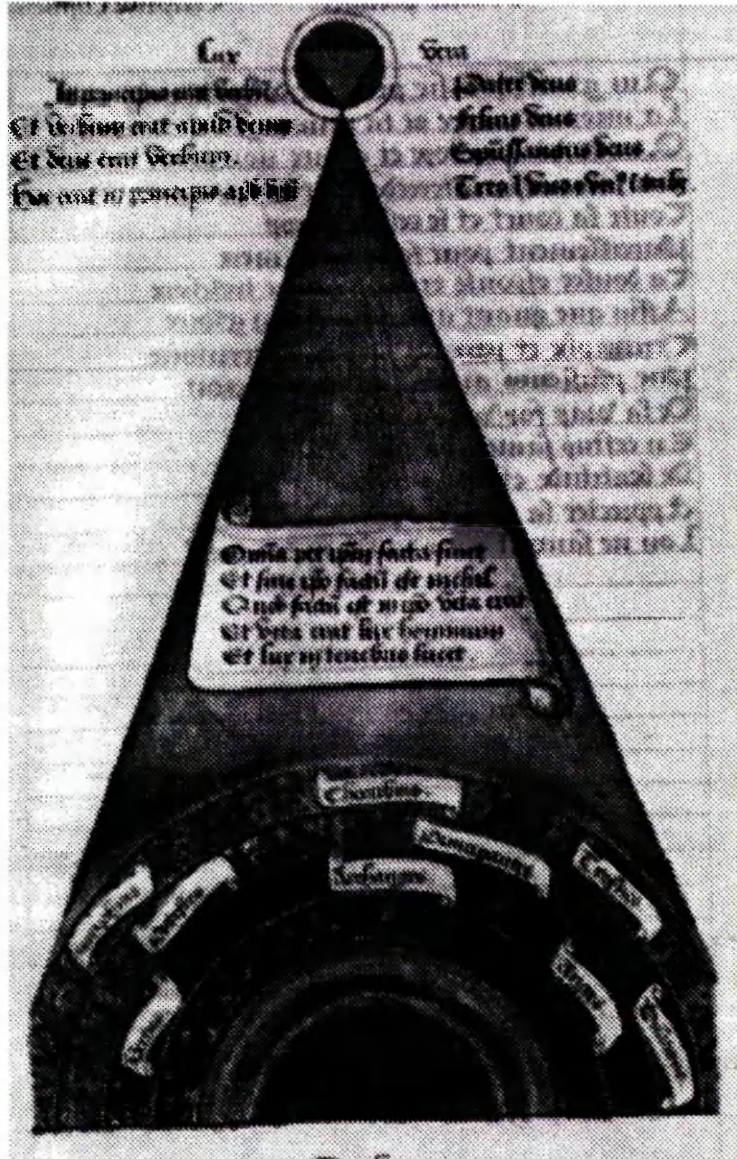


J. Le Fèvre d'Étaples, *Quincuplex Psalterium. Gallicum. Romanum. Hebraicum*. Paris, 1509, Cover of BM accession C.51.g.6.

Although lozenges predominate, the similarity of the pattern to Thenaud's interlocking triangles is striking. It is therefore quite possible that Thenaud gained his inspiration from such a binding.¹

¹I am indebted to Ms Philippa Marks, Curator of Bindings at the British Library who supplied me with the rubbing of the cover of C.51.g.6, which was then scanned and enhanced. She comments that the book was bound for the Carthusian monastery at Roermond in the South East Netherlands, close to the German border. This style of decoration was not uncommon, but there is no recorded religious significance previously associated with this style of decoration. The second copy of *Quincuplex Psalterium* in the British Library - 1216.i.7 - has a more modern and entirely different binding. J. Oldham, *English Blind-Stamped Bindings*, Cambridge, 1952, includes comments on other European countries. Reference may also be made to P. Goldschmidt, *Gothic and Renaissance Bookbindings*, London, 1928, and to F. Schmidt-Künsemüller, *Bibliographie zur Geschichte der Einbandkunst von den Anfängen bis 1985*, Wiesbaden, 1987.

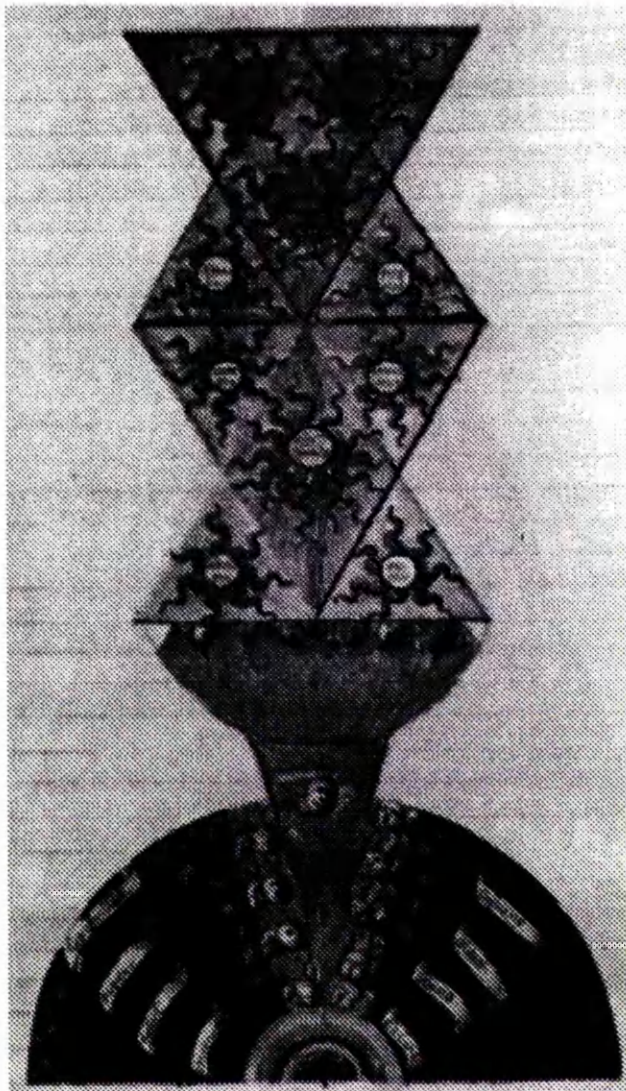
Now that the sources of Thenaud's cosmology, his unique presentation of it and the central importance that he accorded to the cross have been established, attention needs to be given to the way in which he reconciled these features with his brief from Francis which was to investigate the Kabbalah. In the 1519 ms. Fr. 882 he did this by contrasting the cosmology of the Catholics with that of the Hebrew Cabalists. He compared these cosmologies in the following two diagrams. (The second diagram has already been referred to above in connection with the centrality of the cross.) It may be seen immediately that both employ an angelology that is recognizably Dionysian.



ms. Fr. 882 folio 21 verso

In this figure, which was attributed to the Catholics, *les docteurs catholiques*, the three hierarchies are between the True Light above (annotated with verses

from the prologue to John's Gospel plus a trinitarian formula) on one hand and heaven, earth and darkness (*tenebres*) on the other hand below. This '*Lux vera*' is figured as a triangle, as may be seen. Here Thenaud is following Ficino who considered that it was necessary and legitimate to show that the primordial mystery of the trinity was reflected in every aspect of existence.



ms. Fr. 882 folio 22 recto

In this figure, which was attributed to the Hebrew Kabbalists, the three hierarchies are presented according to Thenaud's own schema discussed above. This angelic influence is shown passing through the celestial realms which are annotated, in descending order, The Stars, Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, the Sun, Venus, Mercury and the Moon.

The conclusion to be drawn is that the cosmology and angelology which

Thenaud represented as Hebrew Kabbalism was essentially Neo-Platonism based on the work of Dionysius, reworked in diagrammatic form by Thenaud himself. This will now be confirmed by reference to an image found in ms. 5061 that was not only drawn from antiquity but which will be shown to have been known to Francis. It will be shown that Thenaud made use of Francis' familiarity with this image but that he, Thenaud, adapted it in what he regarded as a kabbalistic light. This image was noted by the author in the *château* at Amboise, on the river Loire, whose Curator kindly supplied a photograph which will be assessed below.

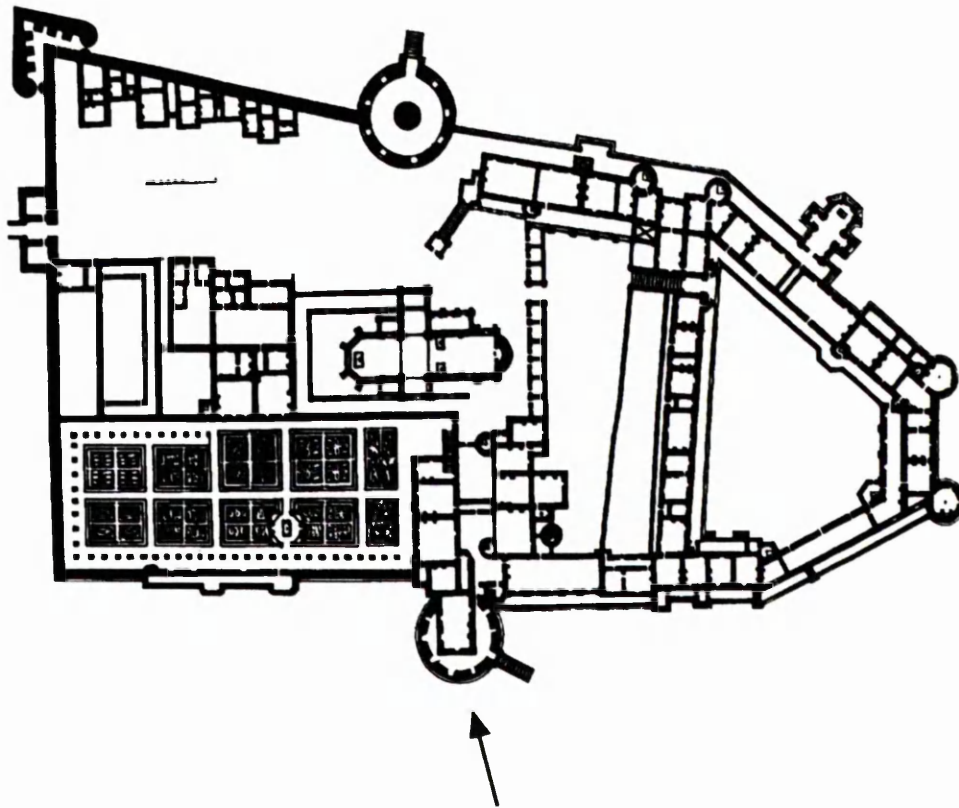
It is however relevant first to establish the strong connection between the royal *château* at Amboise, Francis, the *Cordeliers* and the *Minimes*.

Amboise first appeared in the history of France around 503 when Clovis I, King of the Franks, and Alaric, King of the Visigoths met on the Île St Jean in the middle of the river Loire below the castle. Amboise, despite a stormy history which involved being sacked by the Normans and then passing from the Counts of Anjou via the house of Amboise Chaumont to Louis viscomte of Thouars and finally to the crown in 1431. Thereafter it was more of a royal residence than a fortress. The children of Louis XI and Charlotte of Savoy were born there, though the King preferred to keep court at Plessis-les-Tours. One of the great events of his reign was the creation of the Order of St Michael on the first day of August 1469. (This is of particular significance for the present study because Thenaud commenced his dedicatory epistle in ms. 5061 with the emblem of this order, which is discussed below in the translation of the text.) On that day the King gathered fifteen of his knights in the chapel of St Michael (now disappeared) and admitted them to the order on their taking an oath to live according to the laws of the Church and Knighthood.

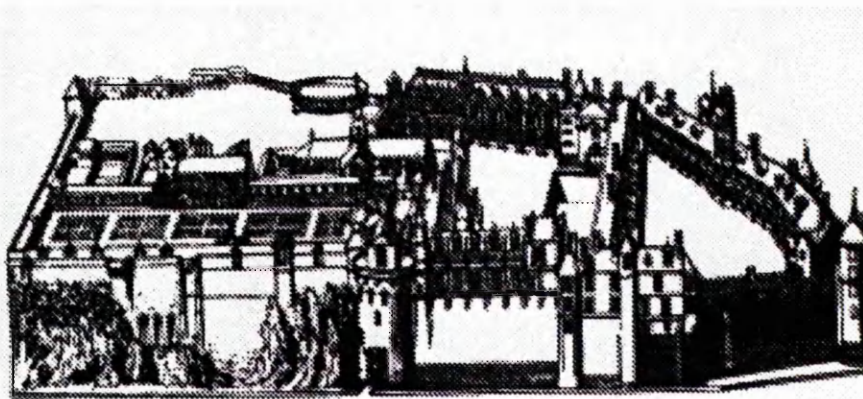
The close connection continued in the reign of Charles VIII, who was not only born at Amboise but is reputed to have hit his head on a low beam there which led to his death shortly afterwards (1498).¹ For our purposes here it is sufficient to record that foremost among the architectural achievements was

¹Charles, as the 13 year old dauphin, was engaged to Margaret of Austria, granddaughter of Charles the Bold. Margaret lived at Amboise until 1492 when she returned to Flanders, due to Charles marriage to Anne of Brittany the previous year. This was a time of considerable architectural change and development at Amboise. The Florentine ambassador in 1493 declared that the King wanted to turn the castle into a city, which shows that the French and Italian admiration for Renaissance achievement was mutual.

the inclusion of two spiral turrets. One was called the Heurtault tower and the other was the *Minimes* tower. The prominence of the these towers is evident from the sixteenth century picture and plan given below:-



Minimes Tower



Minimes Tower

Château Amboise after du Cerceau, J. A., 16 th century,
d'Huart, S. *Castle of Amboise*, Nantes. no date. p. 2.

The successor to Charles VIII was the Duke of Orleans who took the name
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Louis XII. He married Anne of Brittany and despite the King's preference for Blois very considerable architectural work was carried out in the reign of Louis XII. The particular significance for this study is that not only did Francis prefer Amboise to Blois but that Queen Claude gave birth to three children there and it was to Amboise that Francis returned in 1516 after the victory at Marignan. Amboise continued to enjoy royal favour throughout Francis' reign. It was the site of the signing of the Peace of Noyon with the King of Spain, the Concordat with Pope Leo X, the perpetual peace with the Swiss, the Treaty of Cambrai with the Emperor and finally the Treaty of London with Henry VIII. As to the connection with the *Minimes*,¹ the hermits of St Francis, it is to be noted that when they entered France Charles VIII introduced them, in 1482, to Plessis-les-Tours, Nigeon near Paris and to Amboise. What was the connection of Thenaud, a Franciscan, with the *Minimes*, the hermits of St Francis of Assisi who owed their establishment at Plessis-les-Tours to François de Paule in 1482? Lecoq states categorically that Thenaud was not a Minime.² Reference is however to be made to Thenaud's *La Margarite* at the start of which he introduces himself to the Countess of Angoulême as follows:-³

*A ma souueraine et tres genereuse dame et princesse la contesse
dengoulesme frere Jehan thenaud des freres mineurs le meindre
et des docteurs en saincte theologie le minime ...*

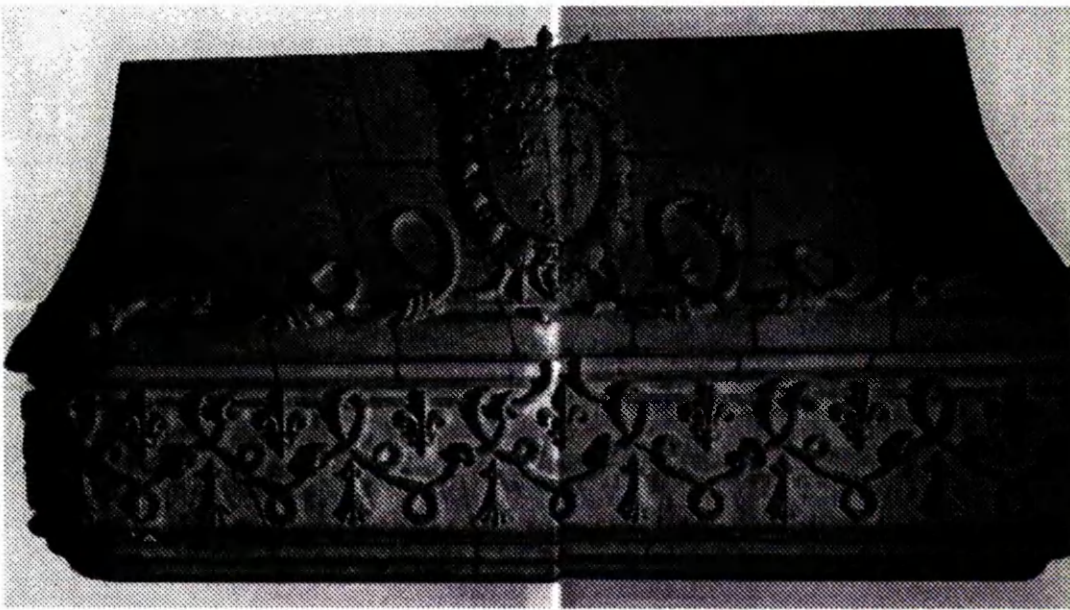
It is therefore clear that Thenaud was quite content to be associated with the humility of the Order of the *Minimes*. We know that he was a Cordelier who owed his upbringing to Francis' family and that he continued to have access to the royal circles. Furthermore there is to this day a section of the Château at Amboise that is associated with his order. The following discussion supports the contention that Thenaud was familiar with Amboise and used the decor as a base for illustrations in ms. 5061.

The first item is over a fireplace next to the Hall of The States General in the château of Amboise and is copied below:-

¹Minimes were founded by St François de Paule in Italy, as the hermits of St Francis of Assisi, as early as 1454, but did not enter France until 1482. J. Evans, *Monastic Architecture in France from the Renaissance to the Revolution*, Cambridge, 1964, p. 121.

²A-M. Lecoq, *op. cit.*, p. 437.

³BM. ms. add. 13969 folio 6 recto.



The Cordelière of the Third Franciscan Order (Anne of Brittany)
and the Collar from the Order of St Michael.

This carving is to be compared and contrasted with the emblem found in ms. 5061 above the dedicatory epistle, which as may be seen from End Image folio A recto, shows the same order but with the three fleur de lys of Francis and two salamanders.¹ This comparison shows how once again Thenaud took an item that was familiar to his beloved reader and personalised it.

The second item is in one the two fireplaces in the Hall of The States General in the château. It is the fireback in one of the chimneys which is reproduced below:-

¹Further consideration is given to this emblem of the Order of St. Michael in the commentary *infra* on ms. 5061 folio A recto.



Fireback - Les Moires -Clotho Lachesis, Atropos,
Salle de Conseil, Amboise, Château Royal

The image shows the three female figures Clotho, Lachesis and Atropos.¹ In Greek mythology, these three Fates, or Moirai, were the offspring of Zeus and the Titan Themis. Though robed in white, they are described as daughters of the night and equated with the obscure darkness of human destiny. Each had her separate duty to perform: Clotho spun the thread of life; Lachesis fixed the length of the thread as she held it; and Atropos cut the thread with her shears when the span of life was done. In Roman mythology, the Fates were also known as the Parcae. The presence of this fireback is confirmation that Francis was familiar with this tale from antiquity. It is not unreasonable to surmise that Thenaud may also have seen this same fireback and that he decided to use it in his ms. 5061 in the knowledge that the royal eyes would have been familiar with it. Thenaud however, in his own characteristic way, was to adopt and to adapt the imagery of antiquity for his own purposes of presenting what he regarded as Kabbalah as the following image taken from folio 36 verso shows.

¹Photograph kindly provided by Jean-Louis Sureau, Château d'Amboise, 29 August 1969.



Arsenal ms. 5061 folio 36 verso
reduced.

For a colour picture see End Image folio 36 verso.

The original has the marginal comment '*l'imaige de dame necessite de luniuersel*'. This image is no more than a summary of Thenaud's cosmology. The background is divided into three horizontal bands. These three represent the Angelic, the Celestial and the Elementary. Dame Necessity represents humankind as Microcosm. The colours of the three bands and the colours of the divisions are to be noted. Gold and azure, as the colours of the *Minimes* founded by François de Paule¹, predominate in the upper regions. Similarly the radiance of the angelic region is represented by the brightness of the sun, a symbol which was closely associated with the *Minimes*.² The gold / silver of the dividing line is to be noted as is the decoration on the spindle itself. This decoration shows the stars and the planets. In the lowest region there is clear allusion to the infernal regions of fate. Later in ms. 5061 Thenaud gives a commentary on the manner in which man, as microcosm, spans the Angelic, the Celestial and the Elementary realms. It is to be noted that Thenaud locates this commentary firmly in his understanding of the Kabbalah. The commentary occurs in the Fourth Treatise, (folio 57 ff.) which is described as containing 'the mystery of the Kabbalah of the Hebrews ...' This Fourth Treatise

¹A-M. Lecoq, *op. cit.*, p. 320.

²Traditionally fire and the sun had been linked to Charitas, since the days of Pseudo-Dennis and the Neo-Platonists. François de Paule had given to the Minimes the sign of the word Charitas surrounded by the rays of the sun. A-M. Lecoq, *op. cit.*, p. 384.

has twelve chapters, and the commentary occurs in the fourth chapter (folio 67 verso to 70 verso) which relates how Kabbalists are to prepare themselves by purity of life. The argument runs that it is in the nature of all things that they aspire to rise. - *Producat terra animam viuentem* is taken as the Biblical basis for this inclination, which in theology is called 'Eternal life' and in philosophy is called 'Transcendent Entity' *entite transcendente*. The destination is Love and the motivation is Love. Fire, -*ascendit ignis de petra* - mountains, waves of the sea, purified gold, living plants and the depressions of the earth itself all share this inclination.¹ Consequently man, who shares the animal world, yet who is made to be a temple for the divine, ceaselessly strives to rise from the Elementary, via the Celestial and Angelic to the Divine. Thus man has head and face inclined to the heavens, with arms able to be raised in prayer, though sometimes they must be lowered for more menial tasks, whilst the feet are confined to the earth recalling that man may be counted as among the animals of the earth. Man however, is destined to rise, though this may only be achieved by divine gift - *par seule reuelacion superceleste et gracieuse irradiacion*. Clearly Thenaud has once again adopted a motif from antiquity, adapted it and represented it as pure Kabbalah. It is more than noteworthy that Thenaud was able to employ a female figure to represent mankind.

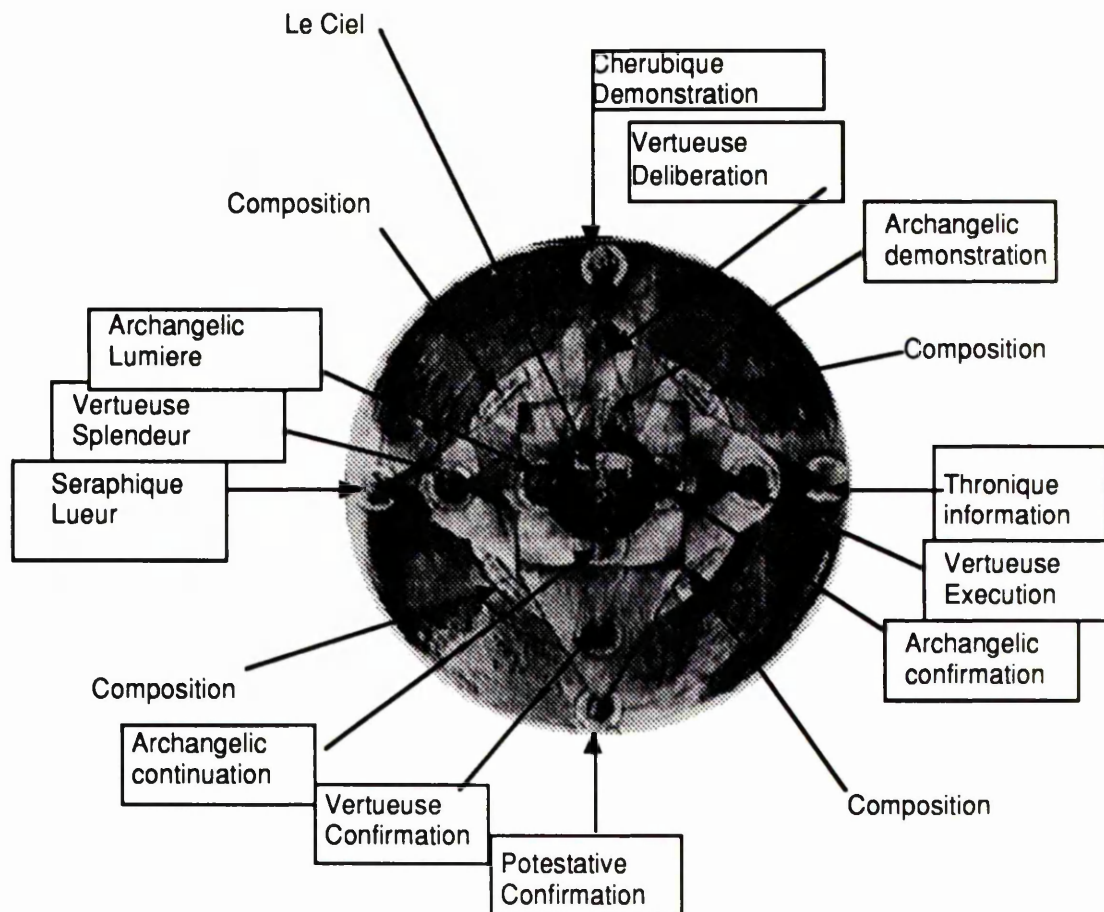
It has been established above that cosmology was central to Thenaud's philosophy and that angelology was a subject of prime importance. Consideration will now be given to his theory of numbers. It will be seen that once again cosmology and angelology were the mainsprings of his thinking. Once again his thinking will be approached first by a study of diagrams. Then the text which accompanies those diagrams will be studied.

There are two sorts of diagrams which concern the theory of numbers in both ms. Fr. 882 and ms. 5061. In the first sort there are three concentric circles and each circle has features in the East, South, West and North positions. In the second sort the flow of influence is downwards, from six angelic orders via planetary archangels. Ms. Fr. 882 and ms. 5061 both have one of each sort of these diagrams. Despite the similarities there are distinct differences in the two sets in the two documents, so the earlier one - ms. Fr. 882 - will be studied first.

¹Ms. 5061 folios 69 verso and 70 recto .

The following figure is a reduced annotated image of ms. Fr. 882 folio 36 recto.

ms. Fr. 882 folio 36 recto



The title of this treatise is 'How the intellectual or angelic world influences the second celestial one which it rules and governs.'¹ The text is headed 'About intelligences which rule the celestial world.'² The ensuing text states that there are three types of number³ and that one is not to be considered a number.⁴

¹Ms. Fr. 882, feuillet 31 recto:-

'Comment le monde intellectuel ou angelic influe on second celeste lequel il regist et gouuerne. Traicte troysiesme. Cha. p'mier.'

²Op. cit. , feuillet 31 verso:-

'Des intelligences qui regissent le monde celeste.'

³Ibid.

*'Trois nombres sont des'qlz la multitude
De luniuersel sort procede et pulule'*

⁴Ibid.

Et non obstant que unite ne soit nòbre

The first of the true numbers is called '*simplement simple*'.¹ Thenaud gives a dissertation of the resemblance of this number to the trinity. He refers to the profound mystery of the trinity with its total equality, beauty, power, love and wisdom. Clearly this sentiment cannot be attributed to a Jewish source.

The second number is called:-²

*'...nombre simple denaire
Le tetractys ou bien le quaternaire
Philozophal ...'.*

At this point Thenaud introduces the first four angelic orders, namely Seraphin³, Cherubin, Thrones and the fourth but unspecified '*quatresme*'.

Ce neantmoins ce terme sera ombre.

The Monad was seen as odd and even in potential. The word Monad was derived from Greek *menein μένειν*, to be stable, on account of its stability. It was regarded as even and odd because, when added to one it became the other. Waterfield, *op. cit.*, p. 36 ff. observes that the Monad, alone of all numbers, resembled the Providence which preserved everything, and was most particularly suited both to reflect the principle of God and to be likened to him, in so far as it was closest to him. Nicomachus argued that God coincided with the Monad, since he was seminally everything which exists, just as the Monad is in the case of number. The Monad conceptually encompassed everything within itself. The Monad was regarded in Pythagorean thought as a creative principle. It resembled God yet it did not alter from its own principle. It forbade anything else to alter, and was truly unchanging. The Monad was equated to the Fate Atropos, which is to say that it was not to be turned aside. Thenaud alluded to Atropos in ms. 5061 at folio 33 verso with an image on folio 36 verso. As to the question of whether the Monad took precedence over the Dyad or whether they co-existed Waterfield *op. cit.*, p. 38 notes that the Monad did take precedence, but notes on p. 46 they co-existed. Both ideas are probably taken from Nicomachus. The matter is to be resolved by the idea that the Monad is the most important of the primary and co-existent pair of sources, the Monad and the Dyad, or sameness and difference.

¹*Ibid.*

*A ce que veulx te dire et prononcer
Veu que autrement ne puis le te annuncer
Le premier est dit simple simplement.*

²*Ibid.*, line 19.

*Le second est nombre simple denaire
Le tetractis ou bien le quaternaire
Philozophal qui est source profonde*

³*Op. cit.*, feuillet 32 recto, line 2.

Le premier est es seraphes natures

The third type of number is called 'mixed or composed.'¹ These are divided into four divisions. First there are the '*virginaulx*', second there are the '*masculins*', then the '*femenins*' and finally the '*adulteres*'.² With reference to the diagram the outermost four are the sources of power (*quaternaire ... puissant*).³ The middle four are the site of composition (*quaternaire vertueux et cumulatif*).⁴ From this middle ring - the Intelligences - the influence is directed to the 'marital' quaternary which is the innermost. It is not possible to relate the text exactly with the diagram, because the text uses different terms from the diagram.

Pythagorean number theory was the basis for Thenaud's views.⁵

¹*Op. cit.*, feuillet 32 recto line 19 ff.

*Les tiers nombre est dit mixte ou compouse
Moult differant de cil dont iay ose
Cy te enseigner les grandes proprietez
De leur nature aussi les varietez
Car du simple est l'unité incree
Et nest du luy composition cree*

²*Op. cit.*, feuillet 32 verso, line 7.

*Diuisiō des nombres composez
chap. secōd.
Les composez en quatre ia diuisions
Dont les premiers celibes nous disons
Ou virginaulx Qui tant sont eleuez
Que de nulz corps iamais sont aggraez
Puis les seconds sont nommez masculins
Après lesqueuels viennent les femenins
Adulteres suyuent consequamment
Desquelz dirons par ordre entierement
Le nombre icy en trois bien se depart
Deux quaternaires y ont chascun sa part
Lung le puissant lautre cumulatif
Le septennier tiers est imperatif*

³*Op. cit.*, feuillet 32 verso.

⁴*Op. cit.*, feuillet 34 verso.

⁵Useful overviews on this subject are V. Hopper, *Mediæval Number Symbolism: Its Sources, Meaning and Influence on Thought and Expression*, New York, 1938, 1969., and R. Waterfield, *The Theology of Arithmetic* ΤΑ ΘΕΟΛΟΓΟΥΜΕΝΑ ΤΗΣ ΑΡΙΘΜΗΤΙΚΗΣ, Phanes, 1988.

In Pythagorean number theory the number one was represented as a point. The number two was held to give extension, since by joining two points a line is produced. But neither point nor line are tangible objects. The triad, however, is represented by the triangle, the first plane figure and three was therefore the first real number. The triangle was the basis of all objects perceptible to the senses. This was the meaning of Plato's remark that surface is composed of triangles.¹ Thenaud's use of triangles has been abundantly demonstrated above.

The Pythagoreans considered the Monad as the first principle from which the other numbers flow.² The Monad itself was not a number; it was an essence rather than a being, and was sometimes, like the Dyad, designated as a potential number, since the point, though not a plane figure, can originate plane figures.³ Thenaud made this belief clear not only in this treatise on numbers but also by the inclusion of the numeral '1' over the triangle in a discussion on the soul. Thenaud attributes the following image of the soul to Plato in *Timæus*:⁴

¹V. Hopper, *op. cit.*, p. 35. *Timæus* 53, c.

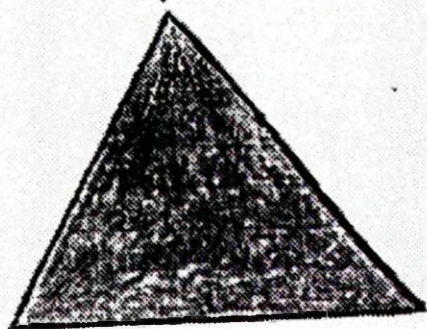
²Nicomachus, *Introduction*, II, vi, 3; Plotinus, *Enneads*, V, 1,7; Photius, *Biography of Pythagoras*, 7; Proclus, *Elements of Theology*, A; C, 21.

³V. Hopper, *op. cit.*, p. 39. Nicomachus, *Introduction*, II, vi, 3. The Dyad was regarded as the first of the female numbers. Whereas God was seen as the cause of sameness and unchanging stability, the Dyad was considered to be the cause of things changing and altering. R. Waterfield, *op. cit.*, p. 42 comments that when the Monad manifested unification, the Dyad stole in and manifested separation. The Dyad is perpetually subordinate to the Monad, as matter is to form. The Dyad is in contrast to the Monad where addition is greater than multiplication. In turn the Dyad, where addition is the same as multiplication, is to be contrasted with the Tryad where addition is the less than multiplication. The Dyad was regarded as formless because no shape can be made from two straight lines or angles; it is also productive of infinity. Furthermore the Dyad is not an equal number for it cannot be divided into both equal and unequal parts.

⁴Ms. 5061 folio 34 recto, where the margin has:-

Lymaige de lame selon le thimee de platon.

un accord ou proportion de muficqu
pofer et faitz et eft telle.



The numeral one may be seen over the apex.

Furthermore in Pythagorean thought if one, the point, was the Father of number, it was believed that the Dyad, the line, was the Mother of number.¹ Thenaud accommodates this view in his recognition of masculine and feminine numbers. These two principles were in opposition. Viz. Intelligible and sensible; immortal and mortal; day and night; East and West. Thenaud's diagrams make some concession to this notion in the very layout of the elements that are arranged on the cardinal points. For the Pythagoreans the Tetrad completes the list of the "archetypal" numbers, representing the point, line, surface, and the solid.² This view was endorsed by Philo.³ Thenaud's use of the Tetrad is

¹V. Hopper, *op. cit.*, p. 39. Capella, *de nuptis*, VII; Plutarch, *De animæ procreatione in Timæo*, III.

²V. Hopper, *op. cit.*, p. 42. R. Waterfield, *op. cit.*, pp. 57-63, gives a full consideration to the Tetrad, commencing with recognition that the Tetrad was the first which was able to encompass the most elementary body. Just as the smallest of particles is fire - Greek $\pi\tau\rho\upsilon$, *pur*, which gave rise to the 'pyramid', was able to encompass all things, so the simple body of the pyramid alone is enclosed by four bases and four angles.

Furthermore there were the famous fours:-

by which,	from which,	by means of which,	with what end.
God,	matter,	form,	result.
fire,	air,	water,	earth.
centre,	axis,	circumference	area.
north,	south,	east,	west.
spring,	summer,	autumn,	winter.

Summer and Winter Solstices and the two equinoxes.

The enduring connotations of the quaternary was a commonplace in classical literature (whereas the living are thrice blessed the dead are four times blessed. *Odyssey* 5.306.), medicine (quaternary fever was held to be more difficult to

inescapable throughout his works.

Hopper states that 'The particular glory of the archetypal numbers is that they produce the Decad, either as a sum ($1+2+3+4=10$) or in the figured representation of 10 as the triangular number. This figure was known as the Tetraktys, and the legendary Oath of the Pythagoreans.'¹ Thenaud likewise recognised the significance of the Decad. For instance he added the '*autres six cantons*' to the first four angelic orders:² In the Pythagorean system the addition and multiplication of the masculine three and the feminine two produces the marriage numbers five and six.³ This accounts for Thenaud's reference to the marital numbers noted above.

Hopper states that 'the Pythagorean philosophy of number could scarcely have justified itself unless it had reserved special tributes for the powerful Heptad. 7 was granted absolute isolation, and therefore was the first cousin of the Monad.'⁴ Thenaud gave full acknowledgement to the significance of the

dispose of than a tertiary fever) and music (Waterfield, *op. cit.*, p. 63 *For 4 is double 2 and 2 is double 1, and here is the octaval concord; 3 is one and half times 2, a sesquialter, and here is the fifth; and 4 is sesquitercian to 3, and here is the fourth. If the universe is composed out of soul and body in the number 4, then it is also true that all concords are perfected by it.*) Thenaud adopted this appreciation of the Tetrad and applied it to the four members of the Royal family, most notably in his dedication ms. 5061 folio G recto.

³On the Ten Commandments, 7.

¹ V. Hopper, *op. cit.*, p. 42. Photius, *Biography of Pythagoras*, 4; Iamblich, *Biography*, 4; Capella, *de nuptis*, VII.

²Ms. Fr. 882, folio 32 recto.

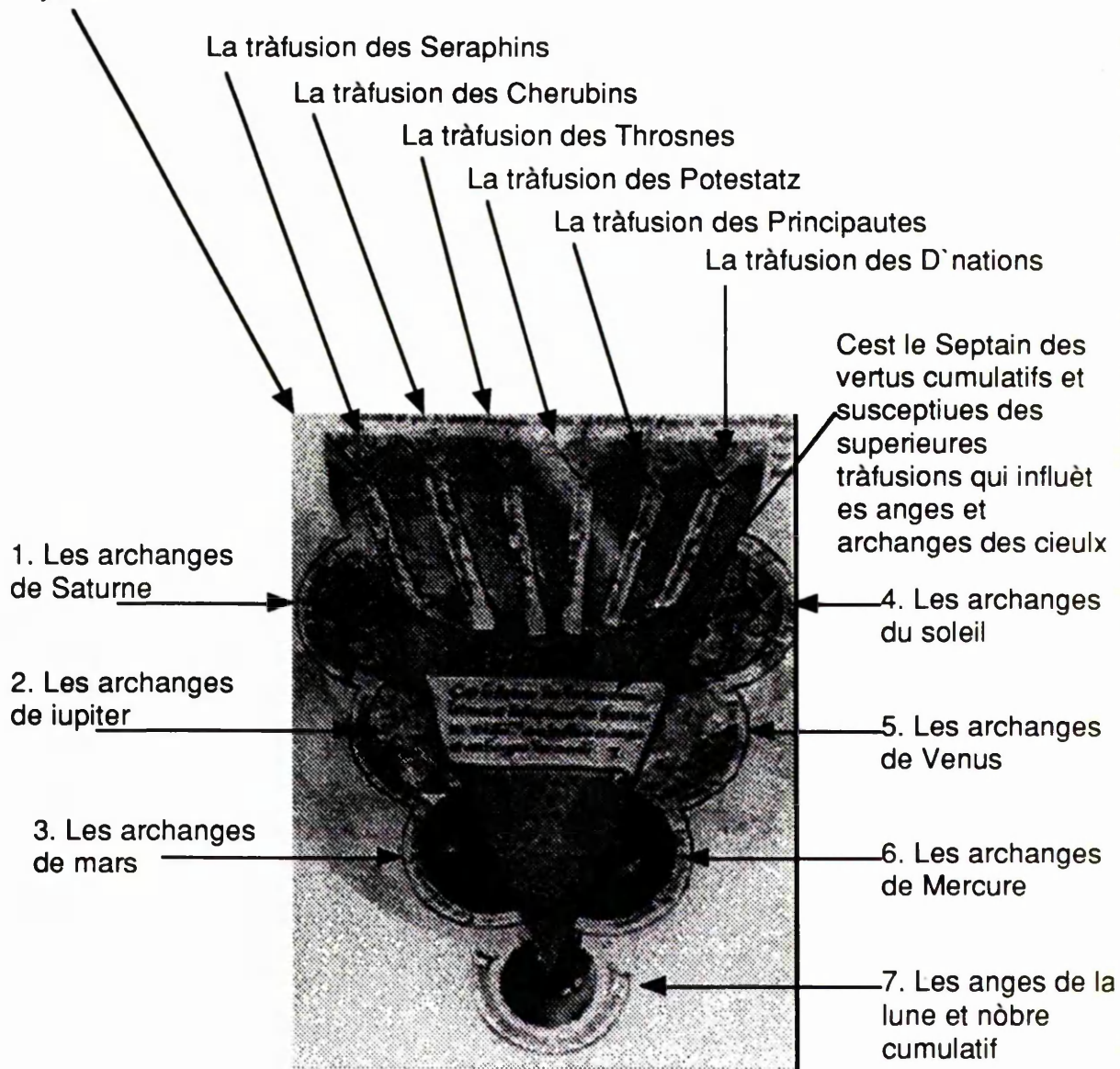
³Plutarch, *De E apud Delphos*, 8. V. Hopper, *op. cit.*, p. 43. R. Waterfield, *op. cit.*, pp. 65-67 where the Pentad is called 'marriage' for it contains the first even number 2, and the first odd number 3. Furthermore reference is made to the five regions of the world. In ms. 5061 the most noteworthy mention of five occurs on folio 85 recto. Here Thenaud follows Reuchlin pp. 65, 66: *Moreover, whatever you use to add up to 10, 5 will be found to be the arithmetic mean - Each sum adds up to 10, and 5 is found to be the arithmetic mean, as the diagram / shows.* p. 67 *and the five planets ...* p. 75 *On the Hexad - the first perfect number for square 36 includes itself, as does the cube 216. Also called marriage on account to multiplication of the first male and female.* p. 78 *Again, solidity turns out to fall under six and to be not single, but triple: for the square based on a six foot side is the summation of the cube of odd and even in potential, and at the same time of the cube in actuality - $1+8+27=36$. Apart from this sum, 36 encompasses harmony as well: for it is also the summation of 6, 8, 9 and 12 (and their common source which is the Monad) and these are the numbers in which musical intervals which most properly constitute harmony in general are said by musicians to reside.*

⁴V. Hopper, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

Heptad in his diagram which is on the verso of the diagram studied so far and which is now reproduced below.

ms. Fr. 882 folio 36 verso

En ceste figure appert come le septain virginal et celibe Influe on septain marital et qui se ioint es corps celestes. Et sert ceste figure au quatriesme chapitre en suyuant.

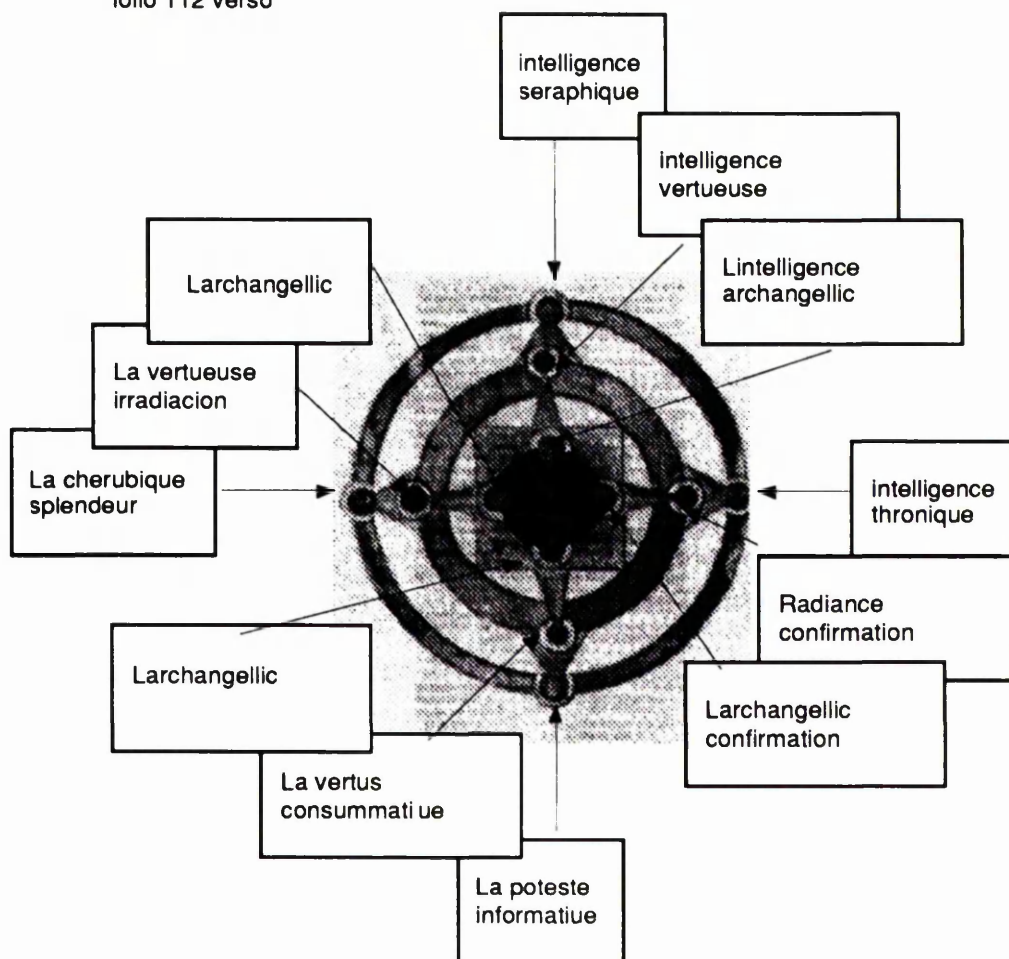


The title is 'In this figure is shown how the celibate and virginal influences the marital seven and which is joined to the celestial bodies. And this figure accompanies chapter four following.' Thenaud used this figure to expound the significance of the Heptad. As can be seen from the diagram he relates it to the six planets and the moon. In the text he gives an exposition of the '*septinaire virginal*' in folios 38 recto to 43 verso.

The study just made of Thenaud's number theory has shown his reliance on

Pythagorean number theory. The focus has been on the earlier kabbalistic work. Similar diagrams appear in the later ms. 5061, and these will now be assessed. (For the two colour images see End Image 112 verso and 114 verso).

ms. Fr. 5061
folio 112 verso



The second diagram is as follows:-

1 La transfusion des Seraphins

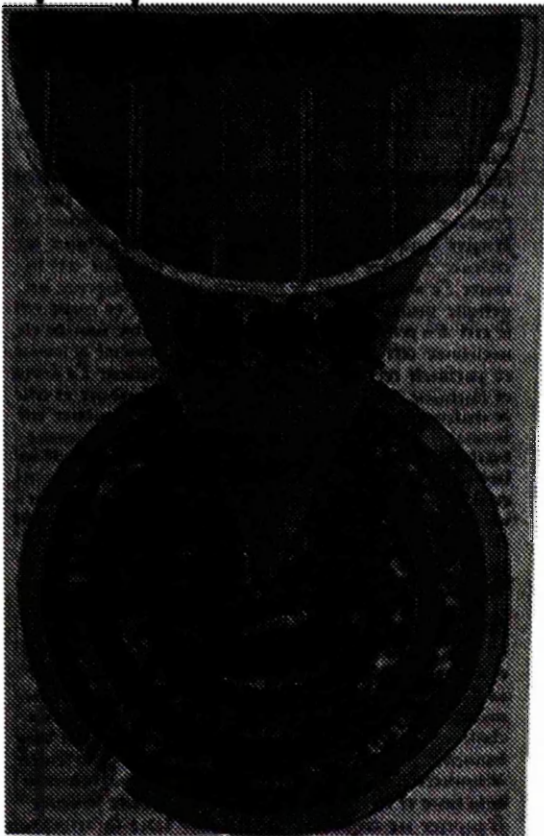
2 La transfusion des Cherubins

3 La transfusion des Trosnes

4 La transfusion des potestates

5 La transfusion des principautes

6 La transfusion des dominations



Folio 114 verso annotated.

This treatise does not feature in the Genevan and Nantes manuscripts. There is therefore good reason to believe that Thenaud had the material included just for his royal reader. It also increases the likelihood that there may well have been further copies of ms. 5061. It is also highly significant to record that whereas in the earlier text, ms. Fr. 882, the equivalent material is to be found on folios 31 to 36 out of 58, in ms. 5061 it is found at the very end -

folios 111 to 116. Placing this material at the conclusion of the work gives it particular impact. This impact underlines Thenaud's wholehearted adoption of a cosmology which comprised angelic, celestial and elementary worlds. The influence of angelic hierarchies was also capable of representing a theory of numbers. Once again we see that Thenaud presented what was essentially Greek (in this case Pythagorean) philosophy as kabbalistic.

At this stage it may be concluded, on the basis of the evidence studied so far, that Thenaud presented as Kabbalism philosophical ideas which were merely reworkings of Neo-Platonism and Pythagoreanism.

However a detailed study of BN. ms. 5061 shows that Thenaud was in touch with hitherto unrecognised kabbalistic sources. This will now be established by reference to three elements of ms. 5061. First further reference will be made to angels by considering the names attributed to them. Secondly some aspects of the service of exorcism will be studied. Thirdly an analysis will be made of a tale recorded which purports to explain that Jesus was able to work miracles by means of the divine name which he had stolen from the temple.

THE SEVENTY TWO ANGELS

In ms. Fr. 882 (BN poetry)¹, ms. 5061 (Arsenal prose)², ms. 521 (Nantes)³ and

¹BN. ms. Fr. 882 folio 27 recto.

peut monter a la frunc de l'eschelle de iacob sōt Dehuiah
 Sital Sital Sital Sital Sital Sital Sital Sital Sital Sital
 Haziel Aladiah Lauiah Hahaiiah Jezabel Mebatel ha-
 riel Hakamiah Louiah Caliel Leuiiah Pahaliah
 Melchiel Zeiaiel Melatzi hauniah Nithhuah Jerathel
 Seebiah Feiatel Omel Lecabel Vafariah Jehinah
 Lehabiah Canakiah Mauiadel Aniel haamiah Fe-
 hatel Feiatel habael Michiel Deualiah Jelahiah
 Seathiah Ariel Asathiah Michiel Dehuil Daniel ha-
 luyiah Imanniah Manad Nithiel Melathiah poel
 Memanniah Feiatel hamiel Mistrad Omel Jah-
 hiel Anand Mebiel Damathiah Manakel Etal
 habuiah Rochel Jahumath haicel Munnah En

² BN. ms 5061, folio 87 verso.

ms. Fr. 167 (Geneva)¹ copies Thenaud provides us with extensive and problematic lists of angels. According to Thenaud these lists are identical and he maintained that each list contained the names of 72 angels. In fact, however, these lists are not identical and contain significant differences both with respect to the transcription of the names and with respect to their number. Thus Arsenal ms. 5061 has only 71 angels (as Haaiah - (26) - after Nithhaiah is omitted).

The evidence from the detailed assessment supra of watermarks in Nantes ms. 521 clearly shows this manuscript is to be dated almost a century later than ms. 5061 (1521) and Geneva ms. Fr. 167 (1536). Comparison of the spellings of the names of the 72 angels given in Geneva ms. Fr. 167 and Nantes ms. 521 shows very few differences.² Where the scribe of the former uses an initial letter "I" the latter uses an initial letter "J".³ Where the scribe of the former uses an initial letter "V" the latter uses an initial letter "U".⁴ The endings -IAH and -EL will be fully discussed infra; here it is sufficient to note that Geneva ms. Fr. 167 and Nantes ms. 521 share an anomaly in that they both have number 4 Elemiach. This shared anomalous ending in -IACH is

LIBER TERTIUS LVI

וְחַו יֵלִי סֵיט עֵלִם מְזֻז לִלֹח אֲבָא בְּחַח חַו
אֵלֶּךְ לֹאן חֲתַע יִזְל מְבוֹן חַוִּי חֲקֵם לֹאן בְּלִי
לִוּו פֶּחֶל גִּלְדִּי מִלֶּח חַחוּ גִתַּח חֲאֵא יִרַת
שִׂאֲחָ רִיִּי אֹסֶם לִבִּב וְשִׁר יִחוּ לִחַח בּוֹק מְזֻז
אֲנִי חֲעֵם רִחַע יִזְל חֲחַח מִיִּד וּוֹל יִלֹח סֵאֵל עִרִי
עֶשֶׂל מִיִּז וְקוּ רִגִּי חֲחֵשׁ עֵמֶם גִּנֵּא גִית מִבֵּת
בְּרִי גִמֶם יִיִל חֲרַח מִצֵּר וּמִב יִחַח עִנּוּ מִחִי
רִמֵּב מִזֵּק אֵיע חֲבוּ רִאֲח יִבֵּם חִיִּי מִוִּסִּי Oia fixe
nomina manāt de proprietate demētiar, ut asserunt Gabalīstz, illa uerē
ūna extat ex decēnnimirationibus, quarū uobis arborē demōstrabo si uis

³Nantes ms. 521, Fr. 355, folio 186 verso.

¹Geneva ms. Fr. 167 Gen. 1045, page 174 verso.

²Nantes ms. 521 Number 1 is "Veluiah" but Gen. ms. Fr. 167 is "Vehuiah".

³Numbers 2, 6, 22, 27, 33, 40, 44, 58, 62 and 70. Though they both have number 13

"Jezalel".

⁴Number 61.

highly indicative of the likely dependence of Nantes ms. 521 on Geneva ms. Fr. 167.

The following table however shows that there are significant differences between ms. 5061 and the others. These differences merit attention and are marked with * in the following table. The source of the Hebrew column will be discussed later but is inserted here for reference.

<u>Number</u>	<u>ms. 521</u> <u>Nantes</u>	<u>ms. 5061</u> <u>Arsenal</u>	<u>difference</u>	<u>Hebrew</u>
1	Veluiah	Vehuiah	*	והו
2	Jeliel	Jeliel		ילי
3	Sitael	Sitael		סיט
4	Elemiach	Elemiah	*	עלם
5	Mahasiah	Mahasiah		מהש
6	Jeiahel	Jelael	*	ללה
7	Achaiah	Achaiah	*	אכא
8	Cahethel	Cahethel		כהת
9	Haziel	Haziel		הזי
10	Aladiah	Aladiah		אלד
11	Lauiah	Lauiah		לאו
12	Hahaiah	Hahaiah		ההע
13	Jezalel	Jezabel	*	יזל
14	Mebahel	Mebahel		מבה
15	Hariel	Hariel		הרי
16	Halhamiah	Hakamiah	*	הקם
17	Louiah	Louiah		לאו
18	Caliel	Caliel		כלי
19	Leuuiah	Leuuiah		לוו
20	Pahaliah	Pahaliah		פהל
21	Nelchael	Nelchael		נלך
22	Jeiaiel	Jeiaiel		ייי
23	Melahel	Melahel		מלה
24	Haiuiah	Haiuiah		חור
25	Nithhaiah	Nithhaiah		נחה

26	Haaiiah	ABSENT	*	האא
27	Jerathel	Jerathel		ירת
28	Seeheiah	Seeiah	*	שאה
29	Reiaiel	Reiaiel		ר״י
30	Omael	Omael		אום
31	Lecabel	Lecabel		לכב
32	Vasariah	Vasariah		ושר
33	Jehuiiah	Jehmah	*	יחו
34	Lehaiah	Lehahiah	*	להח
35	Chauakiah	Cauakiah	*	כוק
36	Manadel	Manadel		מנד
37	Aniel	Aniel		אני
38	Haamiah	Haamiah		חעם
39	Rehael	Rehahel	*	רהע
40	Jeiazel	Jeiazel		יז
41	Hahahel	Hahael	*	ההה
42	Michael	Michael		מיך
43	Veualiah	Veualiah		וול
44	Jelahiah	Jelahiah		ילה
45	Sealaiah	Sealiah	*	סאל
46	Ariel	Ariel		ערי
47	Asaliah	Asaliah		עשל
48	Mihael	Mihael		מיה
49	Vehuel	Vehuel		והו
50	Daniel	Daniel		דני
51	Hahasiah	Hahasiah		החש
52	Imamiah	Imamiah		עמם
53	Nanael	Nanael		ננא
54	Nithael	Nithael		נית
55	Mebaiah	Mebahiah	*	מבה
56	Poiel	Poiel		פוי
57	Nemamiah	Memamiah	*	נמם
58	Jeiahel	Jeialel	*	ייל
59	Harahel	Harahel		הרח
60	Mizrael	Mizrael		מצר
61	Umabel	Vinabel	*	ומב

62	Jahhael	Jahhael		יהה
63	Anauel	Ananel	*	ענו
64	Mehiel	Mehiel		מחי
65	Damabiah	Damahiah	*	דמב
66	Mauahel	Manakel	*	מנק
67	Eiael	Eiael		איע
68	Habuiah	Habuiah		חבו
69	Roehel	Roehel		ראה
70	Jabamiah	Jabamiath	*	יבם
71	Hahael	Haiael	*	היי
72	Mumiah	Mumiah		מום

These differences are collected in the following table for easier reference.

<u>Number</u>	<u>ms. 521</u> <u>Nantes</u>	<u>ms. 5061</u> <u>Arsenal</u>	<u>Hebrew</u>
1	Veluiah	Vehuiah	והו
4	Elemiach	Elemiah	עלם
6	Jeiahel	Jelael	ללה
13	Jezalel	Jezabel	יזל
16	Halhamiah	Hakamiah	הקם
26	Haaiah	ABSENT	חאא
28	Seeheiah	Seeiah	שאה
33	Jehuiah	Jehmah	יחו
34	Lehaiah	Lehahiah	להח
35	Chauakiah	Cauakiah	כוק
39	Rehael	Rehahel	רדע
41	Hahahel	Hahael	ההה
45	Sealaiah	Sealiah	סאל
55	Mebaiah	Mebahiah	מבה
57	Nemamiah	Memamiah	נמם
58	Jeiahel	Jeialel	ייל
61	Umabel	Vinabel	ומב
63	Anauel	Ananel	ענו
65	Damabiah	Damahiah	דמב
66	Mauahel	Manakel	מנק
70	Jabamiah	Jabamiath	יבם
71	Hahael	Haiael	היי

This very high percentage of differences indicates that the copyist was either highly incompetent or that the list in Nantes ms. 521 was not copied directly from ms. 5061. Indeed the very fact that both Nantes ms. 521 and Geneva ms. Fr. 167 have number 26 Haaiah, which is missing from ms. 5061, means that there must have been another copy from which they were made. In any event the differences warrant comment. No microfilm is currently available of the Nantes ms. 521, but some of the errors are easily explicable from inspection of the original. For instance the Nantes ms. has 'l's and 'b's that are very similar. This could account for the differences in number 13, Jezalel and Jezabel. Reference to the Hebrew shows that the former (Nantes ms. 521) is

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correct. Similarly confusion could have arisen over the 'l's, the 'b's and the 'h's. This could account for 1, 58 and 65. The writing of 'm' and 'ui' is also very similar, which could explain 33. Another explicable difference is due to the similarity of the 'n's and the 'u's. This accounts for 63, 66 and probably also for 61 which has 'Um' and 'Vin'. Odd endings occur in Nantes ms. 521 at number 4 and in Arsenal ms. 5061 at number 70, which indicate that the scribe(s) were unaware of the importance of the -IAH and -EL endings. Neither copyist appears able to differentiate π from π . Comparing both of the manuscripts against the Hebrew gives the intriguing result that in seven cases¹ the Nantes ms. is to be preferred but that in the surprisingly large number of six cases² the Arsenal ms. is better.

The differences in spelling between ms. Fr. 882 and ms. 5061 are marked with * in the following table.

<u>Number</u>	<u>ms. Fr. 882</u>	<u>ms. 5061</u>	<u>difference</u>	<u>Hebrew</u>
	<u>BN</u>	<u>Arsenal</u>		
1	Vehuiah	Vehuiah		והו
2	Jeliel	Jeliel		לי
3	Sitael	Sitael		סיט
4	Elemiah	Elemiah		עלם
5	Mahasiah	Mahasiah		מהש
6	Jelael	Jelael		ללה
7	Achaiah	Achaiah		אכא
8	Kahethel	Cahethel	*	כהת
9	Haziel	Haziel		הזי
10	Aladiach	Aladiah	*	אלד
11	Lauiah	Lauiah		לאו
12	Hahaiah	Hahaiah		ההע
13	Jezael	Jezabel	*	זל
14	Mebahel	Mebahel		מבה
15	Hariel	Hariel		הרי
16	Hakamiah	Hakamiah		הקם

¹13 Jezael, 33 Jehuiah, 41 Hahahel, 57 Nemamiah, 61 Umabel, 63 Anauel and 65 Damabiah.

²1 Vehuiah, 16 Hakamiah, 55 Mebahiah, 58 Jeialel, 66 Manakel and 71 Haiael.

17	Louiah	Louiah		לאו
18	Caliel	Caliel		כלי
19	Leuuiah	Leuuiah		ליו
20	Pahaliah	Pahaliah		פהל
21	Neschael	Nelchael	*	נלך
22	Jeiaiel	Jeiaiel		יִי
23	Meiahel	Melahel	*	מלה
24	Haiuiah	Haiuiah		חיו
25	Nithhaiah	Nithhaiah		נזה
26	Haaiah	ABSENT	*	האא
27	Jerathel	Jerathel		ירת
28	Seheiah	Seeiah	*	שאה
29	Reiaiel	Reiaiel		רִי
30	Omael	Omael		אום
31	Lecahel	Lecabel	*	לכב
32	Vasariah	Vasariah		ושר
33	Jehuiah	Jehmah	*	יחו
34	Lehaiah	Lehahiah	*	להח
35	Chauakiah	Cauakiah	*	כוק
36	Manadel	Manadel		מנד
37	Aniel	Aniel		אני
38	Haamiah	Haamiah		חעם
39	Rahael	Rehahel	*	רהע
40	Jeiael	Jeiazel	*	יִז
41	Hahael	Hahael		ההה
42	Michael	Michael		מִיך
43	Veualiah	Veualiah		וול
44	Jelahiah	Jelahiah		ילה
45	Selaiah	Sealiah	*	סאל
46	Ariel	Ariel		ערי
47	Asaliah	Asaliah		עשל
48	Mihael	Mihael		מיה
49	Vehuel	Vehuel		והו
50	Daniel	Daniel		דני
51	Hahasiah	Hahasiah		החש
52	Imamiah	Imamiah		עמם

53	Nanael	Nanael	ננא
54	Nithael	Nithael	נית
55	Mebaiah	Mebahiah	* מבה
56	Poiei	Poiei	פוי
57	Nemamiah	Memamiah	* נמם
58	Jeiael	Jeiael	ייל
59	Harahel	Harahel	הרח
60	Mizrael	Mizrael	מצר
61	Vinabel	Vinabel	ומב
62	Jahhael	Jahhael	יהה
63	Anauel	Ananel	* ענו
64	Mehiel	Mehiel	מחי
65	Damabiah	Damahiah	* דמב
66	Mauakel	Manakel	* מנק
67	Eiael	Eiael	איע
68	Habuiah	Habuiah	חבו
69	Roehel	Roehel	ראה
70	Jabamiah	Jabamiath	* יבם
71	Haiael	Haiael	היי
72	Mumiah	Mumiah	מום

These 72 names are derived from Exodus xiv verses 19 to 21.¹ (Supplementary information on these 72 names will be found in the endnote 'kabbalistic Sources of the 72 Angels Names'). Each of these verses has seventy-two letters and the letters of the three verses were used to derive the seventy-two names. In order to arrive at the names the kabbalists used the following procedure. The first angel's name was based on the first letter of verse 19, the last letter of

¹ Ex. xiv:-

19 וַיֹּסֶעַ מֶלֶאכָהּ הָאֱלֹהִים הַחֲלֹךְ לִפְנֵי מַחֲנֵה יִשְׂרָאֵל
וַיִּלָּךְ מֵאַחֲרֵיהֶם וַיֹּסֶעַ עֲמֹד הָעֵנָן מִפְּנֵיהֶם וַיַּעֲמֹד מֵאַחֲרֵיהֶם:
20 וַיָּבֹא בֵּין אֶל מַחֲנֵה מִצְרַיִם וּבֵין מַחֲנֵה יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיְהִי הָעֵנָן וְהַחֲשֶׁךְ
וַיֹּאֲרֶה אֶת־הַלַּיְלָה וְלֹא־קָרַב יָהּ אֶל־הָעָם כָּל־הַלַּיְלָה: 21 וַיֵּט מֹשֶׁה
אֶת־יָדוֹ עַל־הַיָּם וַיּוֹלֶךְ יַחֲנֶה אֶת־הַיָּם בְּרוּחַ קָדִים עֹזָה כָּל־הַלַּיְלָה
וַיִּשֶׁם אֶת־הַיָּם לַחֲרֹבָה וַיִּבָּקְעוּ הַמַּיִם:

verse 20 and the first letter of verse 21. The second name was formed from the second letter of verse 19, the penultimate letter of verse 20 and the second letter of verse 21. The third name was based on the third letter of verse 19, the ante-penultimate letter of verse 20 and the third letter of verse 21. Continuation of this process gave the seventy-two names. See column "Hebrew" in the table above.

The names that differ in Thenaud's ms. Fr. 882 and ms. 5061 editions may now be collated for comparison.

<u>No.</u>	<u>Ms. Fr. 882</u> <u>BN</u>	<u>ms. 5061</u> <u>Arsenal</u>	<u>Heb.</u>	<u>Comment</u>
8	Kahethel	Cahethel	כהת	cf. 35 for "Ch" for כ
10	Aladiach	Aladiah	אלד	ms. Fr. 882 inconsistent
end				
13	Jezaiel	Jezabel	יזל	ms. Fr. 882 correct
21	Neschael	Nelchael	נלך	ms. 5061 correct
23	Meiahel	Melahel	מלה	ms. 5061 correct
26	Haaiah	ABSENT	האא	ms. Fr. 882 correct
28	Seheiah	Seeiah	שאה	both ignore א. Ms. 5061 ignores ה
31	Lecahel	Lecabel	לכב	ms. 5061 correct
33	Jehuiach	Jehmah	יחז	ms. Fr. 882 correct
34	Lehaiah	Lehahiah	להח	ms. Fr. 882 after ms.
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35	Chauakiah	Cauakiah	כוק	cf. 8
39	Rahael	Rehahel	רהע	ע variously "a", "e", "i"
40	Jeiael	Jeiazal	יז	ms. 5061 correct
45	Selaiah	Sealiah	סאל	ms. 5061 correct
55	Mebaiah	Mebahiah	מבה	ms. 5061 correct
57	Nemamiah	Memamiah	נמם	ms. Fr. 882 correct
63	Anauel	Ananel	ענו	ms. Fr. 882 correct
65	Damabiah	Damahiah	דמב	ms. Fr. 882 correct
66	Mauakel	Manakel	מנק	ms. 5061 correct
70	Jabamiah	Jabamiath	יבם	ms. 5061 variant end

This comparison indicates that both of Thenaud's versions have errors of transcription with respect to the Hebrew original. Most notable is the omission of 26 Haaiah in ms. 5061. Some other errors may be explained by the scribe misreading 'n' and 'u' (number 63, 66), and 'm' and 'ui' (number 33). The occasions where the ms. 5061 version is preferable to ms. Fr. 882 (earlier) version indicate that the later ms. 5061 version was not copied from ms. Fr. 882. This lends support to the possibility that both versions drew on different unknown originals. This is especially evident from the more accurate spelling in ms. 5061 rather than the ms. Fr. 882 version with respect to numbers 21, 31 and 40.

In order to investigate Thenaud's sources, his lists of the seventy-two names will now be compared against the Geneva copy (fourth column) and against Reuchlin's lists in *De Arte Cabalistica*, from his book iii (sixth and seventh columns).

Some letters caused particular trouble in transliteration. Notably כ is given variously as K, C and G (all in number 8) and also as Ch in number 35. Similarly, as noted above, ה and ח caused problems. Another instance of this is number 59, ח ה ח , which was given as Harahel in both of Thenaud's versions and in Reuchlin.

Reuchlin has a list of seventy-two angels at folio 56 recto¹ in book iii, and later in the same book at folio 58 verso there is another list with '-IAH' or '-EL' endings. The seventy-two names all have a trilateral basis. (The distribution of these endings will be examined below.)

¹ Folio 56 recto.

<u>No.</u>	<u>Ms. Fr. 882</u> <u>BN</u>	<u>ms. 5061</u> <u>Arsenal</u>	<u>ms. 167</u> <u>Geneva</u>	<u>Heb</u>	<u>Reuchlin in DAC</u> <u>58v</u>	<u>56</u>
1	Vehuiah	Vehuiah	Vehuiah	והו	Vehuiah	והו
2	Jeliel	Jeliel	Ieliel	ילי	Ieliel	ילי
3	Sitael	Sitael	Sitael	סיט	Sitael	סיט
4	Elemiah	Elemiah	Elemiach	עלם	Elemiah	עלם
5	Mahasiah	Mahasiah	Mahasiah	מהש	Mahasiah	מהש
6	Jelael	Jelael	Ielahel	ללה	Ielahel	ללה
7	Achaiah	Achaiah	Achaiah	אכא	Achaiah	אכא
8	Kahethel	Cahethel	Cahethel	כהת	Cahethel	כהת
9	Haziel	Haziel	Haziel	הזי	Haziel	הזי
10	Aladiach	Aladiah	Aladiah	אלד	Aladiah	אלד
11	Lauiah	Lauiah	Lauiah	לאו	Laviah	לאו
12	Hahaiah	Hahaiah	Hahaiah	ההע	Hahaiah	ההע
13	Jezaiel	Jezabel	Jezalel	יזל	Iezalel	יזל
14	Mebahel	Mebahel	Mebahel	מבה	Mebahel	מבה
15	Hariel	Hariel	Hariel	הרי	Hariel	הרי
16	Hakamiah	Hakamiah	Halkamiah	הקם	Hakamiah	הקם
17	Louiah	Louiah	Louiah	לאו	Loviah	לאו
18	Caliel	Caliel	Caliel	כלי	Caliel	כלי
19	Leuuiah	Leuuiah	Leuuiah	לוו	Leuuiah	לוו
20	Pahaliah	Pahaliah	Pahaliah	פהל	Pahaliah	פהל
21	Neschael	Nelchael	Nelchael	נלך	Nelchael	נלך

sonitu uocis, & sic de pluribus uisionū speciebus, in sacra scriptura deph
 sis, uobis aut̃ dum hi characteres septuaginta noīmi nequaquā satisfacere u
 debuntur, demonstrabo recta uia, non t̃m̃ in characteribus cōmemorati
 uerum etiā post ea cōmemorandis, q̃nam modo ex effigie literarū dictū
 fiat q̃ possit articulate pronunciari. Eius artis deū ipsum habemus auctori
 Legimus nanq; in xlii. Exodi. Ecce ego mitto angelū meum ante te ad c
 stodiendum te in uia, & ad ducendū te in locū quē destinauī, Sis cautus
 conspectu eius, & audi uocē eius ne exacerbaueris eū, q̃a non ignoscet sc
 leribus uestris, q̃m nomen meum est in illo. Per q̃d cognoscimus nomen
 angeli optimo ritu cōphendere nomē dei q̃nq; debere. Ideoq; Cabale
 cum angeli cuiusuis nomen significatiue pronunciare nequerint, subsidio
 alicuius noīs dei q̃d illi adiungūt, totū simul proferr̃ consueuerunt. Sicut
 em̃ tris hos characteres מִיָּךְ aut מִיָּךְ uel מִיָּךְ ad significandū an
 geli nomē improprie uidet̃ usurpari, nūllū addatur nomē dei El, ut Michael

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22	Jeiaiel	Jeiaiel	leiael	יִי	leiaiel	יִי
23	Meiahel	Melahel	Melahel	מלה	Melahel	מלה
24	Haiuiah	Haiuiah	haiuiah	חחוי	Ḥaiuiah	חחוי
25	Nithhaiah	Nithhaiah	Nithhaiah	נתה	Nithhaiah	נתה
26	Haaiah	ABSENT	Haaiah	חאא	Haaiah	חאא
27	Jerathel	Jerathel	Ierathel	ירת	Ierathel	ירת
28	Seheiah	Seeiah	Seehiah	שאה	Saeehiah	שאה
29	Reiaiel	Reiaiel	Reiaiel	רִי	Reiaiel	רִי
30	Omael	Omael	Omael	אום	Omael	אום
31	Lecahel	Lecabel	Lecabel	לכב	Lecabel	לכב
32	Vasariah	Vasariah	Vasariah	ושר	Vasariah	ושר
33	Jehuiah	Jehmah	Iehuiah	יחו	IeḤuiah	יחו
34	Lehaiah	Lehahiah	Lehaiah	להח	LehaḤiah	להח
35	Chauakiah	Cauakiah	Chauakiah	כוק	Chauakiah	כוק
36	Manadel	Manadel	Manadel	מנר	Manadel	מנר
37	Aniel	Aniel	Aniel	אני	Aniel	אני
38	Haamiah	Haamiah	Haamiah	חעם	Ḥaamiah	חעם
39	Rahael	Rehahel	Rehael	רהע	Rehael	רהע
40	Jeiael	Jeiazel	Ieiazel	יִז	Ieiazel	יִז
41	Hahael	Hahael	Hahahel	החה	Hahahel	החה
42	Michael	Michael	Michael	מִיך	Michael	מִיך
43	Veualiah	Veualiah	Veualiah	וול	Veualiah	וול
44	Jelahiah	Jelahiah	Ielahiah	ילה	Ielahiah	ילה
45	Selaiah	Sealiah	Sealiah	סאל	Sealiah	סאל
46	Ariel	Ariel	Ariel	ערי	Ariel	ערי
47	Asaliah	Asaliah	Asaliah	עשל	Asaliah	עשל
48	Mihael	Mihael	Mihael	מִיה	Mihael	מִיה
49	Vehuel	Vehuel	Vehuel	והו	Vehvel	והו
50	Daniel	Daniel	Daniel	דני	Daniel	דני
51	Hahasiah	Hahasiah	Hahasiah	החש	HaḤasiah	החש
52	Imamiah	Imamiah	Imamiah	עמם	Imamiah	עמם
53	Nanael	Nanael	Nanael	ננא	Nanael	ננא
54	Nithael	Nithael	Nithael	נית	Nithael	נית
55	Mebaiah	Mebahiah	Mebahiah	מבה	Mebahiah	מבה
56	Poiel	Poiel	Poiel	פוי	Poiel	פוי
57	Nemamiah	Memamiah	Nemamiah	נמם	Nemamiah	נמם

58	Jeialel	Jeialel	leiahel	ייל	leialel	ייל
59	Harahel	Harahel	Harahel	הרח	Harahel	הרח
60	Mizrael	Mizrael	Mizrael	מצר	Mizrael	מצר
61	Vinabel	Vinabel	Vmabel	ומב	Vmabel	ומב
62	Jahhael	Jahhael	lahhael	יהה	lahhael	יהה
63	Anauel	Ananel	Anauel	ענו	Anauel	ענו
64	Mehiel	Mehiel	Mehiel	מחי	Meḥiel	מחי
65	Damabiah	Damahiah	Damabiah	דמב	Damabiah	דמב
66	Mauakel	Manakel	Mauakel	מנק	Mauakel	מנק
67	Eiael	Eiael	Eiael	איע	Eiael	איע
68	Habuiah	Habuiah	Habuiah	חבו	Ḥabuiah	חבו
69	Roehel	Roehel	Roehel	ראה	Roehel	ראה
70	Jabamiah	Jabamiath	labamiah	יבם	labamiah	יבם
71	Haiael	Haiael	Hahael	היי	Haiael	היי
72	Mumiah	Mumiah	Mumiah	מום	Mumiah	מום

Note that when Reuchlin transliterates ן he uses ḥ. See 24, 33, 34, 38, 51, 59, and 68. This distinction between ן (ḥ) and ן (h) is not preserved by Thénau. Secret wrongly gives 9 as HWY, 10 as ALR, 13 as YWL, 36 as MNR, 40 as YYN, 44 as YAH, 50 as RNY, 55 as MKH, 57 as NMS, he does not differentiate ן and ן, (eg 34, 51, 58), and entirely omits 6 and 61.¹

In the main Thénau follows Reuchlin closely, but some of the variations are highly revealing.

There is considerable evidence to show that the Genevan copy follows Reuchlin in preference to ms. 5061. See 2, 6, 13, 22, 27, 39, 40, 44, 61, 62, 65, 66 and 70.

Before passing to a consideration of the endings -EL and -IAH which were given to the trilateral stems, some comments are called for as to the two trilaterals which occur twice in the Hebrew list. These are וְהוּ at numbers 1 and 49, and לְאוּ at numbers 11 and 17. Numbers 1 and 49 are distinguished by their endings so that 1 is Vehuiah and 49 is Vehuel. However numbers 11 and 17 are not distinguished by their endings. Number 11 is Lauiah and number 17 is Louiah. The entire list therefore has one name which is outstanding

¹F. Secret, *La Kabbale (de arte cabalistica)*, Paris, pp. 227, 228.

in that it is (essentially) repeated. This trilateral root has the value of 37 for:-

ו = 6

א = 1

ל = 30

In kabbalistic terms the equivalence of לאו to 37 was of particular significance because it was an acrostic for לו אדיר וגדולה and also for לשמו אחדות ומלוכה.¹ Furthermore the number thirty-seven was of special significance in that it designated the twenty-two letters of the Hebrew alphabet, plus the five final forms, plus the ten numerals. It will be shown below that the number 37 has a very particular significance in this list of angels' names. The number 37 will now be shown to be the key to understanding the careful distribution of the endings -EL and -IAH.

The choices of the endings -EL and -IAH

It has been noted above that number 1 Vehuiah, and number 49 Vehuel, are both formed from והו. The question may be posed asking why the same root gave rise to different names. Why did number 1 take the -IAH ending while number 49 took the -EL ending and not the other way round? The choice of -IAH for the first ending, followed by -EL and so on, rather than -EL for the first followed by -IAH and soon on, is evident when consideration is given to names such as Daniel (50), Michael (42), and Ariel (46). Daniah, Michiah, and Ariah are unfamiliar and are clearly less appropriate. The problem of the overall distribution of the endings will now be considered. In the first place it is clear that this distribution, as we shall see, is not random. This important point has been ignored by Secret in his translation of *De Arte*. The question of distribution has been passed over by other writers too. However one scholar - Marques-Rivière - offered an explanation which essentially argues that the various suffixes had a geographical significance. The Eastern and the Western angels had names ending in -EL, -IEL, and -IAEL whereas the Northern and Southern angels names ended in -IAH and -AEL.²

¹ Numerically דגל and להב were also equal to 37. Qneh Binah 26b.

²On remarque que les 72 noms se terminent par un des quatre noms divins IAH, EL, AEL et IEL. Nous avons déjà vu ces syllabes sacrées dans les noms gnostiques. Selon le philosophe Jean Belot, curé de Milmont, le nom des génies qui habitent l'Orient et l'Occident se terminent par EL, IEL, IAEL, et ceux qui habitent le Nord ou le Midi ont leur nom finissant par IAH et AEL.

Reuchlin comments on the significance of the endings -IAH and -EL. He does however not seek any pattern in the distribution.¹

But since these letters of the seventy names do not seem to satisfy you, I will show you, not only in the characters already mentioned but also in some to be mentioned shortly, how one may pronounce whatever is pronounceable from the shapes of the letters. We have it that God

Les Kabbalistes ont par ailleurs plusieurs tables pour rechercher celui des 72 génies qui dominant telles ou telles parties du Cosmos. Nous donnons ci-après ces tables.

J. Marques- Rivière, *Amulettes, Talismans et Pantacles dans les traditions Orientales et Occidentales*, Paris, 1938.

¹ J. Reuchlin, *De Arte Cabalistica*, Haguenau, 1517, folio 58 recto.

Gabriel Raphael. Ita ipsi q̄q̄ in aliis angelicis noībus sacram scripturā cōnātes imitari dicunt Razel. Iophiel. Zadkiel. Peliel. Malthiel. Vriel, & simili more cætera. Quin uero ut Romani deum suū capitolinum noīant Optimū Maximū, propter beneficia optimū, propter uim maximū. Ciceronis testimonio in orōne ad pontifices pro domo sua. Sic Iudæorū natio deum suū propter beneficia uocat lah, & propter uim ac uirtutem appellat El. Ita em Cabalistæ sup David regis sermo, ne cū ait Si iniquitates obseruaueris, lah, domine qs sustinebit dicunt **יה שחור עולם** i. lah, q̄ sit seculū dementiæ, Adonai q̄ sit seculum scueritatis, ut in Portæ lucis cap. viii. De El aut ita legis Numeri xvi. Fortissime El deus spirituum oīs carnis, num uno peccante contra oēs ira tua defæuiet. Optimus igit nobis deus est, q̄a demētissimus, & maximus q̄a fortissimus, q̄d duo hæc noīa diuina rep̄sentant lah & El, q̄rum alterum si q̄to uicq̄ septuaginta duorū noīm coniunxeritis, nimirū insigne uocabulū oxytonon efficietis.

Folio 58 verso.

Gabriel Raphael. Ita ipsi q̄q̄ in aliis angelicis noībus sacram scripturā cōnātes imitari dicunt Razel. Iophiel. Zadkiel. Peliel. Malthiel. Vriel, & simili more cætera. Quin uero ut Romani deum suū capitolinum noīant Optimū Maximū, propter beneficia optimū, propter uim maximū. Ciceronis testimonio in orōne ad pontifices pro domo sua. Sic Iudæorū natio deum suū propter beneficia uocat lah, & propter uim ac uirtutem appellat El. Ita em Cabalistæ sup David regis sermo, ne cū ait Si iniquitates obseruaueris, lah, domine qs sustinebit dicunt **יה שחור עולם** i. lah, q̄ sit seculū dementiæ, Adonai q̄ sit seculum scueritatis, ut in Portæ lucis cap. viii. De El aut ita legis Numeri xvi. Fortissime El deus spirituum oīs carnis, num uno peccante contra oēs ira tua defæuiet. Optimus igit nobis deus est, q̄a demētissimus, & maximus q̄a fortissimus, q̄d duo hæc noīa diuina rep̄sentant lah & El, q̄rum alterum si q̄to uicq̄ septuaginta duorū noīm coniunxeritis, nimirū insigne uocabulū oxytonon efficietis.

himself was the inventor of this skill, for we read in Exodus 23, "Behold, I send my angel before you to guard you on the way and to lead you to the place that I have appointed. Be careful in his sight and heed his voice lest you annoy him: he will not pardon your crimes, for My Name is in him." By this we understand that properly the name of an angel ought sometimes to include the name of God. So when the masters of Kabbalah could not derive meaning from the name of any angel, they used the whole of a name of God and formed the angel's name from it. They saw that it was an improper use of the letters MICH or GABRI or RAPHI to signify by them the name of an angel without the addition of the name of God, i.e. EL, resulting in Michael, (folio 58 verso) Gabriel and Raphael. When it came to the other angelic names, they tried to imitate Sacred Scripture and say Raziel, Iophiel, Zadkiel, Peliel, Malthiel, Uriel and others like that. The Romans call their god on the Capitol "Best" and "Greatest," being "Best" because of his kindnesses and "Greatest" because of his strength. (Cicero bears this out, in his speech to the priests On behalf of his own home). In the same way, the Jewish nation call their god Yah because of his kindnesses and El because of his strength and virtue. The Kabbalists comment on the words of King David, when he says: "If you have seen our iniquities, Yah, O Lord who will sustain us?": " 'Yah' shows that he is the world of mercy, 'Adonai' ('O Lord') that he is the world of harshness," as it says in Gate of Light, Chapter 8. On El, you read in Numbers 16, "O Strongest 'El,' God of the spirits of all flesh, will your anger strike against all for the sin of one?" So to us, God is best because he is merciful, and greatest because he is strong, and this is represented by these two divine names, Yah and El. And if you join one of these to any of the seventy two names you will make an impressive and striking word.

But apart from Reuchlin's pious exegetical attempt to explain the presence of these suffixes it is clear that he had no awareness of any significance of their distribution. Similarly Thénaud was unaware of any pattern underlying the distribution of the endings. He commented merely that God was just and merciful. He appears to relate the justice of God with -IAH and the mercy of God with -EL.¹

¹BN. ms. 882, feuillet 32 recto, lines 11-15:-

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in touch with a kabbalistic tradition that placed high value on the number thirty-seven. In itself this is no evidence that Thenaud himself was aware of any special significance for that number.

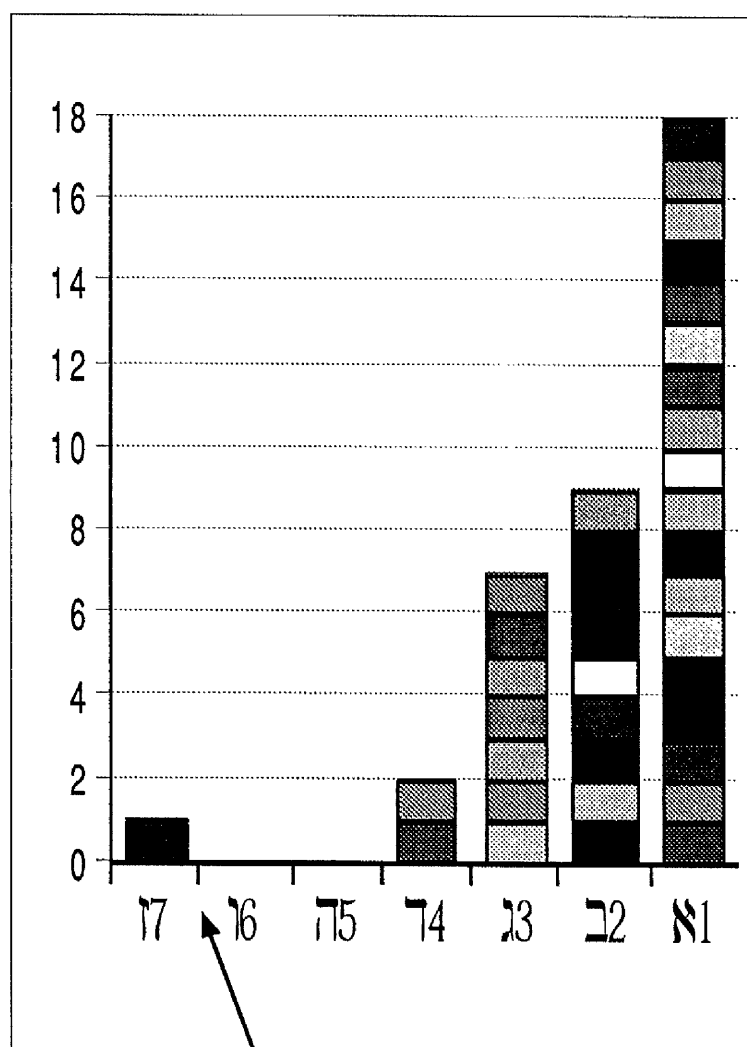
The following diagram plots the occurrence of the groups of endings. Thus there is one (N) -IAH, then two (□) -EL, then two (□) more -IAH, followed by one (N) -EL, and so on.

*cierges cessoient desclairer tout subit puy lon oyoit une tant douce et delicieuse armonie
qui lon estoit contrainct dentrer en rapt et extase*

	17	16	15	14	13	12	11	row value	
prog sum									
1							1	1	1
2						1		2	3
3						1		2	5
4							1	1	6
5							1	1	7
6						1		2	9
7					1			3	12
8					1			3	15
9						1		2	17
10							1	1	18
11						1		2	20
12					1			3	23
13					1			3	26
14							1	1	27
15							1	1	28
16					1			3	31
17				1				4	35
18						1		2	37
19							1	1	38
20				1				4	42
21					1			3	45
22							1	1	46
23							1	1	47
24					1			3	50
25						1		2	52
26						1		2	54
27							1	1	55
28							1	1	56
29							1	1	57

30	1		7	64
31		1	1	65
32		1	2	67
33		1	1	68
34		1	1	69
35		1	1	70
36		1	1	71
37		1	1	72

When these groups are presented in Bar Chart form the result is as follows:-



72 ANGELS
NAMES

ENDINGS
-IAH -EL

DISTRIBUTION

NUMBER 30

This distribution shows firstly that numbers $5 = \overline{7}$ and $6 = \overline{1}$ are unmentioned. Could this be on account of their connection with the Tetragrammaton? What is more important for the present assessment is group number 30 as indicated. The Bar Chart clearly shows how outstanding is group 30 with its 7 long string of -EL endings.

Furthermore when each letter is given its own value, starting at 1 for א, and so on, then the progressive sum may be given. It will be seen that by the time of the eighteenth group the progressive value has reached 37. This is shown on the chart above in **bold**. Similarly if the process is repeated, but starting at the end, the progressive sum will also be 37 by the time that the same position is reached. (The eighteenth from the top, which is the twentieth from the end.)

Furthermore the composition of both 37s is notable. Working from the top the first three are worth 5, the next five are worth 10, the next ten are worth 22. Alternatively working from the top the first three are worth 5, the next eleven are worth 22, the next four are worth 10. The same system applies when working from the base. The lowest five are worth 5, the next three are worth 10, and the last twelve are worth 22. Alternatively the lowest five are worth 5, the next eleven are worth 22, and the last four are worth 10. This is an astounding instance of chiasmus.

It may also be noted that the middle of 37 being 19, it is not surprising to see that the progressive sum attained in the middle, when starting either from the top or from the base, is twice 19 - 38. Furthermore the value of the next number is 42 as shown in *shadow* in the chart above. This number was highly significant in kabbalistic terms, as was recognized by Reuchlin¹ and

¹J. Reuchlin, *De Arte Cabalistica*, folio 73 recto, verso.

'All existence and all speech arises from these combinations, for of those that are specially termed Gates our father Abraham said in the book of Creation: "And every spoken thing and every created thing exists by its progress from them." By reliance on them we can with ease employ them to the aid of our salvation. Consideration of all created things leads back, within the bounds of human capability, to understanding of the one Creator. That understanding is our salvation and eternal life. Thus we pass from God, through his Name, back to God. He himself is his own Name of the four letters, which is blessed always to eternity, as the Psalmist showed when he said: "And they will understand that you are your Name, the Tetragrammaton, alone, supreme for you above all the earth." So this name alone

is called Semhamaphores meaning "Name that explains the essence of God." Proof of this comes from the first part of this art. A second Name of God that can take the place of the first and is written with twelve letters will be understood from the second part. Finally, there is yet another name, dealt with in the third part of Kabbalah, and that is the name of 42 letters. Not that a single utterance of a single name consists of 42 letters, for any intelligent person would realize, as Maimonides teaches, that no single name can be found written with so many letters. But a number of names entwined closely together and pieced together from many letters lead the Kabbalist through hidden reasonings to the true understanding of God the Tetragrammaton, Yod H Vav H, which also signify arithmetically 42. Forty-two letters of this sort, joined in such a way through such separate names, are referred to as one name / because in the end they signify only one thing, just as in the opposite case, other names may be made up of a number of elements collected together to signify many separate things through a single word. So what has happened in this case is that the reasoning by which our understanding is led to God could not be deployed except through many letters and words. Nor is this surprising since clever engineers usually trace the source of a spring by its many different streams. So God made everything emanate from the depths of the fountain for it to flow back again to the infinite chasm, "lehoshi dabar bemaamar ve maamar bedabar ad leha'amid kol hadebarim bema'ayan hashalhebeth vehashalhebeth bemaamar kema'yan ein heqer ve ein mispar leorah hamitallemeth be thosefeth hahoshekh hamesuthereth biklal arba'im veshtaim otioth. " These are the words of that excellent contemplative scholar Hamai in his book On Speculation, to which he usefully attaches the book on the Fountain of Wisdom, though so fine and clear a man has no need of such a testimonial. Now I shall try to translate this passage into Latin without, if I can, affecting the quality of his thought: "To produce matter in word and word in matter until he may restore all things to the fountain of the splendor and restore the splendour to the word like a fountain with neither end nor number, rendered inaccessible to light by the increase of shadows and hidden in the total of the 42 letters." This name that deserves such worship and veneration and is designated by the forty-two letters is termed by the best of the sages (may their memory be blessed!) as the "Holy and Sanctified."

Folio 74 recto.

I will reveal to you that Name in the fashion of the Kabbalists. First let me separate the forty-two letters into seven words, then each word into two distinct parts in each of which will be three letters in accordance with Hebrew idiom. If you multiply six by seven, you will get 42, which is the sum total of the letters of that Name, which I entrust to your personal inspection with this drawing: SCThBMA ShCThThKS MYThASB YMYPTHa SThCHPS ThCHSMA SASPPSH. Having put so many letters into this verse, I can immediately derive from these seven words any other disyllabic portion of any single word. Each single utterance of this precious Name consists of six letters, as you see, but only in Hebrew, not in any other language. In Latin one needs more letters, producing Sagathbama, Sagaththechaz, Miathazab, lemibatha, Zethaghaphaz, Thegazama and Zaazpapas, which are names found in the books of the ancients but remaining to this day foreign and obscure in Roman speech.'

Folio 74 verso, 75 recto.

'On this, Count Mirandola comments in his Conclusions: "Any sound has power for magic in so far as it is formed from the sound of God." It is this that we strain to catch in our nets when we scour through all the possible combinations in all the alphabets to find eventually in Scripture the seven names enclosed in forty-two letters. For example, one seeks seven words in the twenty-first alphabet which may in the same way be symbolic of a verse of divine Scripture. I have laid them out clearly in the passage where I discussed them above. Similarly with the twentieth alphabet, and the nineteenth, and so on with all of them until we reach the first alphabet, and the nineteenth, and so on with all of them until we reach the first alphabet, which from its first pair of combinations is given the name of Albath. By using the combinations of this alphabet we get this new example: ThDL GNB ThRL LA Q CKL BQG KNK SLB QLK VSQ LR V QNN QBQ SSTh. This is also the divine name of forty-two letters given as the first alphabetical permutation in the book of Creation. / For our father Abraham only put down the permutations and transpositions in this book of Creation because he assumed that the correct order of the ordinary alphabet was known to everyone. Some people are accustomed to combine the normal alphabet also in parallel fashion, writing ABGD, as Rabbi Hamai taught in that book of his on Speculation. He writes the name of 42 letters produced from this same combination like this: AQBThTSh AQBBKV TNBShVTh NTNHBSh VBQPHVBQPVTh VShVHHA. This, like the others, symbolically signifies the blessed God in accordance with his properties. The ineffable four letters denote God as he is above all being. Ehieh represents God as he is in all being, Adonia shows God as he is the

The importance of the discussion above is twofold. First it shows that although Thenaud was highly dependent on Reuchlin, the 'coincidental' use that Thenaud innocently attaches to the number 37 elsewhere in ms. 5061 indicates that he did have a quite separate source that was rooted in a remote kabbalistic tradition. Further evidence will be adduced below which will confirm this claim.

Secondly these observations about the distribution of the -IAH and -EL endings are the first recorded discovery of a pattern, based on the number 37, which has lain undiscovered for generations.

The second aspect of BN. ms. 5061 which shows that Thenaud was in touch with hitherto unrecognised kabbalistic sources concerns the exorcism service. The earlier ms. Fr. 882 had no exorcism service but it did include images of two amulettes which reappear in ms. 5061 as part of the exorcism. Geneva ms. Fr. 167 has the same service of exorcism but the amulettes are entirely different. (Nantes ms. 521 has no images.) This is additional proof that the Genevan copy was not made from ms. 5061. Clearly the copyist had either acquired additional material or he had access to a hitherto unrecorded manuscript.

These amulettes are revealing and it will now be shown that they give clear

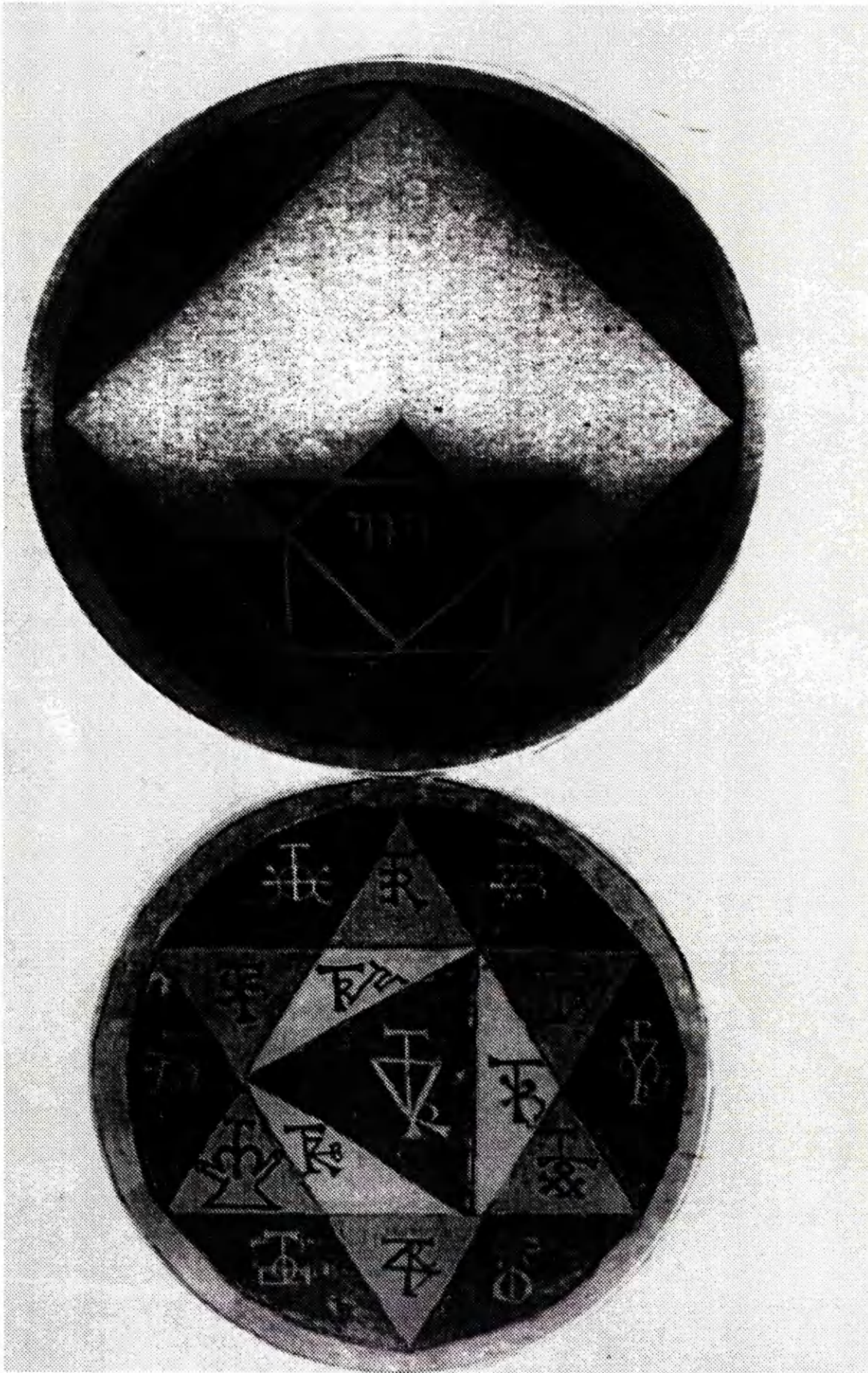
*Lord of all, and Sadai shows him as he is lacking nought. Similarly the name of the 42 letters, whether it be received from transposed or straight forward combination, designates God the Creator of heaven and earth and of all that is visible and invisible. So these twenty three names, each of which has forty-two letters taken in accordance with the order of the twenty-three alphabets, are all derived from the first verses of Sacred Scripture: "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth. And the earth was empty and void." Starting with beth as the first letter and ending with beth as the last letter in the Hebrew text as spoken by the Holy Spirit, the Kabbalists produce the 42 letters by always putting one letter for each letter under one and the same combinatory yoke. There are other Kabbalists who have indulged in higher speculation and transcend creation and the creatures, who stand in the sole emanation of the Deity. In holy manner they bestow that emanation, under a vow of silence and through the holy name of twelve letters and the name of 42 letters, upon those worthy men who are devoted to God. This traditional name is written in the Book of Secret Letters, where, in answer to the question of the Roman Antoninus about the holy names, Rabbi Hakados says that from the Tetragrammaton comes the names of 12 letters: Av Ben veRuakh haKadosh, meaning, "Father, Son and Holy Spirit." And from this is derived the name of 42 letters: Av Elohim, Ben Elohim, Ruah hakadosh Elohim. Shaloshah beehad, ehad beshe/oshah, which means: "God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Spirit, Three in One and One in Three." What heights and what depths in matters understood by faith alone! J. Reuchlin, *De Arte Cabalistica*. Tr. Goodman, M. and S. New York, 1983, pp. 331 ff.*

¹Ms. 5061, folio 86 verso, 87 recto.

evidence that Thenaud did indeed have access to a kabbalistic source. Consideration will first of all be given to ms. Fr. 882 and ms. 5061 from which the following images are taken.



Ms. Fr. 882 folio 26 verso.



Ms. 5061 folio 93 recto.

Thenaud describes the first two amulettes above as 'theomantique'¹ and the third as 'arifmantique'.² The former are linked to the names of God.³ The latter are linked to the names of angels.⁴ These two types of amulettes in the two manuscripts are clearly drawn from the same models. (The 'arifmantique' amulette is so similar in ms. Fr. 882 and in ms. 5061 that only the latter is reproduced here.) There are notable differences, however, in the 'theomantique' amulettes. One difference is that whereas ms. Fr. 882 has one Hebrew letter of the Tetragrammaton and a letter 'T' in each of the four outermost coloured sectors ms. 5061 has only got two letters 'T'. These are at the 2 o'clock and 10 o'clock positions. Both amulettes have the Tetragrammaton at the heart of the innermost five-sided motif. As can be seen from the image of ms. Fr. 882 above this five-sided shape has the following names around it starting from the 12 o'clock position. AGLA, RIRI, SERAPIEL, ELIABEL, KAPITIEL, HELY. The differences in ms. 5061 are significant, in that Greek characters now appear. For instance the R in SERAPIEL becomes ρ and the P in SERAPIEL becomes π. Secondly the three final letters L become Λ or λ. Similarly the first L in ELIABEL also becomes Λ or λ.

AGLA has a kabbalistic origin but there were occurrences of the word outside the Jewish world.⁵ AGLA אגלא was an acrostic for אֵתָה גְבוּרָה לְעֵלָם אֲדֹנֵי inscribed on David's Shield.⁶ It was the first of the letters to be inscribed on an amulette and was to be placed on the forehead of a woman in childbirth.⁷ It is also found in connection with a 'daughter of Moḥalath' on a drinking bowl in the

¹Ms. Fr. 882, folio 26 verso and ms. 5061 folio 93 recto.

²Op . cit., folio 27 recto and ms. 5061 folio 93 recto.

³Op . cit., folio 26 verso has the legend '*La figure theomantique en la quelle sont selon les cabalistes les caractheres des noms de dieu.*'

⁴Op . cit.â, folio 27 recto has the image at the top of the page, the 72 angels names in the middle and the following legend at the base:- '*Cest la figure arifmantique en laquelle sont les caracteres des saintz anges recteurs des mondes inferieurs selon les supersticieux cabalistes.*'

⁵Leloyer, *Discours et histoires des spectres*, I, viii, ch. vi, and Grünbaum, art. in *Zeitschrift des deutschen morgenl. Gesellschaft*, vol. xxx, p. 271.

⁶BN. Ms. 602, folio 98 b and 115 b.

⁷Amtahiath Biniamin, folio 18b and 27 a.

Musée Dieulafoy in the Louvre.¹ It was written on an amulette designed to open the spirit to religious studies.² AGLA אגלא, followed by the term רוטא, was believed to be the name of an angel who was invoked at the end of journey.³

RIRI is well attested. Schrire noted that it was part of a triangular arrangement of letters which was effective in guarding against thirst at night.⁴ Schwab recorded that it was found on a Judæo-Babylonian vase.⁵

SERAPIEL,⁶ ELIABEL and KAPITIEL⁷ are especially notable for the manner

¹ M. Schwab, *Coupees à inscriptions magiques*, London, 1890, pp. 62-63.

² *Sepher Raziel*, folio 42 b.

³ *Op. cit.*, folios 81 b and 84 b. No. 603 folio 132 a. P. Béhar, *Les Langues Occultes de la Renaissance - Essai sur la crise intellectuelle de l'Europe au XVI^e siècle*, Paris, 1996, p. 192 has the following image of a ring which was in the possession of Rudolph II (1552-1612).



AGLA may be seen inside the ring. Béhar, p. 194, correctly recognizes that AGLA was a term used widely for magical purposes, but, as may be seen from the references above to the Hebrew (Mesopotamian) precedences, he was inadequately informed in attributing AGLA to the *Leonis papæ enchiridion*, Rome, 1525.

⁴ T. Schrire, *Hebrew Amulets - Their Decipherment and Interpretation*, London, 1966, p. 60.

The Talmud gives one example of a triangular inscription - the word SHABRIRI. It is used as an incantation against thirst at night. "Let him say to himself, A, son of B, my mother told me to be on guard against Shabriri, Biri, Riri, Iri, Ri." Pesachin, 112a.

⁵ M. Schwab, *op. cit.*, p. 359.

רירי was the name of demons inscribed on a Judæo-Babylonian vase in the Louvre. This was derived from the term found in the Talmud B. tr. Pesahin, folio 112 art. in *Revue d'assyriologie*, 1892, vol. 2, p. 140.

Riri El is found in *Sepher Raziel*, folio 45 a, where it is the name of one of the guardians of the treasure of the Law.

⁶ Possibly derived from שרף to burn.

⁷ In Roman script this is KAPITIEL. If the 'P' letter was actually Greek, then it would be rho (ρ), so the sound would be KARITIEL. It is possible that this was a typographical error which derived from the word KAPNI related to the Hebrew קרני, meaning 'my horn' or 'my strength'. Thus the full meaning would have been 'God (El) is my strength.'

This קרני is to be found on a serpent devouring its own tail. Musée Chiflet, no. 70, M. Schwab, *op. cit.*, p. 407.

in which Hebrew and Greek are amalgamated as noted above.

Another difference is that ms. Fr. 882 contains the names of the ten Sephiroth and four of the names of God, viz Adonay, Ehieh, Hu and Esth. These names do not appear on the amulette in ms. 5061 but they are referred to in the text.

The second of the two amulettes has no clear Hebrew kabbalistic connection. Thenaud himself referred to it as belonging to '*les superstitieux cabalistes*'. This amulette has been described as belonging to the 'European magical tradition'.¹ The most obvious connection which they have with Thenaud's thought is that each one of the sixteen symbols includes the 'T' shape.

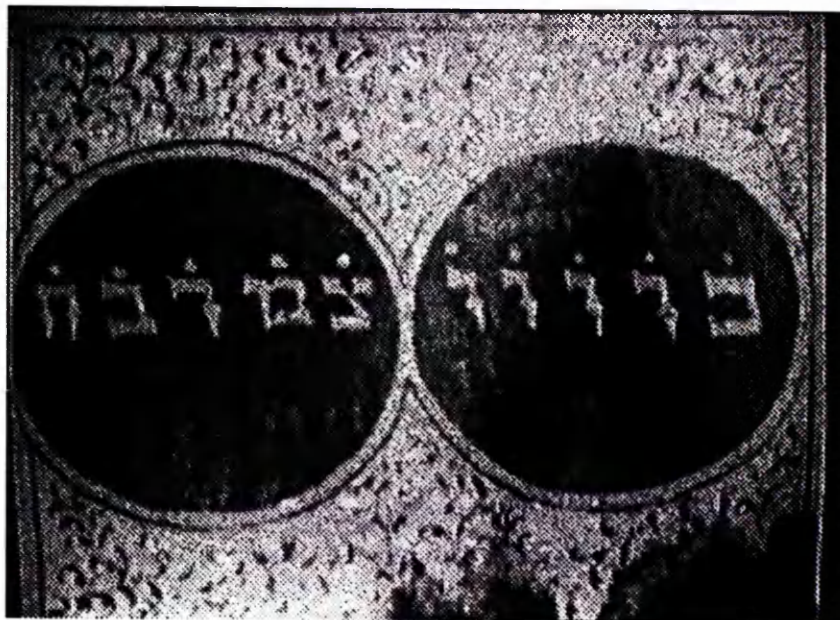
The evidence from the second amulette then is that Thenaud was remote from a true kabbalistic source. On the other hand the evidence from the first amulette is that he was in touch with a genuinely Kabbalist source quite separate from those written sources which he acknowledged such as Ricius, Pico and Reuchlin. However when the time came for the Genevan copy to be made these two amulettes discussed above were discarded in favour of amulettes that were of a much more certain Hebrew lineage and which will now be considered.

It is immediately clear from the Genevan ms. that Thenaud continued to acquire kabbalistic information after the writing of ms. 5061. For instance in folio 147 verso he records the kabbalistic method of starting with a word (in this case '*abracadabra*') and decreasing it one letter at a time from the end.² He attributes this magical medicinal method to Serenus Samonicus and claims that the bearer of such a card on which this triangular formula is inscribed could be expected to be cured of a fever in ten or eleven days. The following page records '*ung saint et sacre signacle*' whose Hebrew letters are the initial and final letters of the first five verses of the opening chapter of Genesis. The bearer of this card (shown below), living free from all sin, would be preserved from all his visible and invisible enemies at all times and in all

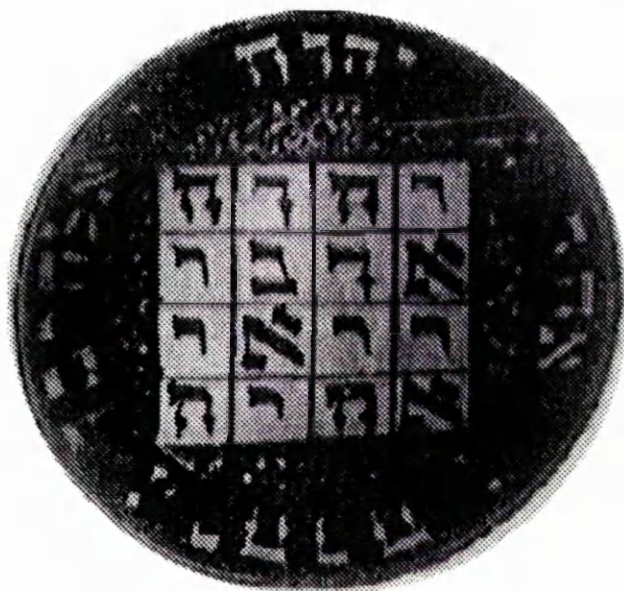
¹Personal communication from Brad Hill, formerly Head of Hebrew Section, British Library.

² See End Note *Geneva ms. Fr. 167 Insertion Divine Characters*.

places.¹



The Genevan exorcism follows ms. 5061 closely but the amulettes involved are entirely different. Once again Thenaud nominates one as 'Theomantique'



and the following one as 'Arifmantique'.²

¹See End Note *Geneva ms. Fr. 167 Insertion Divine Characters*.

²Gen. ms. Fr. 167, folio 183.



At first sight Thenaud appears to have derived the form of these two amulettes from Reuchlin. In *De Arte Cabalistica*¹ he recorded that the above mentioned four square 'Theomantique' arrangement of:-

יְהוָה

אֶרֶץ

יְהוָה

אֶרֶץ

was used to make four seals. This discourse continues by noting the origin of the word ARARYTHA (אֶרֶץ אֱלֹהִים) which may be seen in the middle of the 'Arifmantique' amulette above. This discourse is so significant that it is given below in translation:-²

Other Kabbalists enthusiastically put together excellent amulettes that use the divine letters (... *diuinis literis sigilla illustria fabricare* ...) and prove efficacious in continuous use in the combating of ill health and other problems. Here is an example. Rabbi Hama in his *Book on Speculation* (*lib. Speculatiōis*) composed it from the four, not magic but solemn and sacred words—or, rather, he had them already composed in the tradition from his predecessors: YHVH ADNY YYAY AHYH. YYAY is the kabbalistic equivalent of *Ei*. So the experts in this art take the first letter of the first name, the first of the second, the first of the third and the first of the

¹Folio 78 recto.

²M. and S. Goodman, *op. cit.*, p. 351.

fourth and thus make the first seal: YAYA. Then they do the same with the second letters of the four sacred names and get HDYH. They make the third seal by joining every third letter and produce VNAY. And finally they join the last letters in the same way and get the fourth seal, which is HYYH. The meaning of these four signs is "The Lord our God is One Lord," and such, they say, is the superscription of the four signs joined together. Lastly, they draw on the back of the parchment ARARYTHA, which is interpreted: "One, the Beginning of his Unity, the beginning of his Oneness, his Exchange is One." This exchange of letters is understood in accordance with the third part of Kabbalah. The Kabbalists, then, stand with their signs and inscriptions in devotion to the highest God and, in every demand for a blessing, whether in the special eighteen blessings or in any other of their just prayers, they hope for infallible success.

Although Thenaud followed Reuchlin in this discourse it is noteworthy that his amulettes include information not found in Reuchlin - the inscriptions around the outer edge of the amulettes. Although the letters around the 'Arifmantique' one is not fully legible, the legend around the 'Theomantique' is derived from the well known Deuteronomy vi 4 '... The LORD is our God, the LORD is one.'¹ The spacing of the Hebrew script for ARARYTHA is to be noted. The two letters 'R' (ר) and their accompanying letters 'A' (א) have quite different amounts of space given them. Presuming that the illustrator wrote in the Roman (left to right) style it is evident that he ran out of space at the right hand edge and therefore had to squash the final two letters. It is unlikely that an illustrator, writing in the non-Roman (right to left) style would have squashed the first two letters and then have spread the other five letters equally. It is therefore evident that the illustrator was not a Hebraist, which is a further indication of the primitive state of the knowledge of Hebrew in Thenaud's circles. Nevertheless the inclusion of these amulettes does show that he did have access to kabbalistic sources independent of Christian Kabbalists such

¹Dt. vi 4:-

שְׁמַע יִשְׂרָאֵל יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְהוָה אֶחָד:

as Reuchlin.

The third indication that Thenaud was a recipient of independent sources comes from a curious tale found in folio 60 recto of ms. 5061. This tale is in the fourth treatise which concerns the Practice of the Kabbalah. It contains a definition of the Kabbalah, tells how the law was formerly given in three ways and records the difference between Talmudists and Kabbalists. The high regard that Thenaud has for the Kabbalist is evident from the terms used in the opening lines of this chapter *-le venerable et moult profond hebreu ... Raby et seigneur.*¹

The tale is followed by a chapter about the excellence of the Hebrew language. The tale is so informative about sources that a full translation follows:-²

... Also they have two lives, and refer all things to the highest spiritual ones. It is right for you all the same to know that the Talmud which we have today was spoiled and corrupted to the extent that it has no

margin has About the Talmud of the Jews

relevance to the first. This corruption was introduced to destroy your Christian faith and law, as well as to vituperate, to blaspheme and to detest your Christ, who, they say, did his miracles not only on account of his sanctity of life, sonship from God, or for his excellence, but by the virtue of the name of God, which he had stolen from the temple in the following manner. Solomon had written and had engraved the four letter name of God in a most rich and precious stone which was in the top of the interior of his temple, and which was the most glorious and excellent of the seventy-two names of God. Thus everyone could read, adore and regard it in that temple, but it was impossible to carry it out written or

¹ The pagination of ms. 5061 is in error at this point. There are two folios 'lvii'. Folio 57 bis recto has:-

'Icy commence le iiii e traicte qu est la pticq`u de la Cabale. Diffinicion de la Cabale comment la loy fut iadis baillee en troys manieres La difference des cabalistes et thamuldistes.'

²Ms. 5061, folio 60 recto.

memorised, for Solomon had placed at the doors of the temple two marvellous lions in marble, who by magic art knew if the above mentioned name was carried out; they roared and cried out so marvellously, and so loudly, that he who had wanted to memorise it, would tremble and faint through fear, so that it would be forgotten. And if it was found upon him, he and those with him would be publicly and painfully excommunicated and punished. The name itself, without being regarded, would be carried back into the temple, and burnt there on the altar of the odours. So according to their account, your Christ who stayed a long time day and night in

Folio 60 verso

contemplation of the above mentioned name in the temple so as to carry it out with him, and fearing that he might forget it, found a way by having a blank card similar to those upon which one writes the law, and fitting thereto, to write the self same name and after he had written on it, he opened the skin of his thigh with a knife, subtly cutting into it he placed and shut up the card therein, and then left with some others. And I know that the lions did cry out and roared in a most frightening manner so that he was apprehended, examined and searched, but that name was not found on him anywhere. And thus by the virtue of the name, he did miracles, and taught his apostles and disciples.

There is no known source for this tale in the Bible or Talmud. Ginzberg's *The Legends of the Jews*¹ has no such tale. Some of the elements of the tale are however to be found. For instance Solomon had the lion and the eagle at his service.² Ginzberg, in recording the tale of Sandalfon and the crown, stated that the Seraphim roared like lions.³ In antiquity the notion of magic animals which served their masters by warning was not uncommon. Magic dogs are a

¹Philadelphia, 1938, vol. vi.

²L. Ginzberg, *op. cit.*, vol. iv, p. 162 records that there were at Solomon's service the lion and the eagle as was Asaph ben Berechiah among men and Ramirat among demons.

³L. Ginzberg, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, p. 111 records that the Seraphim roared 'Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord of hosts, the whole earth is full of his glory.' The likeness to the Merkabah mysticism is furthered in the ensuing sentence which refers to the Crown coming to the Throne of Glory which causes the wheels of the Throne to be set in motion instantly.

reminiscence of Serapis who was represented as being of dog-like form.¹ Later sources speak of magic bulls and lions which would bellow and roar when a fugitive slave was in sight and until he was captured. There is a Jewish legend that reverses this tale recording that at the Exodus the magic animals did not raise their voices.² The notion that lions had a role in preserving truth may be related to their presence at the court of the Sanhedrin and the High Priest. These surroundings were designed to terrify the witness into speaking the truth before the royal throne. They consisted of wheels which turned, the ox which lowed, the lion which roared, the wolf which howled, the lamb which bleated, the leopard which growled, the goat which cried, the falcon which screamed, the peacock which gobbled, the cock which crowed, the hawk which screeched and the sparrow which chirped.³

The original source of Thénaud's tale is easily recognized though the direct source is far more problematic.

The original source was *Toledoth Yeshu*, (The Generation of Jesus). Baron summarized his view about the work as follows:- 'That the *Toledoth Yeshu* in its present form is a mediæval apocryphon can hardly be subject to doubt, but its ancient antecedents still await elucidation.'⁴ The most notable assessments of *Toledoth Yeshu* have been Krauss' 1902 book,⁵ Horbury's unpublished Cambridge PhD thesis⁶ and Schlichting's 1982 *Ein jüdisches Leben Jesu*.⁷

¹Tertullian, *Ad nationes*, 11.8.

²Yalkut David, Ex. xi. 7.

³L. Ginzberg *op. cit.*, vol. iv, pp. 158, 159.

⁴S. Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, II (2) New York, London and Philadelphia, 1952, p. 384.

⁵S. Krauss, *Das Leben Jesu nach jüdischen Quellen*, Berlin, 1902.

⁶Rev. Dr. W. Horbury, *A Critical Examination of the Toledot Jesu*. Unpublished Dissertation, Cambridge, 1970. This is available as British Library, Boston, microfilm D1789/71. PhD 7422. Horbury's conclusions, p. 36, as to the origins and development of the *Toledoth Yeshu* are that, based on research into antiquity, the Early Middle Ages and Jewish polemical literature 'the substance of the work can be identified as a connected Jewish composition by the end of the third century, that the debated early Mediæval evidence shows a *Toledoth* text in circulation, and that the work exercised an influence on mediæval Jewish apologetic.'

⁷G. Schlichting, *Ein jüdisches Leben Jesu - Die verschollene Toledot-Jeschu-Fassung Tam ū-mū'ād*, Tübingen, 1982. On p. 2 he notes that the widest variation of dates have been attributed to *Tam ū-mū'ād* - ranging from the first century (Voltaire, art. Lettres sur les juifs, in *Nouveaux Mélanges* VII, 309), through the second / third centuries (Gabrieli, S. Krauss, Introduction page 138

Schlichting's book is mainly a copy and German translation of the probable (*vermutlich*) first Hebrew imprint which he refers to as 'T^A' Amsterdam, 1823/1824. This had the Hebrew title 'תם ומועד' (Tam ū-mū'ād) meaning 'whole', 'perfect' or 'pious' and 'appointed'. The next Hebrew imprint was dated five to six years later and came from Adolf Jellinek the Viennese researcher.¹ The relevant passage for our present purposes from 'T^A', is copied below, with the present writer's translation:-²

וַיֵּצֵא הָרִשָּׁע מֵאַלֶכְסַנְדְּרִיָּא וַיִּלְט פָּנָיו בְּאַדְרָתוֹ לְמַעַן כִּיּוֹן שְׁלֹא יִכְיָרְדּוּ
וַיָּבֹא עַד לְיְרוּשָׁלַיִם וְאִין מִנִּיר בּוֹ

Then the godless one left Alexandria and hid his face with his mantle so that no one might recognize him and he came to Jerusalem and no-one recognised him.

וַיָּבֹא אֶל תּוֹךְ הַמְּגִיל בְּתוֹךְ הַבָּאִים

And he went into the midst of those who were entering into the tower.

op. cit., p. 303, note 246 f., 228) through the fourth / fifth centuries (H. Schontfield, *According to the Hebrews. A New translation of the Jewish Life of Jesus, (the Toldoth Jeshu), with an Inquiry into the Nature of its Sources and Special Relationship to the Lost Gospel According to the Hebrews*, London, 1937), through the fifth / sixth centuries (S. Krauss, *op. cit.*, p. 303, note 246 f., 228), through the sixth / seventh centuries (M. Goldstein, *Jesus in the Jewish Tradition*, New York, 1950, p. 163) and into the tenth century (J. Klausner, *Jesus von Nazaret. Seine Zeit, sein Leben und seine Lehre*, Jerusalem, 1952, p. 354.

¹6. Theil. Vienna, 1877 ff. S. IX-XIII and S. 155 ff. Reprint Jerusalem 1967.

²Tam ū-mū'ād, 12, 39 to 13, 21. From G. Schlichting, *op. cit.*, pp. 96 and 98.

והי'

שם אבן שתי' והוא האבן אשר נסך יעקב אבינו ע"ה שמן על ראשה ועל
האבן ההיא הי' חקוק שם המפורש ומי שהי' למד אותו וירע סודו ולסדרו
אח"כ על הקלף כשר ושמו בחיקו הי' בירו לשרר המערכות ולהחיות
מתים ולעשות כל מה שלבו חפץ ועלתה בירו לכבוד שם הקדוש והנורא ;
אשר שם בחיקו • --

*And there was there the stone Shetijah, which was the stone upon whose top
our father Jacob, blessed be his name, had poured oil. In this stone had
been inscribed the divine name. The one who learnt it and its secret and who
then knew how to copy it onto duly prepared parchment and who had that
name in his breast, he had it in his hand to reorder the order of things to
awaken the dead and to do all that came into his heart. All this came into his
grasp on account of the holy and terrible name which he bore in his breast.*

וחכמים חשו למו פן יעשה אינש דלא מעלי ללמוד את השם מתוך
החקיקה ויבא לביתו ויסדר על הקלף להראות נפלאותיו לבני אדם לאמר
אלקים

*And the men of wisdom were greatly concerned lest anyone who was unworthy
of it might learn the name from the inscription and go to his house and write it
in its order on a parchment so as to display his wonders to men and to say
'God*

שלחני אליכם לעשות את כל המעשים האלה למען יאמינו בו ויריח
את ישראל אחריו ויאמינו בו לעולם או עשו חכמי ישראל עפ"י שמורת
הקדושים שני כלבים נחושת וקשרו אותם בשלשלאות של ברזל מול שער
המקדש והי' כל הלומד את השם מתוך החקיקה ההיא והי' בצאתו דרך
שער המקדש נבחו כל הכלבים ומקול החדירה אשר נבעת מפניהם יצא
מרעתו כל אשר למד ולא זכר עוד לצרפו. וישכחהו • —

has sent me to you to do all these deeds,' so that they might believe on him and so that Israel might follow after him, that they might believe in him for ever. Then the men of wisdom in Israel, on account of the holy name had made two bronze dogs and secured them with chains of iron before the temple door. And so it was as soon as anyone who had learned the name from the inscription went out of the temple door all the dogs barked; and because of the reverberating noise which came forth from them everything which he had learned left his mind and he was not able to remember again and to recall it for he had quite forgotten it.

והרשע הזה בהיותו ככה"מ רשם לו סדר שם המפורש על הנייר בעט
ברזל שהי' מוכן בידו מן החקיקה וקרע ארץ בשרו באיזמל ולא הרגיש
בשרו בקריעת האיזמל מחמת קדושת השם שביר ואת הנייר שם בתוך
הקרע ויסגור בשר החתינה, ולא נדע כי בא באיזמל קרבינה ואין איש מכיר
ומבין דבר והי' בצאתו מן המקדש נבחו הכלבים עליו ושכח לימוד צירוף
שם המפורש מלהזכירו אבל בכואו לפתח ביתו פתח ארץ הסתום וקרע
את בשרו מקום אשר הנייר טמון שם, או הוציא את הנייר אשר הי' בעור
בשרו והעתיק סדר צירופיו על קלף כאשר זמם

Now when this godless one came into the temple he wrote for himself, in order, the divine name on a paper with an iron tool which he prepared with his own hand for inscribing. Then he cut his flesh with a knife. However on account of the holiness of the name which was in his hand he did not harm his flesh when he cut it with the knife. Then he put the paper into the cut and closed the flesh over it, so that no one knew that he had put it inside him. No one knew it or saw anything about it. When he left the temple the dogs did

bark at him, he forgot what he had learned, the order of the divine name and was quite unable to recall it. When he arrived at the door of his house he opened up the covering and cut his flesh at the place where the paper was hidden. Then he drew out the paper which was there under his skin and wrote it in its order on a parchment just as he had planned.

The first point to register is that this passage is of central importance in Tam u-muad. Schlichting describes it as "*Kristallisationspunkt für die Bildung des Volksbuch Toledot Jeschu.*" He points out that it serves as giving the reason, not only for the miracles worked by Jesus, but also for his consciousness of Messiahship and for his claim to divinity.¹

The second point to note is that there are evident similarities between Thenaud's account and subsequent Hebrew printed editions. Nevertheless there are obvious discrepancies. The most prominent difference is that Thenaud's ms. 5061 has *deux merueilleux lyons de marbre* 'T^A' has:-²

שני כלבים נחושת

translated above as *two bronze dogs*. (It is also to be noted that Thenaud specifies that the divine four letter name was the most glorious and excellent of the 72 names of God.³)

Did Thenaud have a distinctly different source than the writer of 'T^A'? The work was certainly known in Christian circles at least as early as the ninth century.⁴ Through disputations it was known in Paris (1240), Barcelona (1263) and Tortosa (1413/14). The Spanish Dominican Raymundus Martini included it in his 1278 *Pugio Fidei adversus Mauros et Judæos*. This Latin translation

¹G. Schlichting, *op. cit.*, p. 197 note 237.

²*Tam ū-mū'ād*, 13, 11. From G. Schlichting, *op. cit.*, p 98.

³Ms. 5061 folio 60 recto lines 23 ff.

⁴Bishops Agobard and Amulo (*Liber contra Iudæos* 846 AD) were aware of the work. See J-P. Migne, *Patrologia cursus completus ... Series Latina*, Paris, 1844, col. 87.

of the work described it as a *fabula*. Martini's work was however to become prominent. The Carthusian Porchetus de Salvaticis, who died circa 1315, repeated Martini's work in *Victoria Porcheti adversus impios Hebreos*. In 1520 the work was printed in Paris. The importance of this imprint is shown by the fact that it was used by Martin Luther for his 1543 translation entitled '*Vom Schem Hamphoras und vom Geschlecht Christi*'.¹ Could this 1520 imprint have been the source for Thénau's account? Examination of *Victoria Porcheti aduersus impios Hebreos* shows that in the two relevant sentences the animals which were to give the alarm and to cause the thief to forget the divine name were dogs (*canes*).² Therefore Thénau's source cannot have been this 1520 imprint. As has been shown above *Toledoth Yeshu* was not unknown in France prior to 1500. For instance Horbury records that from Trévoux in Savoy in 1429 comes an account of the discovery, during an official search by a baptized Jew, of a copy of *Toledoth*.³ Other manuscripts, and the complex relationships between them, have been widely discussed⁴

¹Luther, WA, LIII 580-586.

²Folio 30 recto b caput xi.

...Jesu noc'ri .i. Jesus nazaren' venit Hierusalem inuentiqz in templo dn—i lapidem in quo sedebat olim archa dn—i: et erat in eo scriptum Sem ha—me foras.i. nome— dei expositu—m. Quicu—qz vov illi' nominis literas adiscebat & sciebat poterat facere q'cqd volebat. Sapie—tes igit' time—tes ne viri Israel adiscerent illud nome— : & v—tute ipsi' destruere—t seculu—: fecerunt ... sanctuarii .. Qn— eu—qz itaqz ingredieba—t aliquis et adiscebat literas predicti no—is et exibat canes illi erei latrabant ei ita horribiliter q p_territus obliuiscabatur nome— et litera quas didicerat. Venit itaqz Jesu nozri: & ingressu templum: didiscit literas illas & scripsit in pergameno. Deinde scidit carnem cruris sui: & i— incisione illa i— clusit dictam cartula— : & rediit cutio continuo sicut ante erat. Cu—qz egrederetur de templo latrauerunt ei canes erei supradicti: & statim oblitus est nomen. Perrexit itaqz in domu— sua— & aperuit crus cu— cultello: excepitqz cartula— ubi erant litere. Sem hame foras.i. no—is dei expositi vel explanati: & rursum didicit eas. Quo facto: congregauit ccc. et x de iuuenit' Israel: & dies dixit eis. Videte. ob hoc dicu—t sapientes me esse spuriu— : qz super Israel volunt habere dn—ium. Vos au—t scitis q_ o—es pphete p_ phetauerunt super Messia, & in veritate ego sum ipse. Et sup_er me dixit Isaías. Ecce alma concipietat pariet filium & vocavit nome— eius emanuel ...

³W. Horbury, *op. cit.*, p. 6 ff. He further observes that on that occasion a French translation of the work was made, which shows it to have contained a conception-narrative of type Wagenseil. Johannes Wagenseil included an abbreviated version of *Toledoth Yeshu* in *Tela Ignea Satanæ. Hoc est: Arcani et horribiles Judæorum adversus Christum Deum, et Christianam Religionem Libri* ANEKAOTOT, Altdorf, 1681. Horbury also refers to I. Loeb, art. 'Un épisode de l'histoire des Juifs de Savoie' in *REJ*, X, 1885, 45 ff. The conception-narrative is found in BN. ms. Paris Lat. 12722, folio 137a. The forbidden book 'L'Official' which Loeb (*REJ* X 52) suggests is a prayer book, is possibly to be identified with Joseph Official's polemical 'Joseph ha-meqanne'. Further evidences of the widespread awareness are recorded in M. Schwab *REJ*, XLIX 1914, p. 274, Chapira, *REJ*, ns V, 1934, p. 72, I. Loeb, *REJ*, XVII, 1888, p. 255., fonds ébreu, 1357, M. Schwab, *REJ*, XXXVII, II, 1898. p. 132, 1358 and M. Schwab, *REJ*, XXXVII, II, 1898, p. 136. 1a-20b, 21-30.

⁴G. Schlichting, *op. cit.*, ch. 6, pp. 38-48.

and further discoveries are to be expected. Horbury notes that the publication of the Geniza texts has had a bearing on the matter.¹ Whereas the sources that have 'canes" (based on the Hebrew כלבים) were well known in Christian circles, there are other Hebrew sources which have אריות (lions).

As the following extract from Horbury's translation shows, lions are attested in the Baghdad *Toledoth*.²

IX And the matter was known to the sages, and they wished to slay him, because he taught halakah in the presence of his masters, and he fled to Jerusalem. And there was a woman who wished to go to Jerusalem, and her name was Helen, the Queen. And there was in the temple Eben Shethijah and on it was written the Ineffable Name. And the sages used to warn the young men of Israel not to

¹ W. Horbury, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

²W. Horbury, *op. cit.*, p. 286. This translation is followed by a copy in cursive script. Horbury's p. 300 (p. 360 at the base of the page) is shown below:-

תודע יהוה לחכמים וראו להווע לפי שהיה מורה הלכה לפני רבו וכו' וכו'
 ליושלים והיתה חמה חמה וכו' ללך ליושלים ושמה היתה
 העלבה והיתה בבית העקדא אכן השתיה והיה כתרוב טלנה שם המטא
 והחכמים היו מרחין שלא יאמרו שם המטא לבחורי ישראל ויאמרו מן
 הטולם • טעמו וטעמו שם אריות טעמו וטעמו טעמו טעמו כנגד
 פתח בית העקדא • וכל אדם שהיה נכנס אלמדי שם המטא ויוצא
 האריות 360

The final word is האריות 'the lions' as may be seen more clearly in the following detailed enlargement:-

האריות

Similarly p. 301 (p. 361 at the base of the page) also has, as the opening word, האריות 'the lions' as shown here:-

learn the Ineffable Name and perish from the world. They proceeded to make two brazen lions, and suspended them over the gate opposite the entrance to the Temple. When anyone entered and learned the Ineffable Name and went out the lions used to roar at him, and he would forget what he had learnt. What did Jesus do? He went and wrote it on a piece of parchment in his thigh. When he went out the lions roared at him, and he forgot what he had learnt in his heart. He went outside and opened his thigh and brought out the Ineffable Name and learnt it.

X. And he went and gathered all the young men of Israel and said ... and went and did signs and wonders. Is. xi 4

Similarly Krauss notes that whereas the Leyden and the Adler mss. refer to two copper dogs, other sources refer to two copper lions bound with iron chains.¹

ב

מעשה ישו

האדריאות היו צנטקים בו והיה שוכח מה שלמד : מה טעה ישו בא נכרך -
 איתו בקלף נחקר איתו ודבר הקלף נחקר ידכו . ופשיצא צטקובו האדרי
 נשכח מה שלמד כלבו וכלך לחוך וכלה ידכו והוציא שם המטרא ולמד -
 איתו והלך וקבץ כל בחורי ישראל ואמר יוודע לבם מה שטעו טעי ישראל -
 שהיו דוצים לברגה . ואחרים מיכנסים איתו שטעו אחרים טעו המשיח טעו -
 נכבדו ואמר הוא המשיח . וטל נאמר ובא נטשה אוקות ומופתים . וטל -
 נאמר והנה ארץ . ואמר משיח משיח חז בדבר פי . ונבקצו טעו הפריצים
 וכלבו טעו אצל המלכה נטשה אוקות ומופתים לביניהם . המעה המלכה

The first word may be seen more clearly in the following detailed enlargement:-

האדריאות

¹Krauss, op. cit., p. 190:-

'...und an welche zwei kupferne Hunde Ms. Leyden u. Adler oder zwei kupferne Löwen (B. p. 17 W. p. 6, slav. Rec., p. 35) mit eisernen Ketten gebunden waren.'

A further observation concerns the material from which the guardian animals were formed. Thénaud has '*deux merueilleux lyons de marbre*'.¹ This mention of 'marble' is not attested elsewhere. For instance in the extract from the Baghdad *Toledoth* given above the lions are in copper or bronze.²

Clearly ms. 5061 did not derive the tale of the theft of the divine name from the most popular Christian source, which was derived from *Pugio Fidei*. There is therefore a sound basis to support the likelihood that Thénaud had his own Hebraic source quite separate from circles familiar with *Pugio Fidei*.

It should also be noted that whereas dogs were by no means a favoured animals in the Hebrew tradition, lions were. In the classical tradition, as noted above, dogs were recognised favourably as symbols in certain circles. In Hebrew eyes lions would have been far more appropriate to guard Solomon's

Where W. is Cod. Hebr. BH. 27 fol. 206a-211b old Catalogue No. "Cod. hebr. xxi 4" and where B. is Ms. Rawl. Or. 37 Bodl. Oxford, Yiddish in Hebrew .

תלדות ישו הנצרי

Krauss records that whereas the Strasbourg ms. p. 38 title

מעשה ישו הנצרי

has on page 40,

line 24

כלבים של נחושת תלויים על שני

dogs which were of copper were suspended on two

line 25

עמודי של ברזל אל שער המוקד

pillars which were of iron at the door which was burning.

¹Ms. 5061 folio 70 recto.

solomon mis es portes dudit temple deux merueilleux
lyons de marbre qui par art magique couuoient

² W. Horbury, *op. cit.*, p. 300 (p. 360 at the base of the page) enlargement of the centre of the penultimate line has אריות נחושת:-

אריות נחושת

temple than dogs. It is therefore suggested that the *marble lions* tradition recorded by Thenaud records a more ancient one than the *dogs* tradition adopted by Martinus, Porchetus and Luther.

It is to be noted that Thenaud's account stated that the animals were able to give warning '*par art magique*'.¹ In the highly charged polemical nature of the subject charges of use and misuse of magic were commonplaces. This attribution of magical powers to the animals is noteworthy in light of the hostile attribution of magical powers to Jesus so that he might work wonders. Such a charge was recorded as far back as the time of Arnobius, the Christian apologist who died about 327 AD. He recorded the claim being made by the opponents of Jesus that he had stolen the names of angelic powers and secret teachings from Egyptian shrines.² This transference of magical powers in Thenaud's account reverses the polemical thrust. It therefore shows that Thenaud had a well informed Hebrew source but one which was well disposed towards Christianity. He did indeed have personal contact with *-le venerable et moult profond hebreu ... Raby et seigneur*.³

In addition to these Hebraic sources the extent to which Thenaud's philosophy was predominantly Medieval may now be assessed.

SURVEY OF MEDIEVAL PHILOSOPHY AS IT AFFECTED THENAUD

Thenaud displayed his dependence on many aspects of medieval philosophy. These influences were Greek (predominantly Platonic),⁴ Augustinian,⁵ various theories of Illumination⁶ and the writings of Boethius (c. 480-524 or 525 AD)⁷

¹Ms. 5061 folio 70 recto.

**l'onon auoit mis es portes dudit temple deux menual
leux lions de marbre qui par art magique connois**

²Arnobius, *Adv. Nat.* 1 43.

³Folio 57 bis recto.

⁴Greek philosophy may be attributed in the main to two sources - the Aristotelian

and the Platonic. Whereas Ficino (1433-99) made the whole of Plato available to Latin readers Aristotle's works had been available for longer. Thénau's use of these sources is highly revealing. Whereas Aristotle was only referred to seven times in ms. 5061 there were tens of references to Plato. Furthermore Plato was eulogized, being described as *le diuin Plato* in folio 17 recto and as the Hebrews' 'Attic Moses' in folio 33 verso:-

nostre Moyse attic aultrement nomme Platon

⁵St Augustine (354-430). Thénau's high regard for Augustine was recorded in ms. 5061 in several places; in one instance he was described by the admiring Hebrew as '*ton grand docteur*'. Thénau adopted many Augustinian beliefs such as the views on hierarchies, the nature of evil and the significance of Exodus iii 14. Augustine followed a Platonic understanding of hierarchy of souls and angels. This type of cosmology played a central part in Thénau's philosophy. To this is to be added the consequences attributed to Ex. iii 14:- And God said to Moses, "I AM WHO I AM"; and He said, "Thus you shall say to the sons of Israel, 'I AM has sent me to you.'" These consequences were that the hierarchy of value was translated to all of creation. Physical objects, which are very low on the hierarchy, and indeed all creatures, when compared to God, are '*prope nihil*' (next to nothing). This attitude is reflected directly in Thénau's statement that the prince of malice was the one who had no being. Physical objects are not altogether nothing, of course, but they are by no means fully real; that is reserved for God alone. So change or becoming implies that although things do have a measure of existence, they are not entirely real. God alone is unchanging; mutability is a mark of the creature. This notion of creatures as composite changing creatures may be traced back to Aristotle. Also the idea of God as One, the highest Good may be traced back to Neoplatonism. One consequence was that the level of goodness was associated with the level of being. The result of this, as far as the existence of evil is concerned, is that evil, which has no good, has no real being. This denial of the reality of evil may be compared with Augustine's early adherence to the bipolar model of good and evil from his Manichean stage. In stark contrast to Augustine's early errant ways it is to be recalled that Thénau did not record any errancy from his youth. It is also to be recalled that Thénau was only writing for his king, whose salvation was never doubted. Thénau had little motive or reason for investigating the nature of evil. Augustine did not hold that evil was another way of describing something's absence of good. He regarded evil as the absence of a good which ought to have been present. By applying this to governance, Augustine held that the proper order of things was for the superior to rule the inferior. Evil arises when the inferior have power over the superior. This theme of the right ordering of the universe in terms of respectful obedience to the established authorities was however one which was close to Thénau's heart. It was also highly expedient politically. Thénau's adherence to this Augustinian belief may be compared to the direction which Jean Calvin took which separated and alienated him from Francis. Thénau's second treatise in ms. 5061 is a very extensive section of 31 folios. The subject is the immortality and the excellence of souls. The subject matter and the philosophy underlying it are in accord with Augustine and the Neoplatonism which Augustine adopted. These notions had been given fresh impetus by the introduction of works in Arabic which became available in translation and which repeated many Augustinian concepts. Most notably there were the works of Solomon Ibn Gabirol (c.1021-c.1058) also known as Avencibrol and Avicbron, a Spanish Jew who wrote in Arabic. He adopted many aspects of Neoplatonism. We know from *De Arte Cabalistica* that Reuchlin was aware of these writings and therefore there is the likelihood that Thénau also had some awareness of them. J. Reuchlin, *De Arte Cabalistica*, folio 1 verso:- *The Arab philosophers were more my special interest—Algazel, Alpharabi, Abucaten, Hali, Abumaron, Abensina (you will know him as Avicenna), Abenrust (that is, Averroes), and other peripatetics like them.* In Medieval philosophy there was emphasis on 'universal hylomorphism' and 'plurality of forms'. In 'universal hylomorphism' only God is absolutely simple and all creatures are in some way composite; composition is always a case of matter and form. Thus even souls have matter - spiritual matter. This had been claimed in essence by Augustine in *Confessions*, xii. xvii 25. In 'plurality of forms' there is a nesting of forms. For instance man may be described in terms of a number of forms. He may be seen as animate or sensate or rational.

⁶In Aristotle the soul was regarded as a complete substance in its own right. It is to be noted that he was ambiguous as to whether or not the soul was immortal. In the 'hylomorphist' view the soul was regarded as more in line with Platonism whereby one

and of Dionysius the Areopagite.¹ Thenaud openly acknowledged Pico, Ficino, Reuchlin, Ricius,² Dante (1265-1321)³ and Rabanus Maurus.⁴ Other influences were due to the universities⁵ and his fellow Franciscans.⁶ Major medieval substance inhered in another, like a captain in a ship or a ruler in his kingdom. The activity which was associated with the soul was that of knowing. This close association naturally favoured the connection between the soul and spiritual revelation. Conversely it did not favour the idea that knowledge may be reliably gained through the senses. Thenaud's views follow this pattern though there is the very special aspect in that he emphasizes that illumination was disseminated via the angelic and then via the celestial to the elementary realm.

⁷Boethius' contribution to furthering the Augustinian view about freewill, notably as given in *On the Choice of the Freewill*, book iii, was in his *Consolation*, book v. There he removed God from the constraints of time. He also contributed to the discussion on universals. In the main he abided by Aristotle's definition that a universal was that which was apt to be predicated of many. Boethius translated most of the logical works of Aristotle into Latin.

¹Thenaud expresses his dependence on Dionysius the Areopagite in several places in ms. 5061. Dionysius is variously described as the apostles to the Gauls, to the French and as saint Dennis. See folios 40 recto, 42 verso, 43 recto (reference to number theory), 55 verso (reference to the certainty of God's existence and the difficulty of knowing him) and 78 recto (reference to the names of God).

²Notably ms. 5061 folio 58 verso which has reference to all three as writers of the Kabbalah:-

Finablement et pour conclusion en cestuy temps ont escript cest Cabale en langue latine les illustres docteurs Paulus Ricius Jehan Pique et Reuchlin.

³Ms. 5061 has references to Dante at folios 16 verso, 38 verso and 71 verso (on the question of the infinite number of angels).

⁴The first mention of Rabanus Maurus by Thenaud was in BN. ms. Fr. 882 folio 22 verso where the (missing) image is attributed to Rabanus. The caption reads:-

La croix blanche en banniere Cabalisee par lettres selon Rabanus.

Rabanus was to become an essential authority for Thenaud's subsequent exposition of the Kabbalah in ms. 5061.

⁵Thenaud described himself as Master of Arts and Doctor of Theology in his 1530 title of his itinerary to the Holy Land:- *Le Voyage et Itinaire de oustre mer par Frere Jehá Thenaud Maistre en ars docteur en Theologie & gardien des freres mineurs d'angoulesme*. References to the universities are mixed in their admiration. Ms. 5061 folio 96 recto for instance commends the assiduous and productive scholars of the great universities of Christendom for their:- *innumerables liures nouvellement composez tant des florissans docteurs de paris couloigne oxone romme Allemagne Hespaigne florence ytalie que dailleurs*. On the other hand folio 64 verso contains a disparaging assessment of the true value of university learning. Thenaud's concern that his ignorance of foreign languages was to his disadvantage was aired and dismissed:- *Je luy demanday si ladicté Cabale estoit science car ie estoye tout ennuye de ma vie laquelle aouye use et consomme par si longtemps sans avoir congnoissance de lettres grecques hebraïques et barbares lesquelles sont auourd'hui communes et familières es ieusnes enfens de paris et daultres uniuerseitez. ... Et il me repend. Saiches quil nest congnoissance ou scauoir soit de phisicque methaphisicque ethicque droit ciuil ou canon qui puisse auoir le nom de science. Mais celluy lor doit estre attribue seulement a la Cabale.*

⁶Many of the most influential philosopher-theologians in Medieval Europe were from Jean Thenaud's own order - the Franciscans. Roger Bacon (c.1214-1294), John Duns Scotus (c.1265-1308), William of Ockham (c.1285-1347) and Bonaventure (1221-1274) were all

influences which were either not influential in Thanaud's philosophy or which were resisted were those due to John Scottus Eriugena (c.810-77),¹ Anselm of Canterbury (1033-11-9)² and Abelard (1079-1142).³ Thanaud accords little regard to that pre-eminent thinker of the High Middle Ages - the Dominican St. Thomas Aquinas (1224/5-74). This lack of regard may be attributed to Aquinas' predilection for Aristotle, which had been attacked by Thanaud's fellow Franciscan Bonaventure (1221-74). Bonaventure attacked Aristotle for rejecting the Platonic forms, which Bonaventure understood to be thoughts in the mind of God - a view which Thanaud shared.⁴ Indeed this Franciscan preference for Plato before Aristotle is clearly evident in Thanaud's second treatise in ms. 5061, which is a very extensive section of 31 folios. The subject is the immortality and the excellence of souls. The subject matter and the philosophy underlying it are in accord with Augustine and the Neoplatonism which Augustine adopted. These notions had been given fresh impetus by the introduction of works in Arabic which became available in translation and which repeated many Augustinian concepts. Most notably there were the works of Solomon Ibn Gabirol (c.1021-c.1058) also known as Avencibrol and prominent Franciscans. Despite this wealth of theological and philosophical material available from his own order Thanaud makes almost no acknowledgment of it. Indeed the acquisition of knowledge of the deity - the purpose of ms. 5061 - is in ms. 5061 folio 17 recto not attributed to philosophical means at all but to the devotions of Saint Francis the founder of the order as follows:-

Cecy aduint aussi a cil pauvre stigmatise francoys le quel en ses grandes deuotions et ferueurs fut tiellement transforme en lamour de cil que tant il aymoît que les signes et stigmates parurent imprimez pour tout iamais en son corps et est aduenue a aultres innombrables non seulement du temps passe mais du temps present que lon dict estre en ta loy.

This happened also to that poor stigmata bearing Francis, who in his great devotions and fervent ways was so transformed in love that he wanted the signs and the stigmata to be permanently imprinted in his body and so it has been not only in the past, but also occurs in the present day, as it is said in your law.

¹Eriugena's major work was his *On the Division of Nature*. He followed Dionysius the Areopagite, whose influence on Thanaud is evident. Eriugena was not widely influential in the Middle Ages, and there is no evidence that Thanaud used his writings.

²Anselm's philosophy, given in *Proslogion*, was inseparably bound up with his attempt (which came to be known as the 'ontological argument') to prove the existence of God. Anselm's argument was however negated in his own time by the monk Gaunilo of Marmoutier. Gaunilo proposed the illustration of 'The Lost Island' as a similar case to Anselm's. Gaunilo showed the falseness of his own proposition. He then declared that Anselm's similar case was therefore also unsustainable.

³The setting for Abelard's philosophy was his contention with his former teacher William of Champeaux. The contention was essentially concerned with determining the status of man; and this discussion was conducted in the light of Aristotelian philosophy, which was of less interest to Thanaud than Platonic philosophy.

Avicbron, a Spanish Jew who wrote in Arabic. He adopted many aspects of Neoplatonism. We know from *De Arte Cabalistica* that Reuchlin was aware of these writings and therefore there is the likelihood that Thénau also had some awareness of them.¹ These works had an emphasis on 'universal hylomorphism'² and 'plurality of forms'.

In 'universal hylomorphism' only God is absolutely simple, all creatures are in some way composite; composition is always a case of matter and form. Thus even souls have matter - spiritual matter. This had been claimed in essence by Augustine in *Confessions*, xii. xvii 25.

In 'plurality of forms' there is a nesting of forms. For instance man may be described in terms of a number of forms. He may be seen as animate or sensate or rational.

In Aristotle the soul was regarded as a complete substance in its own right. It is to be noted that he was ambiguous as to whether or not the soul was immortal. In the 'hylomorphist' view the soul was regarded as more in line with Platonism whereby one substance inhered in another, like a captain in a ship or a ruler in his kingdom. The activity which was associated with the soul was that of knowing. This close association naturally favoured the connection between the soul and spiritual revelation. Conversely it did not favour the idea that knowledge may be reliably gained through the senses. Thénau's views follow this pattern though there is the very special aspect that he emphasizes that illumination was disseminated via the angelic and then via the celestial to the elementary realm.

Thénau makes no mention of Luther and Calvin.³ There are only the vaguest

⁴Typically ms. 5061 folios 7 verso, 69 verso and 77 verso.

¹J. Reuchlin, *De Arte Cabalistica*, folio 1 verso:-

The Arab philosophers were more my special interest—Algazel, Alpharabi, Abucaten, Hali, Abumaron, Abensina (you will know him as Avicenna), Abenrust (that is, Averroes), and other peripatetics like them.

²Greek ὕλο the combining form of ὕλη wood, material, matter. μορφή form.

Hylomorphism is the doctrine that primordial matter is the First Cause of the universe.

³In 1533-1534 Jean Thénau's Angoulême was home to Jean Calvin. As is well known Calvin left France for Geneva where he established a reputation which endures to this

of references to reformist trends.¹

There are two further particular aspects of Thenaud's philosophy which deserve comment. These are the prominence which he gave to the motto 'Know thyself' and secondly his views on metempsychosis (which he termed '*circulacion dames*').

day. His works were widely translated and remain in print. His first work had been a translation and commentary on Seneca's two books *De Clementia*, which had been published at Paris in 1532. (It is illustrative of the common philosophical inheritance of Calvin and Thenaud that Thenaud's first classical reference in ms. 5061 was a quotation from Seneca as follows:- *Pour ce disoit senecque Qd ioui licet id licet et regi* Ms. 5061 folio B recto. Further references to Seneca are at folios 14 verso and 95 verso.). Calvin spent part of his time in Angoulême working on his *Christianæ Religionis Institutio*. M. Ortiz, *Angoulême*, Ouest France, 1992, pp. 15 and 18. *En 1533-34, un certain Deparcieux, ou Calvin, séjournait à Angoulême. Il logeait rue de Genève, chez son ami Louis du Tillet, chanoine d' Angoulême. Il composa ici une partie de son Institution de la Religion Chrétienne. Les idées de Calvin se propagèrent largement en Angoumois; elles gagnèrent la noblesse, comme le vicomte d'Aubeterre ou / François III de La Rochefoucauld, ainsi que les milieux de la bourgeoisie. Une église réformée s'organisa dans la seconde moitié du XVIe siècle.* *Christianæ Religionis Institutio* was first printed in 1536 at Basle with a dedication to Francis, and it was addressed to the *Christianissimum Regem Franciæ*, as may be seen from the following image:-

CHRISTIA

NAE RELIGIONIS INSTI-
tutio, totam ferè pietatis summã & quic-
quid est in doctrina salutis cognitu ne-
cessarium, complectens : omnibus pie-
tatis studiosis lectu dignissi-
mum opus, ac re-
cens edi-

PRAEFATIO AD CHRI-
stianissimum REGEM FRANCIAE, qua
hic ei liber pro confessione fidei
offertur.

IOANNE CALVINO
Nouiodunensi autore.

BASILEAE,
M. D. XXXVI.

Title page *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, Basle, 1536.

Jean Thenaud, as has been described above, expressed no less fervour for the spiritual welfare of Francis. Notwithstanding their stated common interest in King's soul, Calvin's and Thenaud's ways diverged in geography and fame. Their theological development, arising from the differing uses which they made of the written sources available to them, could hardly be more of a contrast. (An even more striking illustration of the closeness of the philosophical training of the times is the claim by Abel Lefranc that the *Collège de France* had been the intellectual home simultaneously of François-Xavier, Rabelais, Calvin and Ignatius of Loyola).

Know Thyself

The phrase translated as *Know thyself*, merits further attention for the following reasons.

Firstly it is noteworthy that Thenaud places it at the start of his discussion of the nature of man and it is the understanding of the nature of man that he uses as the starting point for understanding the angelic, the celestial and the elementary worlds. It is to be noted that the margin of folio 9 has:-

*Au parauant `q congnoistre les troys môdes il conuient congnoistre
le quartriesme monde qui est soy mesmes.*

Secondly, it is to be recalled that Thenaud invariably took as his starting point for a discourse some feature which was familiar to Francis. In the present case of the phrase *Know thyself* there are at least two instances where the phrase had been brought before the royal eyes. Thenaud's mentor, Francois Desmoulins in his 1505 *Dialogus*, had praised Prudentia and had recorded the three notable sayings attributed to Chilo which had been inscribed in the Delphic temple of which the first was *Know thyself*.¹ Secondly in the copy of

¹Ms. 5061 folio F verso where reforms are considered in the context of infected scars.

¹F. Demoulins, *Francisci Demoulins pictonis dialogi subsequentis argumentum*, folio 6 cited by A-M. Lecoq, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

La première partie de l'entendement plain d'industrie ... est observer les troys dicts notable de Chilo, qui en lettre d'or furent escripts ou temple de Delphes. Le premier est celui que Juvénal dit estre descendu du ciel, et s'appelle en grec γινῶθι σεαυτόν, en Latin, nosce te ipsum, en françoys, congnoys toy mesmes ...

Guillaume Budé's *Institution du Prince* ¹ which was presented to Francis (probably in 1519) the phrase is prominent. It appears as ΓΝΩΘΙ ΣΕΑΥΤΟΝ' on folio 2 together with the royal coat of arms, the salamander, the motto *E cælo descendit*, fleur-de-lys and letters 'F'.

Thirdly, in Thénau's monumental manuscripts called *Le Triomphe des Vertuz et Vertueux* or *Triumphes de Vertuz*, ² the order of the four virtues is Prudence, Force, Justice and Temperance. Every one of the four virtues is described in the form of a dream by the pilgrim (Thénau). Every dream is related to Thénau's visit to mount Sinai. Prudence is associated with Marguerite and is of especial value in the present context for two reasons. In the first place the theme of Prudence is a prominent example of the manner in which that theme is handled in the (non-kabbalistic) *Triumphes de Vertuz*, and in the overtly kabbalistic ones. In the second place the virtue of Prudence in *Triumphes de Vertuz* is the result of one of the journeys of the Explorer in a dream. Prudence is the result of the coming together of knowledge (*science*) and wisdom (*sagesse*). The pilgrim's progress takes him through the Garden of gestation and birth,³ the Garden of Discipline,⁴ the Valley of Counsel,⁵ the



Giraudon. A. Kenny, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

¹ Arsenal, ms. 5103.

² Leningrad Fr. F. V. XV. I., Bibliothèque Nationale ms. Fr. 144 and ms. Fr. 443 and Arsenal 3358.

³ *Jardin de Genèse et Naissance*.

Garden of Memory,¹ the Garden of Intelligence² and finally to the Fortress of Providence.³ One of the notable aspects for the present study is that when the Explorer in *Triumphes de Vertuz*, under the tutelage of Hipparque,⁴ eventually gets to his destination represented as the Fountain of Paradise, he finds that the water there does not satisfy. There are obvious similarities between the course of this dream and the course of the story at the end of ms 5061. In both cases the first guides, (the guidance of Hipparque to the "Fountain of Paradise", and the guidance of Dame Curiosité respectively) are found to be wanting. The true guide in both works is Simplicity. This is especially noteworthy and highlights the similarity of the "non-kabbalistic" and the overtly kabbalistic works.

In *Triumphes de Vertuz* ⁵ the errant and perplexed pilgrim is directed to Simplicity by the advice of St Jerome, whose first counsel is '*Scaiches qui tu es*' - know thyself - and whose closing counsel is:-

It is needful for you to find Simplicity, who shall humble you and make you mad and contemptible in your own eyes, not by worldly folly, which is reputed by the crowds and by superb wordlings to be prudence, which only covers over the heart with inventions, claims of good words, renders those things that are false true, and true things it falsifies, measures out vengeance, causes violence to neighbours, and gives itself over to lasciviousness and voluptuosity. Do not follow the popular and vulgar world in this damned "prudence", but take the way and the path which will lead you to the crosses, for these will lead you to the Prudence

⁴ *Jardin de Discipline.*

⁵ *Vallée de Conseil.*

¹ *Jardin de Mémoire.*

² *Jardin d'Intelligence.*

³ *Forteresse de Providence.*

A-M. Lecoq, *op. cit.*, p. 106, observes that Thénau is here following Vincent de Beauvais' classification and definition of the Arts from *Speculum doctrinale*.

⁴ The greatest astronomer of antiquity, who discovered the precession of the Equinoxes. Born in Nicea, second century BC.

⁵ A-M. Lecoq, *op. cit.*, pp. 106-107. *Il te convient trouver simplicité qui te humilie et te rende fol et contemptible en tes propres yeux, non mye de la folie mondaine qui est réputée des foulz et superbes mondains vraye prudence, qui n'enseigne fors couvrir le cueur de machinacions, simuler parolles, rendre les choses faulses vrayes et les vrayes faulses, prendre vengeance, donner la baste a son proisme, et soy dédier à lascivetez et voluptez. Ne suys point le populaire et vulgaire monde en ceste damnée prudence, mais prens les chemins et sentes que te monstrent les croix, car celles te menneront à la prudence et sapience paradisique.*

In similar manner in our ms. 5061 the starting point for comprehending the four worlds, for understanding the true Kabbalah and for the entire pilgrimage is the need '*To know thyself*'.

The conclusions to be drawn from this consideration of *Know thyself* are that not only was the phrase well known to Francis, but that both the "non-kabbalistic" and the overtly kabbalistic texts gave prominence to the phrase. This prominence in both sets of manuscripts demonstrates that the philosophy which underlay both had much in common.

Pythagoras - Metempsychosis and Palingenesis

Thenaud makes an early mention of Pythagoras in ms. 5061 in connection with 'palingenesis and the circulation of souls' (*celle palingenesie et circulacion dames*).¹ Thenaud hastens to refute any claim that Pythagoras supported palingenesis, arguing that a belief in palingenesis was only what he appeared to have written (*quil semble auoir escripte.*)²

The terms which relate to this subject of reincarnation, the views of Thenaud's immediate source in this matter (notably Reuchlin) and the belief of his reader (Francis) are all relevant and will now be noted. This will lead firstly to an understanding of the value which Thenaud attributed to the question of reincarnation and secondly to an understanding of his reluctance to admit that Pythagoras actually believed in it.

The idea of Reincarnation was rooted in European antiquity and is also found in certain Eastern religions. Orphism believed in the pre-existent soul which survives bodily death and which is later re-incarnated in a human body, or in another mammalian body. Orphism taught that the soul eventually attained release from the cycle of birth and death and regained its former pure state. Plato in the fifth and fourth centuries BC believed in an immortal soul which participates in frequent incarnations. Our concern here is with Pythagoras'

¹Ms. 5061, folio 37 verso, has *celle palingenesie et circulacion dames*.

² *Ibid.*, has *quil semble auoir escripte*.

belief about transmigration of the soul, the passage of the soul from one body to another. Pythagoras was chiefly concerned with the transmigration of the soul from a human body or animal at or after death into a new body (whether of the same or a different species). The term was transliterated into Latin as *Metempsychosis*,¹ whence it passed into French and English.² *Metempsychosis* was taken as synonymous with *Palingenesia/Palingenesis*,³ which, as has been noted above, was the terminology adopted by Thenaud.⁴

The Hebrew term for metempsychosis is *gilgul*.⁵ Scholem states that the *Bahir* does not know of the idea of migration into animal bodies or into any but human forms of existence. He recognises that the notion of metempsychosis was a response to the question of theodicy. In order to explain the otherwise inexplicable, such as the prosperity of the wicked and the distress that falls upon the godly, reference is made to Is. v 2 (the parable of the owner of the vineyard who repeatedly replanted and pruned the wayward vineyard). By using the doctrine of metempsychosis, repeated transmigrations were represented as the solution to theodicy.⁶

Note is also to be taken of the fact that although the *Bahir* openly discusses metempsychosis, the references from Provence and Gerona are more obscure. Scholem⁷ records use of the term *sod ha'ibbur* (secret of impregnation)

¹Metempsychosis OED 390 μετα ἐν ψυχῇ.

²1590 Marlowe *Faust* 1604 'Ah Pythagoras metem su cossis (sic) were that true, this soule should flie from me, and I be changed Vnto some brutish beast'.

³Palingenesia - Greek - πάλι γγενεσία -

1621 Burton *Anat. Mel.* t. i, II, ix. 'The Pythagoreans hold metempsychosis and palingenesis that soules go from one body to another'. OED 394.

⁴Palingenesy French palingénésie and Med. Latin palingenesia, regeneration, birth over again; revival, re-animation, resuscitation, literally and figuratively. OED 394.

⁵G. Scholem, *Origins of the Kabbalah*, Jewish Publication Society New York, 1987, pp. 188 ff., 457 ff.

Scholem notes that although the idea of metempsychosis is known in the book *Bahir* there is no term which is used for it. He relates it exactly to the Latin term *revolutio animarum* used by Augustine when dealing with the Manichees. See H. Söderberg, *La Religion des Cathares*, Uppsala, 1949, pp. 152-54. J. Blau, *op. cit.*, p. 12 'However, to aid in the return of all souls to their Infinite source, a strong soul may voluntarily join a weaker soul in one body, and the two souls proceed through life together. This is called the doctrine of *gilgul*, metempsychosis'.

⁶Scholem refers to the triple transmigration, and to the claim that only the soul of the Messiah was not subject to transmigration. (Nahmanides differed on this last point). He also contrasts the Cathars' belief that all the souls in this world are nothing but fallen spirits, with the attitude of the *Bahir* that the descent of "new" souls was possible and was dependent on the good deeds of Israel. None of these aspects are present in Thenaud, whose concern is to explain any claim attributed to Pythagoras and his statements about metempsychosis.

G. Scholem, *op. cit.* pp. 190-91.

⁷Scholem, *op. cit.* pp. 457-60.

rather than *gilgul*. The doctrine was applied, as might be anticipated, to passages which raise questions of theodicy, such as Job's dealings with Elihu (Jb. xxxiii); the doctrine was applied, perhaps surprisingly, to resolve other matters, such as the justification of Levirate marriage. (Dt. xxv). Metempsychosis then was a doctrine that was not unknown in kabbalistic circles.

Thenaud, in this kabbalistic ms. 5061, denies that Pythagoras believed in Metempsychosis. (Palingenesis). To what extent did he adopt this attitude from Reuchlin, Pico and Ficino? Reuchlin was prepared to use the concept of metempsychosis and even seems to have applied it to himself. He described himself as "*.. the reborn Pythagoras ...*" although this may imply a flight of fancy.¹ Nevertheless Reuchlin was adamant that Pythagoras had no belief in metempsychosis. In *De Arte Cabalistica* Reuchlin gives another explanation '*alia ratio*' as to what Pythagoras meant when he had declared that he once was Euphorbus. Reuchlin claimed that Pythagoras was using an idiom intended to forge a link between those whose deeds, abilities and behaviour were outstanding and similar. Thus Numenius the Pythagorean could justly call Plato none other than Moses speaking Attic Greek.² Similarly Cicero was often called a Latin Demosthenes.³ Reuchlin was adamant that nowhere in Pythagoras' writings could one find trace of belief in metempsychosis - & *nusq reperies in eo uiro de transanimatione quicq.*⁴

¹ J. Reuchlin, *De Arte Cabalistica*, dedication to Leo X.

ascribunt, sit igitur tertium nobis aurea carmina. Percurre singula quaeque
& nusq reperies in eo uiro de transanimatione quicq, q credas fictus ru-
more falso seminum esse p inuidos quicqd de illa ~~perit~~ fingitur;
qd diuersitas narratiōis plane indicat, cū alii dypcūm hunc esse in tēplum
Iunonis relatum apud Argos,

² J. Reuchlin, *De Arte Cabalistica*, folio 34 verso. 'Et Numenius Pythagoricus apte scribit nihil aliud esse Platone q Moysen attica lingua loquerite.'

³ *Ibid.*, 'Saepe q qz Cicero dictus est latinus Demosthenes esse, ...'

sentimus, Cabalā aliud nihil esse nisi (ut Pythagorice loquar) symbolica
theologia, i qua nō mōlra ac poia sūt rerū signa, uerū res etiā rerū. Qua
aiaduertim Pythagore philosophiā fere oēm esse a Cabaleis ortā, q pari
modo symbolicum tradendi morem ad graecos transtulit, qn ego ipse qz

In the Middle Ages, partly due to the negative attitude recorded in Aristotle, Pythagoras had been overlooked. Renaissance translations and writings, notably Ficino's, redressed this situation, both for Jews and for Christians.¹ Thenaud was familiar with the work of Ficino and he had listed Pythagoras as one of the leading early theologians. In one instance Ficino (*inde religione Christiana*) even claimed that Pythagoras was a Jew. Ambrosius is cited as the authority for this claim² although nowhere else did Ficino acknowledge any Jewish ancestry for Pythagoras.³ Ficino therefore represents the view that religions and philosophies were revealed to both Jewish and non-Jewish parties. This is a multi-linear model. Pico also used a multi-linear model, as Idel points out in his comments on the circumstances that led to Pythagoras becoming a '*master of silence*'.⁴ Idel also notes that, whereas before the sixteenth century Pythagoras had been linked generally with the Jews, Reuchlin was among the first to voice the claim that Pythagoras was a Kabbalist.⁵ Specifically Reuchlin claimed that:-⁶

almost all Pythagoras' system is derived from the Kabbalists, and that similarly he brought to Greece the use of symbols as a means of

J. Reuchlin, *De Arte Cabalistica*, folio 35 recto.

It may be seen from the excerpt above that Reuchlin uses the Greek μετεμψύχωσις in the following sentence which states that reports about Pythagoras and metempsychosis were mere invention.

¹ For instance Eusebius, *Præparatio Evangelica*, 1470, as in Thenaud's ms. 5061 folio 39 verso.

² *Opera*, p. 30. Ambrosius, *Epistle 58, Patrologia Latina*, vol. xvi, c. 1051.

³ M. Idel, in J. Reuchlin, *De Arte Cabalistica*, tr. M. and S. Goodman, New York, 1983 Introduction xii.

⁴ Idel, *ibid*.

These comments are on Pico's *Heptaplus*. The first French edition was N and G. Le Fèvre de la Boderie, *Heptaple*, Macé, Paris, 1579.

⁵ Idel, in his introduction p. 26 to the translation of *De Arte Cabalistica* by M. and S. Goodman, observes that the late fifteenth century Italian Kabbalist Rabbi Eliahu Hayyim ben Benjamin of Genazzano reported that Numenius, out of his love of Moses' Torah, thought that Moses' soul had been reincarnated in his own body. See M. Dillon, *The Middle Platonists*, New York, 1977, pp. 377-78.

Idel suggests that this statement of R. Eliahu's is a distortion of Numenius' dictum: "What is Plato but Moses speaking Attic?"

⁶ J. Reuchlin, *De Arte Cabalistica*, folio 51 verso:-

**ſentimꝯ, Cabalā aliud nihil eſſe niſi (ut Pythagorice loquar) ſymbolicā
theologiā, i qua nō mōlīr ac poīa ſūt rerū ſigna, uerū res etiā rerū. Quā
aiaduertimꝯ Pythagore philoſophiā fere iōem eſſe a Cabaleis ortā, q̄ pari
modo ſymbolicum tradendi morem ad græcos tranſtulit, q̄n ego p̄ſc q̄q̄**

Idel justifiably asserts that Reuchlin treated *Pythagoreanism as stemming from ancient Kabbalah*.¹ In the light of the reference supra to *De Arte Cabalistica* folio 51 verso, and in the light of the primacy² that Reuchlin accords Pythagoras as Father of Philosophy,³ and the close identification of Pythagoreanism with Kabbalah⁴ Idel's claim is fully justified.

Consideration may now be given to the connection which Thenaud believed to exist between Pythagoras and the Kabbalah. At the conclusion of ms. 5061 the pilgrim is delivered from the errors of his ways by Dame Simplicity. She chides the pilgrim and includes Pythagoras as one of the philosophers.

*Dame Simplicity who was conducting the course of her school
saw how I was amazed at the depth of the knowledge there said
to me O poor curious man, you have followed to some extent
the curious doctrines*

Folio 96 verso

*of Pythagoras, Plato, Aristotle, Plotinus, and other philosophers,
Virgil, Ovid, Properce, Juvenal, Lucan, and other poets, who
have wanted to taste the superstitious and useless fantasies of
the Hebrews, desiring thereby to gain a name, glory, knowledge,
and wisdom, so that you may hope to do portentous things over
nature, now recognise your error, ...*

Earlier references to Pythagoras in ms. 5061 indicate that Thenaud was

¹ Introduction p. 15 to the translation of *De Arte Cabalistica* by M. and S. Goodman.

² *Holy Father, philosophy in Italy was once upon a time handed down to men of great intellect and renown by Pythagoras, the father of that school. But over the years it had been done to death by the Sophists' wholesale vandalism, and lay long buried in obscurity's dark night, ...*

De Arte Cabalistica, dedication to Leo X.

³ *... my mentor Pythagoras, the father of philosophy. Nevertheless his pre-eminence was derived not from the Greeks, but again from the Jews. As "one who received," he can quite justly be termed a Kabbalist. After much travelling he brought back to his hometown something worth admiring and he first renamed Kabbalah philosophy, a Greek word hitherto unknown, to facilitate general understanding.*

J. Reuchlin, *De Arte Cabalistica*, folio 21 bis verso.

⁴ *... there was a Jew known for his work in Kabbalah and highly thought of on that account. This kind of knowledge most nearly approaches Pythagorean teaching, or so I am given to understand by scholars when they have the time for discussion and are in an expansive mood. They say that Pythagoras derived most of his ideas from this source. ...*

J. Reuchlin, *De Arte Cabalistica*, folio 1 verso.

following Reuchlin's lead in connecting Pythagoras with Kabbalism. For instance two of the chapter headings lend support to a close connection between Pythagoras, as the leading philosopher, and Kabbalism¹. Nevertheless Thenaud divided sages into four groups. These were philosophers, poets, priests and prophets.² In this instance no mention was suggested of a connection between Pythagoras and Kabbalism. The conclusion to be drawn is that, for Thenaud, Pythagoras was considered to be among the philosophers, that he could be described as having had connection with the Kabbalah but that he did not have a real belief in metempsychosis. Thenaud sought to distance himself from notions of reincarnation,³ yet he was prepared to make allusions to it when it suited his purpose. For instance in ms. Fr. 882 he referred to Francis' mother as Pallas, the goddess of war.⁴ Thenaud excelled himself in the 1520 *Troys résolutions et sentences*,⁵ where the marginal comment on page 4 recto declares that all the graces and influences of the angelic and celestial worlds had descended upon the spirit and body of his most serene *Auguste* who was King Francis.⁶ The text is even more wide-ranging declaring that Francis' Most Illuminous and Divine Spirit was the beneficiary, in superabundance, of gifts from the spiritual and angelic worlds. These had formerly been distributed individually to other Catholic and Most Christian Kings but were now in his

¹ Ms. 5061:- *LE SECOND TRAITE CHAPITRE huytiesme*

De l'immortalite des ames selon les hebreux et docteurs catholiques Et comment les speres celestes et elementaires sont sans ames.

Auparavant que mettre fin a ceste matiere en laquelle iay suyui les philozophes Pytagoras et Platon comme les plus esleuez de tous aultres ensemble comme ceux qui s'approchent plus de nos loys et sectes

Lexcellence de la langue hebraïque chapitre ii folio lx

Comment la Cabale surmonte en dignite perfection et saintete toutes aultres sciences

Lesquelles en comparaicon delle ne meritent le nom de science chapitre iii folio lxxiii.

² *Et cest alors que plus ilz besongnent et vaquent a leurs*

Folio 16 verso

propres affaires quant sont hors toutes occupacions mondaines ainsi quil apert par quatre manieres de gens cestassavoir par les philozophes par les poetes par les prestres et finablement par les prophetes. Des philozophes nous produirons seulement pour le present Epigmenides de crete Zorastre Pytagoras Socrates Platon Xenocrates

Heraclitus Democritus Ligurgus et Numapompilius.

³Thenaud makes no mention of Reuchlin's move to present himself as a reborn Pythagoras, who would complete for Germany what Ficino had achieved for Italy with the publishing of Plato, and what Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples had achieved for France with the publishing of Aristotle.

⁴BN. ms. Fr. 882, dedication p. 2, line 21, '... palas votre diuine mere

Qui ma ayde de volonte libere'.

⁵J. Thenaud, *Troys résolutions et sentences, c'est assavoir de l'astrologue, du poète, et du théologue, sur les grandes conjunctions, moyennes et petites qui se font ou signe de pisces.*

L'an mil v^{ee} xxiiiie, ms. 2645, Stadtsbibliothek, Vienna, 1520.

⁶

Finally it is to be noted that Thenaud was by no means out of step with his times, although he did express his belief in his own superlatively Francis-centred way. The doctrine of metempsychosis had a special appeal to monarchists of sixteenth century France. It was believed that France was the inheritor of Israel, that the King was in a special relationship with the Archangel Michael and that Francis was not only an angel but the Archangel Michael, the provost of Paradise and of the Church militant.² An example of this belief is the 1518 gift from Laurent de Medici to Francis showing Saint Michael defeating the devil.

Toutes les gr̃es
influx des mōdes
angelic & celeste
descendait en les
p̃re et corps de
ñre tresserens
s̃me Auguste
et Rois François.

Ms. 2645, Stadtsbibliothek, Vienna, p. 4, margin.

que son tressilluminé et divin esprit
auoit les dons du monde sp̃uel et
angelic collectiuiement qui auoit
esté au parauant distribuez es au
tres catholiques et tresserens
dons distinctement. Je vy en oultre

Ms. 2645, Stadtsbibliothek, Vienna, p. 4.

²A-M. Lecoq, *op. cit.*, p. 445 where there is a denial that Ovid really did believe in metempsychosis. It was a case of poetic licence. Ovid had considered that Pythagoras "estoit si plain et remply de toutes sciences qu'il estoit veu auoir et posséder en luy les espritz et sciences d'aucuns qui l'auoient précédé." No folio ref. given to the 1532 BN ms. Fr. 5748 *L'ordre Saint Michel et du Roy*. This document states not only that France was the inheritor of the place of Israel, but that the King was more than under the influence of Michael. He was *devant (avant) vostre royal coronnement et unction en Roy impérialle, François de Valoys, mais après l'infusion de vostre céleste royauté, vous estes non pas ung ange mais archange saint Michel, prévost du paradis et église de Dieu militant : ... vous estes non crestien seulement, mais Roy très-crestien nommé, l'enfant premier nay de l'église, prévost de la crestienté et l'escu premier militaire de sainte foy catholique. Parquoy je ne suis veu errer ne (ni) se parle poétiquement ou superstitieusement comme Pithagoras, mais véritablement et à droit ... Folio 12 recto/verso.*



Paris, Louvre, Raphael, 1518

Thenaud's attitude to Pythagoras, Metempsychosis and Palingenesis was derived directly from Reuchlin, though Thenaud modified it and employed it to his own purpose which was primarily to preserve and to promote the soul of Francis.

A final assessment of Thenaud's contribution to philosophical advance depends entirely on the ground for that assessment. If Thenaud's own interest in using theology and philosophy to guard and to promote the monarchy is employed then he was indeed more successful than say Jean Calvin. On the other hand Thenaud's philosophy was firmly grounded in the Middle Ages and was quite unsuited to compete with modern philosophy. (Nevertheless the very fact that Thenaud wrote in French as opposed to Latin illustrates not only his deference

to the royal family but also the changing nature of Western philosophy in his day.) New developments in philosophy were enabled by the decline in the authority of the Roman Catholic church and were broadcast by printing. Thenaud remained a faithful Franciscan, and only one of his works was printed, so he may well be regarded as conservative, if not reactionary. The extent to which Thenaud's philosophy was at odds with new developments may be illustrated by considering Descartes (1596-1650). His most enduring contribution to Western thought has been his view of mind, even though those views have been successfully refuted by Wittgenstein.¹ His most memorable arguments were derived from *Cogito ergo sum* - (I think therefore I exist). That statement led to the question 'What am I, this I whom I know to exist?' That question was to lead to Descartes' conclusion that man was a thing which thinks. At that stage Descartes could not affirm that there was more to man than just that. Such fundamental doubt is to be contrasted with Thenaud's confident prescription for man to be guided by the call to '*Know thyself*'. This in turn was interpreted in terms of his unmistakably Medieval theological faith concerning the nature and essence of man, his part and his place in the cosmos. Descartes, it may be noted, shared Galileo's views on heliocentrism, though he decided not to publish his support in the aftermath of Galileo's condemnation. Thenaud's cosmology, which was foundational to ms. 5061, would not have been able to withstand Galileo's heliocentric claims. This contrast between Thenaud's cosmology and Descartes' locates Thenaud's philosophy firmly in the Middle Ages.

We now turn to the transcription and translation of ms. 5061 to see how Thenaud successfully integrated these varied sources and influences for the benefit of his *Most Sacred and Imperial Majesty the King our Sire Francis the Most Serene Monarch of the French Restorer of the Age of Gold*.²

¹Whereas Descartes held that man has a dichotomy of mind and body, Wittgenstein showed that even when man thinks his most intimate thoughts he uses a medium of language which cannot be separated from the exterior.

²Ms. 5061, folio A recto. *Epistole a la tresssacre et imperialle maieste du roy notre sire francoys tressserenissime monarque des francoys renouateur de leage doree*.

Thenaud

Arsenal ms 5061

There is a manuscript note, in an unknown hand, in the front cover of ms. 5061 which reflects the widespread ignorance about Jean Thenaud which persists to this day. In 1779, for instance, even the best informed circles were largely unaware of this writer, who was described as being among those *"écrivains peu connus qui ne se trouvent pas dans les dictionnaires"*¹

A literal translation of this note reads as follows:-

Treaty on the Christian Kabbalah, in prose, by Jean Thenaud, Cordelier from Angoulesme; the work is dedicated to François I^{er} ² in the dedicatory letter, in verse, in which the author gives his name and recalls other works that he had written, including his *Cabale metrificée*,³ of which the present work is merely the development and which the parchment manuscript in Folio is at the Bibliothèque du Roi, number 7236, olim 526. This manuscript appears to be the original presented to François I^{er}. In the third chapter of the Fifth Treaty, Jean Thenaud gives the image of the cross, followed by several other images in letters, after Raban Maur's treaty (*de Laudibus Crucis*) in which he translates into French verse the Latin verse. M. le Baron de Heiss has a superb ms of this treaty by Raban Maur which has been printed numerous times. I am

¹M. Popoff, *Index Général des manuscrits dans le Catalogue Général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, Paris, 1993, xxx, ii, p.1379, *Lyon Catalogue Général des manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques de la France*.

²Barthélemy Mercier, abbé de Saint-Leger, bibliothécaire de Sainte-Germaine, Lyonnais. Lettre à M. de Foncemagne, relative à l'auteur de Marguerite de France, Jean Thenaud, gardien des Cordeliers d'Angoulême, 24 mars 1776. Autographe signé, intercalé par Montfalcon dans no 1758, t. II, page 443 fonds général. On y joint un reçu autographe signé, daté du 28 juillet 1779, et une note autographe, "Ecrivains peu connus qui ne se trouvent pas dans les dictionnaires, etc.," voir fonds Coste, no 12650 bis, 15354 bis.'

³1494-1547, henceforth François (I^{er}) is referred to as Francis (I). This ms. 5061 is mostly in French with extensive quotations in Latin. There are rare instances of Hebrew and Greek characters. The use of French rather than Latin reflects Thenaud's concern to promote the glory of aspects 'françois' and was in accord with the spirit of the time. For instance in 1539 Francis himself, by the *Ordonnance de Villers-Cotterêts*, laid down that French was to be used for the publication of notarial acts.

⁴BN. ms. Fr. 882.

aware of another ms copy which belonged to the Religieux of the Holy Cross de la Bretonnerie in Paris.

This Jean Thenaud, although unknown to the Bibliographers, composed numerous works in prose and in verse; they are in the Bibliothèque du Roi, except for the present copy and the Marguerite de France,¹ a version of the general history of France, of which I have been able to procure a fine ms Folio copy on parchment from M de Foncemagne of the French Academy and Belles Lettres.

Date

Arsenal ms. 5061 can be safely dated 1521 on the basis of internal evidence. Folio 71 verso has '... et pour ce que cest huy le mil cinq cens et xxi. de sa naissance ...'²

¹BM. ms add. 13969.
²

compte et pour ce que cest huy le mil cinq cens et
xxi. de sa naissance il sensuyveroit que le monde ne

Folio 71 verso detail.

Jean Thenaud

Traité de la cabale

Arsenal ms. 5061

Translation and Comments

The Dedicatory Epistle and Table of Contents (Folios A recto to K verso) are headed by the following emblem.



For a colour image see **End Image Folio A recto**.

This emblem - The Order of St Michel - has been referred to above in connection with Thenaud's use of the decor of the château Amboise. Additional points to be noted here concern the Salamanders, the medallion at the base, the emblem on the shield, the shape of the crown and the style of the chain joining the shells. These will now be considered seriatim.

The salamander, with its associated motto in various forms¹ which concern the legendary ability of the salamander to live in fire and to devour it, was an emblem that came to be commonly associated with Francis I. It is found on medals,² medallions,³ furniture,⁴ stirrups⁵ and as a name for buildings.⁶

¹A-M. Lecoq, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-48 and Introduction supra p. 91 and End Note Monogramme 'F'.

²

Thenaud however makes no further use of the Salamander in ms. 5061. This is remarkable because he makes very considerable use of fire as a motif,



BN. Cabinet des Médailles, A-M. Lecoq, *op. cit.* p. 39.

3



Rome, Saint Louis des Français, A-M. Lecoq, *op. cit.* p. 43.

4



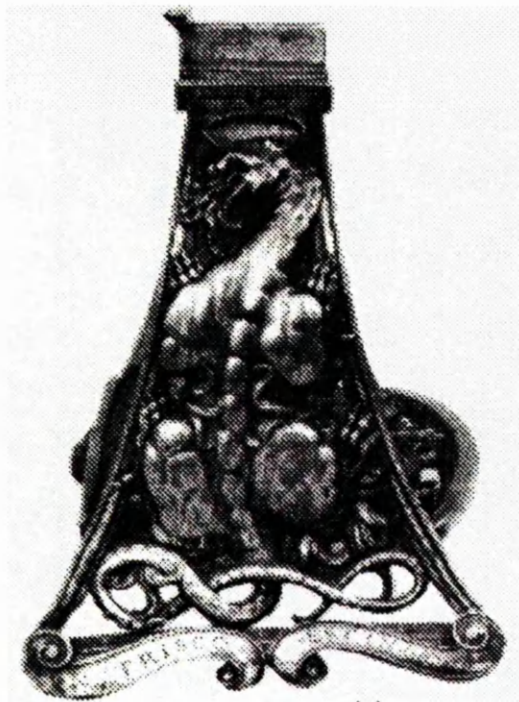
Fontainebleau Château , A-M. Lecoq, *op. cit.* p. 43.

5

recording the Biblical connections,¹ treating fire as one of the elements, relating it to the Seraphin and recording the linkage between one of the ten names of God and fire.²

The medallion suspended from the Order of St Michel shows the Saint defeating the dragon. Thenaud does not use the motif of St Michel in ms. 5061 though there are separate and quite unrelated references to Michael - the angel - and to dragons.³

The emblem on the shield shows the three fleur de lys used by Francis.⁴ This use of the three fleur de lys was widespread. The following example from BN. ms. Fr. 462 is typical:-



Ecouen, Musée de la Renaissance, A-M. Lecoq, *op. cit.* p. 37.

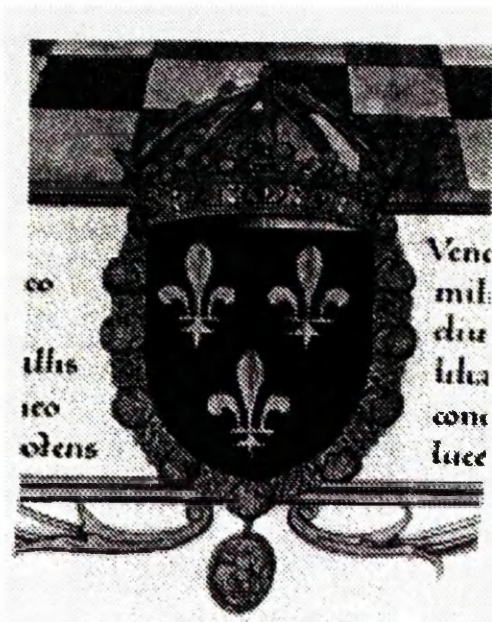
⁶The prime instance was La Maison de la Salamandre, Angoulême.

¹ For instance ms. 5061 folio 78 recto concerns '*Deus noster ignis consummens est*'.

²Ms. 5061 treatise four chapter 9.

³Dragons are mentioned in folios 16 verso and 18 verso, but in neither instance is there mention of Michel. Michael is mentioned in folios 87 verso and 89 recto, but this is the angel and not the Saint.

⁴See also folio D verso below.



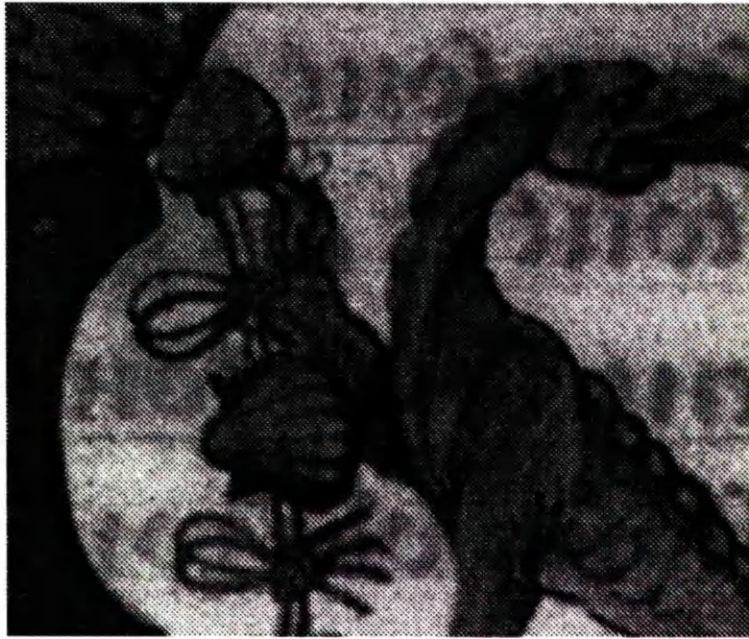
BN. ms. Fr. 462 Folio 1 verso detail. A-M. Lecoq, *op. cit.*, p. 438.

This motif also appears on the binding of ms. 5061 indicating its royal ownership. The use of the three fleur de lys by Thenaud is to be contrasted with the mixture of fleur de lys and ermine to be seen on the Amboise engraving noted *supra*.¹ The shape of the crown at the top of the emblem given by Thenaud in ms. 5061 is open. The crown in BN. ms. Fr. 462 just referred to is closed or 'imperial' which reflected Francis' imperial ambitions. Reference should now be made to Folio D verso of ms. 5061 which, like BN. ms. Fr. 462, shows the closed or 'imperial' style crown. Thenaud's use of the closed crown in Folio D verso was to make a firm political statement - he was likening Francis to the Emperor and supporting his claim. It is therefore to be presumed that the use of the open crown here was in error, or was due to the scribe using an old model (such as the Amboise fireplace).²

The linkages between the shells are to be noted:-

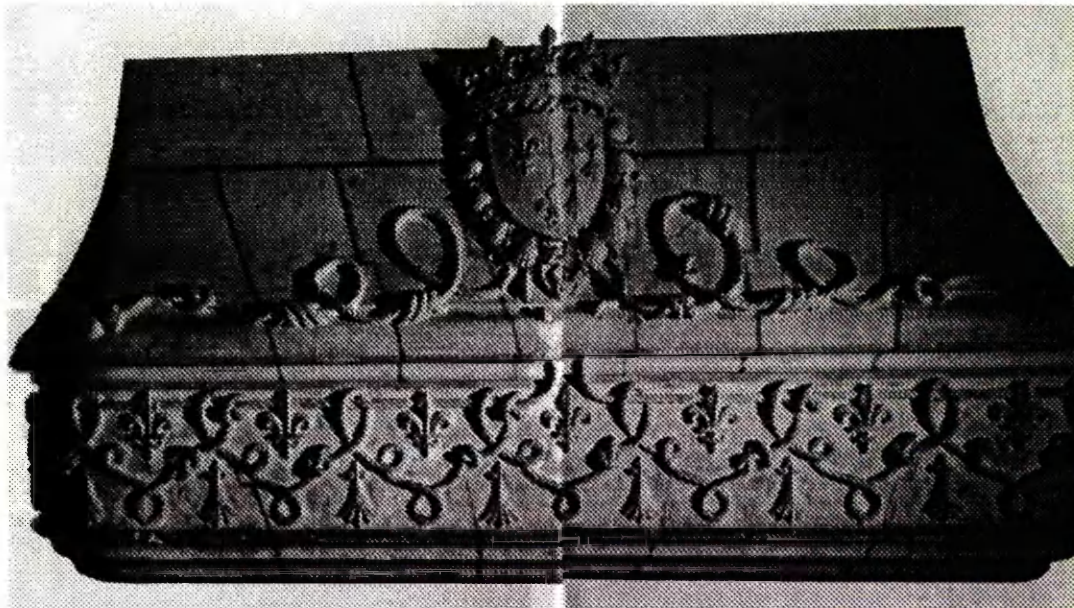
¹Introduction p. 91.

²

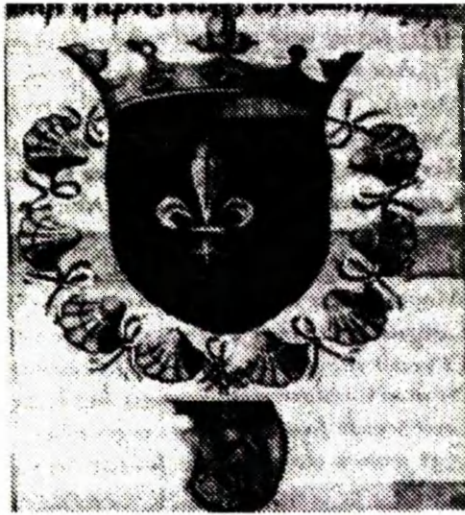


ms. 5061 Folio A recto detail.

Up to the end of the reign of Louis XII (1515) all pictures of the collar of the Order of St Michel show shells joined one to another by a lace as in the following image from the time of Charles VIII.¹



¹... *lacées l'une avec l'autre d'un double las ...*, according to the statutes of Louis XI, or more precisely '... *attachées d'éguillettes rondes de soye noir à ferrets d'or liées et nouées en lacs d'amour ...*' BN. ms. Clairambault 1242 folio 1419, cited by A-M. Lecoq, *op. cit.* p. 438.



BN. ms. Fr. Clairambault 1242 Folio 1419, A-M. Lecoq, *op. cit.*, p. 438.

However in the time of Francis a significant change was introduced by the king. In 1516, at the first opportunity after his consecration, Francis ordered the '*éguillettes*' to be replaced by '*doubles cordelières d'or*'. The reasons for this were twofold but not unconnected. The first was because he was called '*François*' and the *cordelières* had an immediate resonance with the Franciscan order. The second was to preserve the memory of Queen Anne of Brittany mother of Queen Claude his wife.¹ The connection between Minimes and the Angoulême branch of the royal family was a continuation of the favour that had been enjoyed notably since the days of Charles VIII and which had been reinforced by the events leading up to the conception and birth of Francis. In the prologue to *Vexillum Christianæ Victorix* the Franciscan Giorgio Benigno dei Salvati recounts how it was the intercession of François de Paule which ensured the 'miraculous' birth of Francis of Angoulême.² When Thenaud referred to this event he attributed its miraculous nature to the intercession of St Francis of Assisi.³ The importance for our purposes is to note that Minimes

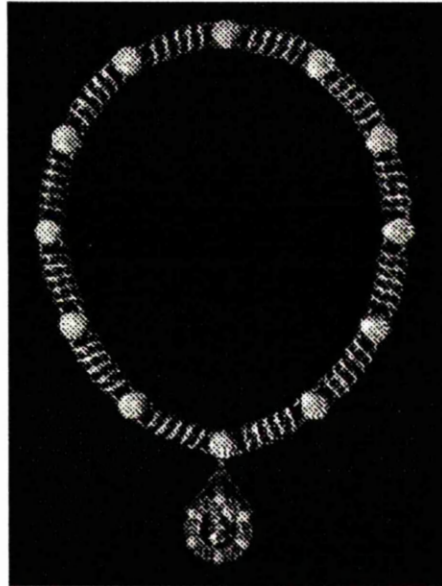
¹'Le Roy François au premier chapitre qu'il tint après son sacre en Septembre 1516 changea les éguillettes en doubles cordelières d'or à cause qu'ils s'appelloit François et pour conserver la mémoire de la Reyne de Bretagne mère de la Reyne Claude sa femme qui l'en avoit prié.' BN. ms. Clairambault 1242 folio 1419, cited by A-M. Lecoq, *op. cit.* pp. 439-40.

²Père H de Coste, *Les Éloges et vies des reynes, princesses, dames et damoiselles illustres en piété, courage et doctrine*, Paris, vol. II, 1655, cited by A-M. Lecoq, *op. cit.* p. 437.

³BN. ms. Fr. 882 folio 10 verso where Thenaud records the message passed from Charles of Angoulême beyond death, via himself, to Francis:-

*En cest amour seraphic sentretint
Tout embraze ce tresglorieux saint
De qui le nom portes lequel ie fiz*

and Franciscans were so highly regarded by Francis in 1516 that he incorporated the double cord into the Order of St Michel. This double cord became established as may be seen from the following image of the oldest known collar (as opposed to a picture) of the order, which is from the end of the sixteenth century.



Amsterdam, Rijksmus
A-M. Lecoq, p. 438.

We know from internal evidence in ms. 5061 that it was written in 1521. It is immediately evident from the images copied above that Thenaud (or his scribe) failed to take advantage of this change to the cord which had been ordered some five years earlier. Such a change could only have been of advantage to him as a Cordelier. How can such an oversight be explained? One possibility is scribal error. We know not only from evidence which will be adduced below that there were scribal errors but that Thenaud himself complained of the '*vice du scripteur*'.¹ Thenaud's complaint about the '*scripteur*' is however concerned with the full page images towards the end of ms. 5061 which use Rabanus Maurus' images. It is therefore unlikely that Thenaud was complaining of errors in this emblem, the very first in the manuscript. Another possibility, which is in accord with the discussion above concerning the use that Thenaud

Intercesseur vers dieu pour toy mon fiz ...

¹ms. 5061 folio K verso, '*Comment dame simplicité list a son escolier meintes leçons sur les suzdicts liures lcy vouloye mettre meintes figures de Rhabanus Maurus que le vice du scripteur et la briefuete du temps nôt permys chapitre iii folio ci*'.

made of the decor at the Château at Amboise, is that the '*scripteur*' adapted the emblem over the fireplace there as his model.

Dedicatory Epistle¹

folio A

Epistle to the most sacred and imperial majesty the king our lord Francis the most Serene monarch of the French² renovator of the age of gold.

All emperors, kings and sacred monarchs
With diadem and sceptre marked
On earth are recognized along with gods
Just as one sees them rule the best
In equity and law, fulfilling justice,
Prudence, sense, diligence and polity,
Their regions, subjects and their seigneuries
As God himself rules his hierarchies³
In heaven's empire and all the universe

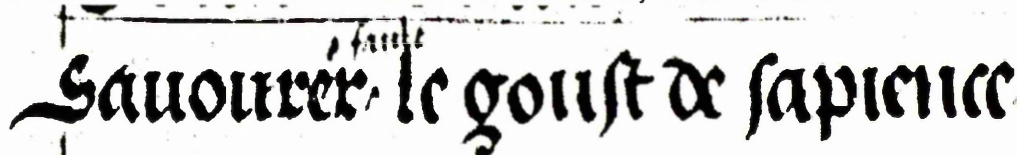
¹The dedicatory epistle consists of rhyming couplets starting *All Emperors*. There is no punctuation but breaks are indicated in places by indenting of lines. The following translation is line by line. It seeks to preserve the tenor of Thenaud's intent viz.

'... mettent leur intendit
Sauourer faulz le goust de sapience'

becomes:-

'... make their intent
'Wisdom's flavour false to savour'

Folio A recto line 13. This line has '*faulz*' as an insertion as may be seen below.



²The first mention which Thenaud made of the name France was in *La Margarite*, BM. ms. add. 13969 folio 25 verso where Francus was said to be the name given to the city *frâcefort* and to the land of France.

³This early mention of Celestial Hierarchies is a significant indicator of the value which Thenaud attributed to Cosmology.

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To whom thus is due immortal honour
But just as those who place themselves above such
Government, make their intent
Wisdom's flavour false to savour
Which is to heed and know
Human facts and things divine
In their splendour wiser and more worthy are
In comparison than sun to shadows of the night
And for this reason, for glorious fame
Was Solomon above all kings on earth
Magnified And among the men of history
Was king Juba¹ for letters world renowned
More than for realm or goods
Among such Sire, You, august invincible
Most Christian king serene
Francis of France Commander and King
Not only are you in his noble train
His emulator or even imitator
But in all respects his superior and chief

folio A verso

For over and above the many civil virtues
With which your senses are adorned and clothed
Which all men share yet only partially
Are perfectly made plain in you
The one who makes your realm in peace to bloom
In goods and happiness to prosper more than ever
All the Caesars did for Rome
As for Janus² and his standards

¹ Juba I King of Numidia, died 46 BC. His son, Juba II, was king of Mauretania, and was author of Greek historical texts.

²The first and legendary king of Latium. He received Saturn after his expulsion from heaven, and was granted miraculous wisdom allowing him knowledge of the past and the
Dedication and Contents Page 12

The temple was closed and shut
 But you in prudence kept yourself at arms
 And decorated with hero's virtues
 E'en with spirit purged and spirit blessed
 And wisdom in oneself well appointed
 By which you have that which seems good among
 The rich treasures of divine virtue
 As is well shown by your doctrine
 Extent of knowledge conversation both deep and affable
 And a truly far reaching memory
 Resplendent in your majesty
 And thus is shown abroad
 The Gallican empire and monarchy
 To have come to this happy state of life
 Beatitude and great felicity
 Of which Plato has already written
 Blessed is the public state
 When wisdom is her ruler
 Then he goes on to speak of kings when
 Kings and philosophers are contingent
 By this means sire all good spirits
 More elevated and taken up with knowledge
 All their good deeds and books they do dedicate
 So that thereby may magnify
 Your sacred and imperial name

future. This dual faculty is represented by images of him facing in two directions. The temple of Janus in Rome was only closed in time of peace. See J. Thenaud, *La Lignée de Saturne*, BN. ms. fr. 1358 and G. Mallary Masters, Geneva, Droz, 1973. p. 50 on the linkage of the position of Saturn and the effect of medicine. Saturn fled to Italy where the king Janus received him kindly see Virgil's *Aeneid* VIII 319-323. Saturn taught agricultural and coin-making skills; he finally disappeared and was revered by Janus.

See also folio 12 recto diagram of the Latin kings.

1 Janus 2 Saturnus 3 Picus 4 Faurus 5 Latinus
12 verso

6 Eneas 7 Ascamus 8 Siluis 9 Enceas filius 10 Latinus 11 Alba filius 12 Egyptius Salem ?
13 Capis 14 Carpentus 15 Liberimus 16 Agrippa 17 Aremulus 18 Auentinus 19 Protas 20
Amulius 21 Numifex

Dedication and Contents Page 13

In exalting it by immortal reknown
So that following arduous negotiation
And public declaration of your views set forth
Consulting working hard and then
For pastimes and recreations
It may please you to divert and to direct yourself
These to read or to have read
Thereby delighting the author

folio B recto

Who in his work will have your favour
To those ranks one would not lay
Claim knowing the poverty of
My spirit and my humble estate as well
As knowing that my own style is well obscured
With barbarisms and lack of eloquence
Were it not for the hope and confidence
Of your good and royal commandment
Which one should obey
Like one from God, for on earth you are
Like one in the celestial regions
As Seneca said Qd ioui licet id licet et regi¹
Also we see that your pleasure can
Grant dignity to the unworthy if desired
Elevate the lowly and depressed

¹ 'That which is lawful to Jove, that also is lawful to the King.' Thenaud's version is an expanded version of the original, but bears the same meaning.

L. Annaeus Seneca iunior, *Hercules furens*.

485

ipsius opus est uulneri et ferro obuius
mortem coactus integer Cynus pati,
nec unus una Geryon uictus manu.
eris inter istos-qui tamen nullo stupro
laesere thalamos. Ly. Quod ioui hoc regi licet:

490

ioui dedisti coniugem, regi dabit;

And bring low the high and mighty
 So sire when I had completed
 The Triumphant Cardinal Virtues¹
 And when my honoured and most illustrious dame
 Flower redolent in virtuous fame
 Your parent and productive source
 O sacred lily informed me
 Of her precept which was that I should set myself
 To compile in just the selfsame style
 The triumph of theological virtues²
 Your pleasure meanwhile was
 For me to investigate the cabalistic art
 Said to be the Hebraic theology
 And the Hebrews sacred mystery
 By the which they superstitiously
 Dare to claim all knowledge
 And to obtain full and perfect power
 In all the human and the natural realms
 Divine also and supernatural too.
 In order to obey your wish
 I immediately set about my duty
 To set out what may be known in one
 Book of verse in the common style
 Which I make my most humble present
 Which it pleased you to accept in all gentleness

folio B verso

¹Traité I & II: BN ms. 443 and Arsenal ms. Fr. 3358 and Leningrad, State Public Library Saltikov-Chtchedrine, fr. F v XV l¹. Traité III & IV: BN ms. Fr. 144.

²A lost work. See J. Thenaud, *La Lignée de Saturne*, G. Mallery Masters, Geneva, Droz, 1973. p. 33 Bibliography of Thenaud's works where it is listed as *Triumphes des Vertus theologales* with the French translation of the epistles of St Paul under *Œuvres perdues ou incomplètes*.

But inasmuch as in this matter
Whose difficulty and profound mystery
Calls for great elevation of spirit
And was somewhat difficult to describe
Using the rules that apply to verse
So your desire was to command me to put
This matter in prose and more fully
To describe it in a more accessible way
Which I have truly sought to do
But in wishing to bring the matter to completion
Three things have rather confused the path
Against my wishes
Firstly the exceeding loftiness
Of such a plan which in close study
May overwhelm and overcome one
For Kabbalah is to see and to explore
God and his names, interpretations
To make of them, and revolutions too.
To remark upon his unique unity
And to discuss his selfsame immensity
To understand as well the angelic mysteries
To know their names their souls and characters
Alongside their virtues and their offices
And then be taught in ways and means divine
Of the three worlds, the lower ruled by those above
All of which things are so hard to bear in mind
To hold aright and know in full
These things have given me great concern but
Before Jerome there was Symonides
Who when this Jerome asked him
About God requested time
First a day and then a week and then

A month followed by a year
Saying at the end that whoever thought of God
Became more overwhelmed and dazed
So I too took care without demur
To acquiesce to your command
Second due to a lack
Of knowledge of the Hebrew language

folio C recto

Which for this purpose is required
Has held back the completion
Just as I was greatly confused and in danger
Of violating the directions
Which Horace gave to all compositors
Creators authors and inventors
Which is to chose a matter conforming
To their spirit and to their faculties
Sumite materiam uris qui scribitis equam
Viribz Et versate diu qd` ferre recusent
Quid valeant humeri¹
Take for your grist you who write, as well as
Those men who handle and who fashion iron refuse
Whatever is unsuitable
But nowadays everyone tries his hand
At sciences which are new to him

¹Q. Horatius Flaccus, *Ars Poetica*.

35

nesciet: hunc ego me, si quid componere curem,
non magis esse velim quam naso vivere pravo,
spectandum nigris oculis nigroque capillo.

sumite materiam vestris, qui scribitis, aequam
viribus et versate diu, quid ferre recusent,

2, 40

quid valeant umeri. cui lecta potenter erit res,
nec facundia deseret hunc nec lucidus ordo.

Just as a barbarous mass
Attempt to write and get their ill formed works
Published by the universities
As if they were well lettered
But we shall pass by the works of the learned and the unlearned
For thirdly extreme poverty
Deprives one of the faculty of working well
Which added to that of my profession
Has taken such a hold of me
That it would never be one pace from me
And surely pursued me right to the edge
Had you not dear sire in charity
From your grace and liberality
Given me the needed help
As I was always hoping fervently
Considering that from the royal lips
Could only issue the royal word
Requesting you, sire, for that word to emanate
For it had long prevented me
And hindered me from having in my employ
Illuminators, scribes as needed
And parchment as I had need
Which often gave me weary cause
So I did need to vary and to change
Assistants and workers and to abbreviate the work
Which would have been presented
To your holy and royal majesty

folio C verso

If it please you sire merely
To excuse me for the long delay

Dedication and Contents Page 18

And to accept the shortening
 As well as the fault and imperfection
 Of the selfsame work And to think, sire,
 That therein was no intent nor word
 Affecting the simplicity
 Of our faith or the sincerity
 Surely I know you are the column unbreakable
 Of the holy church and light infallible
 To whom, I, your pilgrim,
 Most humble serf Thenaud at your desire
 Do not wish to address such works
 But to give you food for thought
 And to show like so many other
 Notable leading and productive doctors
 Whom one does not just from curiosity, need
 To promote nor make reference
 Of ancient names letters and ceremonies
 Nor to esteem that in such fantasies
 Be found today divine unction
 Life of virtue or acceptance
 Nor sacrament For such synagogue¹

¹This early mention of the word 'synagogue' is illustrative of Thenaud's attitude to the Jewish religion. He considered that it was to be commended in that it was pious and well intentioned, but that it was potentially misleading in that the true 'art cabalic' was to be found since the incarnation of Jesus in the four ways which he described in folios C verso and D recto. Other references to 'synagogue' in ms. 5061 are rare, but support this contention. In folio 88 recto / verso he likens the pious aspirations of those who follow the Jewish religion in the synagogue to those who seek to draw God to themselves. Nevertheless the model which he uses is that of a person in an anchored boat who appears to pull the land near to the boat by hauling on the rope. The worshippers are credited with the intent of pleasing God and prevailing upon him to change his immutable will. This nautical imagery is derived from J. Reuchlin *De Arte Cabalistica*, folio 57 recto / verso, M. and S. Goodman, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, Nebraska, pp. 267 and 269 which have:-

Rather let us summon our powers of desire for them and trust in them as in an anchor, as sailors bringing a ship into port throwing out cable or rope and pulling land toward them such that though the land does not budge, their own efforts drag them to land. We in the same way seem by sensible signs ordered by some kind of preordained rule to drag ourselves towards the invisible divinity. On this hidden foundation rest all the sacred rites and ceremonies. It is because of this that we employ signs, letters and phrases, the hymns and canticles, drums and choirs, stringed instruments, cymbals, organs and other musical instruments: not so that we may soften up God as we would a woman, and not so as to catch the angels with our

In full and all her following
And the effects of her perfection
Are translated since the incarnation
Of Jesus Christ in four worthy ways
In which the virtues of the faith are enclosed

The sacred name of Jesus is the first
The second is the triumphal character
Of the glorious sign of the cross
The sacraments of the church which I believe
Come after that of which the altar
Is foremost most perfect and entire
And the fourth is in legal justice
From which shines forth the royal dignity

These things then, sire, are the armaments
Which need to be both firm and sure
For when you are armed therewith
Fortified decorated and garnished

folio D recto

Bearing the name of Jesus on your helmet
And for the lance in your right hand
The holy cross And then in the left

sweet words and terms of endearment. We do it so that in the exaltation of God and the divine we may acknowledge the poverty of our own condition, humbly confess our subordinate and obedient state, and so unite all human desires in matters divine. ...

Similarly in folios 89 verso and 90 recto Thenaud attributes to the 'hebreux' ceremonies, sacrifices and other observances of the law the intent of guarding the most holy name of God. This discourse is followed by the description of the ritual designed to procure a divine or angelic vision or revelation. This ritual is not linked to the synagogue but to a closed and secluded location, *quelque beau lieu palays ou maison separee de tout bruit et habitation dhommes*, folio 90 recto. Thenaud's last mention of synagogue - folio 95 recto - is in the context of how Dame Simplicity delivers the earnest pilgrim from the synagogue of the Jews where he had been directed by Dame Curiosity in his search for the celestial way concerning holy scriptures *la voye celeste des escriptures saintes*, the sacred mysteries of the angelic realms *des sacrez misteres du ciel angelic* and for those things needful for his salvation *des choses requises a mon salut*. It is noteworthy that these needs were those required according to the Platonists and the Hebrews *par les platonistes et par les hebreux*.

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The shield of faith which rightly brings to mind
By the three fleurs-de-lys the truth
Essential of the holy trinity
Just as your body bears
The pure harness of justice and is
Clothed by the immaculate regime
Just as the idea and mirror of virtue
Will prosper and in joy will rule
Wider and yet wider till at the end will,
In renown and fame enduring
Victor insuperable reign
Over other kings named dictator
Keeper of the peace
And zealous for the catholic faith, its propagator,
So that in such brief space of time the barbarous people
And the strangers of all nations
Will submit themselves as your subjects

And so because of these four holy things
I have hereafter sketched and painted
Following Rabanus Maurus
The kabbalistic art made known in his verse
I know they are in many and various places
Barbarous and quite defective

folio D verso¹

¹This is a thumbnail image. For a colour image and full discussion see End Image folio D verso.



For a colour image see **End Image Folio D verso**.

folio E recto

On the helmet which covers the head of the sacred and royal majesty is written Jesu x^{pe} tuum vertice signū Augusto galeam² conferat almam³.

Which means

Jesus Christ your victorious sign

¹The scribal shorthand is given below:-

*maieste, il est escript Jesu x^{pe} tuum vertice signū Augusto
galeā conferat almam. Qui est a dire.*

² *Galea* - a helmet usually of leather. A head-piece, morion. cf. *cudo*; the *cassis*, on the contrary was made of metal plate; *cassis de lamina est, galea de corio*. Isid. Orig. 18, 14. C. Lewis, and C. Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, Oxford, 1880, p. 800b.

³ *Almus* - adj., normally associated with poetical themes of nourishment, such as Ceres, Venus, and other patron deities of the earth, of light, day, wine, etc. Lewis and Short, *op. cit.*, p. 95a

Designed to bring to the royal head insignia
 Diadem and helmet of prosperity
 Lest any death dealing accident
 Such as the three deadly sisters¹
 Who conspire and use their aggressive darts
 Infernal fate and damnable treason
 Dispensing cursed fiery sparks
 May not come near nor harm
 But rather may brighten and enlighten
 His clear face just as his friends desire
 And to the destruction of all his enemies
 May be preserved from harm and hurt
 In his right hand and on his garb is Inuicta et faciat optima dextera Virtus iesu
 tua Detqz triumphu iusto iusticie ac induat atqz lorica placidu semper (sep)
 amictum Què nullus iaculo proterat hostis sed firmu maneat cesarum omne
 Ac tutu imperiu omne per euu Sitqz eius sobolis leta propago Succedens
 maneat scepra tenendo Donec secla sua iura tenebut Et terre solidus pmanet
 orbis X'ri du memoret nomen ubiqz Et verbum d'ni predicet ultro. Which
 means
 Hope filled virtue grants to him
 Triumphant joy in his being invincible
 With covering of justice foremost
 And coat of arms² as powerful and strong
 So that no hostile dart may bring him harm
 And that his reign may rest firm and sure
 Against every capital aggressor

¹ Latin *Soror*. Here the connection is with *The Fates*, Tib. 3, 3, 35 also known as *sorores tres*, Prop. 2,13,44 (3,5,28); Hor. C. 2,3,15; Ov. M.15, 808. Lewis and Short, *op. cit.*, p. 1732 b.

² *Cota*, *cotum*, sleeveless coat or surcoat worn over armour. R. Latham, *Revised Medieval Latin Word List from British and Irish Sources*, Oxford, 1989. p. 119a
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His blood and lineage in joy may multiply
So that in honour may be fulfilled
For all time his generation
So that he may establish true succession
For the royal fleur-de-lys the sceptre without qualm

So that the century may run its course in order
And that the earth and shining sphere
May rest solid and permanent

folio E verso

Whilst the name of Jesus
Has effect here below and up above
In the cross which he holds in his right hand is written x'ri tua victoria vera
salusqz omnia rite regis. This means
In the cross is your salvation and victory
Which rules overall by merit of its virtue
On the shield which he holds in the left hand is written Nam scutum fidei
depellit tella nephanda protegit augustum clara trophea parans deuotum
pectus diuino munere fretum illesum semper inimica castra fugat.
The shield of faith repulses the false darts
Guards the King, prepares for him
Clear and bright, for whoever has a heart benign
Gentle and devout is helped by joy divine
Against his enemies and worldly powers
And chases, puts to flight accidents and mischances
All the words herein recorded which start Rex
Regum contain that which follows on, to some degree,
Of Jesus Christ king of kings true saviour
And Redeemer of Lords the Lord
You rule alone in your own power

This world, this present world, as all may see
Holding the incorruptible sceptre which
You enjoy by right eternal
You eliminate sins in the cross
Which burdened and soiled our parents
When the restraining bit of justice
For mankind bringing order and assurance
And which gave hope to faithful man
Of leading a peaceful life and having
Thus provision of your munificence
Largesse and paternal power
Your most high name feared throughout the ages
Although ineffable was to the good king made known
And so by honour may be borne upon his head
To keep him from harm and hurt
So is manifest by his authority
And example that on high is lifted up
The reign and name of virtuous Francis¹
As is the power assumed under all his rights

folio F recto

Towards the enemies and perverse adversaries
Of our Christian faith
So that by the wish of our devout prince
All humanity may be ruled
For through his gifts the extent of largesse
Calling all mankind to the heights

¹Literally '*Le regne et nom des vertueux francoys*', folio E verso.

Le regne et nom des vertueux francoys

Of our king and thus clearly shows
That everyone must play his full part
To guard, protect and to defend him
And by common consent all must defer to him
And to this end O Christ most gentle saviour
We your servants implore your favour
Requesting you by your great banner
Your holy cross your virtue unique
To reinforce his right hand, may it be propitious,
Thereby granting unto him the triumph of justice
For your goodness abundantly confers on him
The harness of iron the hardest of all
Harder than diamond and a fitting adornment
Granted to him who is mighty and strong
For this reason it is both urgent and needful
For Christians nobles and people
To want his favour and grace
So we can see clearly and without error
That our God Jesus the King of Kings
Most carefully may guard him in every place
And in such a way that none may harm him
Whatever treason may be devised or man conspire
May neither his good renown or his fame
Be sullied by impropriety or blame
So we may see that our suzerain
And good God who yearns after courage
Who judges good acts
Puts and sets before our eyes
In pursuit of his will well-founded assurance
The very form of his true innocence
Showing thereby that he seeks that the most serene
Name of Francis be joined

To the unique and elevated monarchy
By land and sea may it flourish and spread

folio F verso

For there come to him from all nations
Bearing gifts and making oblations
Wishing him prosperity
For ever and to live in tranquillity
Just as we have among the blessed
Three dames with virtue adorned
Worthy of gold which one perceives to surpass
All man's desiring

First his most dear wife
Reigning Queen Then Madame his Mother
The paragon of the female sex
And then his sister with her heart divine
And rightly one gives to them such glory
For they do merit such a great history
And they have but the hope of salvation
Eternal and the felicity
That we foresees for her joyous
And godly royal progeny
Which for ever kingdoms and empires
Through age would never deteriorate

Considering how he takes in hand
To cauterize the old infected wound
Which hovers round religions
Reducing them to reformatations

O what virtue has such a prince and king
To be so firm and solid in the faith
So zealous in equity and justice

Piteous in peace and full of grace
Surrounded with force amidst adversities
And marvellous in hostilities
Delighting all in conversation
And in virtue fervent without dissimulation
Resplendent in all good manners
Whom we may in public arena
Our first Augustus recognize
Who restores to us the age of gold
And brings anew the saturnine reigns
To his subjects and through all his domains
Considering also how he faithfully
Holds in peace and gently treats

folio G recto

His flock and followers he oversees
In the name of Jesus and under the salvation
Of the holy cross by the shield of faith
With which is armed in virtuous array
The church, honour and the chivalrous
Nobility as well are cherished by himself
By his power his people are given solace
Just as he is able to support the clergy
And by his good sense example and doctrine
He shines forth into and illuminates this present world

After one has herein described by the true
kabbalistic art our pure Augustus
The rich helmet and the shield and lance
And the vestments now I rightly think
Before I end this present work

Not to leave this chapter without touching on
The four most illustrious names and titles of the royal and imperial foursome¹
of France which are by transposition of their letters interpreted in four verses
So sire inasmuch as one part
Of Kabbalah makes use of
Translation of sentences or metres
Syllables words or even single letters
Without addition or diminution
I have undertaken to turn and to translate
The four illustrious and sovereign names
Of the foursome in which are enclosed and comprised
The royal more-than-celestial union

True amity and closeness
Which from the triangles of triumph and of glory
Arise as history itself bears out

The first is Francis by the grace of God king of France² If to the final f
inseparably is added R one arrives at by the age of gold will last henceforth
for a hundred kings in France³ to which one is due to say with all good joy
and hope

Par f leage dor en france

Durera dicy a C roys⁴

¹*quaternaire.*

²*francoys par la grace de dieu roy de france.*

³*Par f. leage dor durera dicy a C roys en france.*

⁴Folio G recto ends with:-

Through whom the people duly ranged

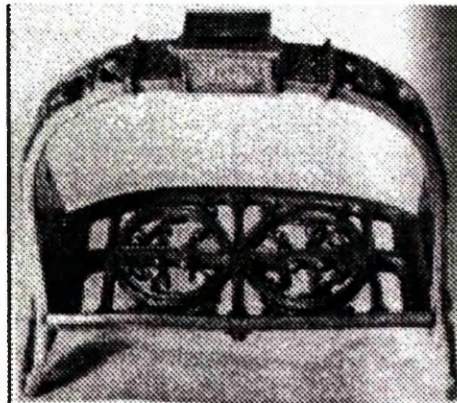
Shall be delivered from harm

Le premier est francoys par la grace de dieu roy de
france si a la derriere. f. inseparablement soit adioute
f. lon trouuera Par. f. leage dor durera dicy a. C. roys
en france sur quoy il couient avecques toute ioye et bon
espoir dire.

Par. f. leage dor en france
Durera dicy a. C. roys

The initial phrase '*francoys par la grace de dieu roy de france*' has 5 letters 'r', whereas the phrase '*Par. f. leage dor en france Durera dicy a. C. roys*' has 6 letters 'r'.

Thenaud's use of the combination of the letter 'F', which was naturally associated with Francis, and 'R', which was associated with 'Rex', permitted him to resolve what would otherwise have been a fault in his anagram. It also allowed him to appeal to the connection between his kingly reader and his nation in a manner which Thenaud claimed as 'Cabalic' yet which was quite familiar to the King, as is seen from the following image which shows one of Francis' stirrups.



Ecouen, musée national de la Renaissance.
A-M. Lecoq, *op. cit.*, p. 464.

Not only does this stirrup contain the letters 'F' and 'R' joined and reversed, but the slot for the leather strap is inscribed 'F REX'.

This same motif occurred elsewhere such as on the sword used by Francis at the battle of Pavia.

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Faith charity and hope

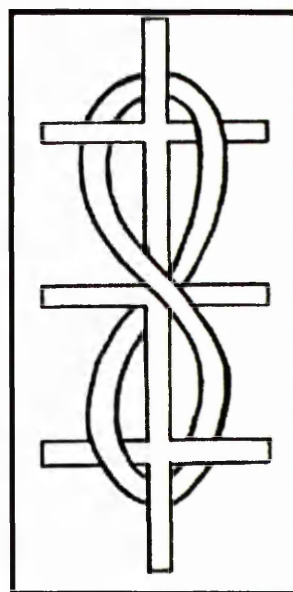
Sustain the church without disarray

Through. F.

Justice in perfect equilibrium

Will give to each his rights

And noblesse in every place



Paris, musée de l'Armée.
A-M. Lecoq, *op. cit.*, p. 464.

See End Note *Monogramme 'F'*.

Dedication and Contents Page 31

Maintains his magnificence

Through. F

The second is Claude Queen of France daughter and mother of Kings¹

Because h is, as grammarians teach, only an aspirant letter, the result of the transposition of these letters is Celestial garden beloved fruitful flower of the king.² By whose enduring magnificence and sovereign glory one is led to write. Celestial garden fruitful flower.³

Beloved of the king most dear ⁴

This is the one in whom most clearly

¹The children of Francis and Claude were Louise (1515-1518), Charlotte (1516-1524), François (1518-1536), Henri (1519-1559), Madeleine (1520-1537), Charles (1524-1545) and Marguerite (1523-1574).

Claude royne de france fille et mere de roys.

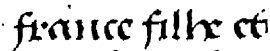
²*iardrin celeste fleur feconde de roy amee.*

³*Celeste iardrin fleur feconde.*

⁴Comparison of the first phrase '*Claude royne de france fille et mere de roys*' (36 letters) with the second '*iardrin celeste fleur feconde de roy amee*' (35 letters) shows that the first has one 'l' and one 'y' surplus, whereas the second has one 'i' surplus. These extra letters 'l' and 'y' do not account for the explanation given in the text concerning 'h' as an aspirant. The image below from this folio G verso clearly shows '*fille*'



whereas when Thenaud again refers to this very same anagram in folio 75 recto the spelling is '*filhe*'.



Judging by the style the same scribe wrote both passages. The erroneous version is folio G verso. This accounts for the explanation about 'h' as an aspirant. It also accounts for the extra letter 'l' noted above. The extra letter 'y' in the first phrase is to be equated with the extra letter 'l' in the second phrase.

De roy amee chèrement.

Dedication and Contents Page 32

Does abound all grace and virtue

Of goodness gentleness and fruitfulness

You have full measure

Celestial

In child-bearing fruitful

Queen you have on earth

Good reason for all with one accord

To vaunt you under the round sphere

Celestial

The third is Louise mother of the King.¹ The letter s serves as one syllable as

¹The verses which describe Louise of Savoy (1476-1531), widow of Charles of Angoulême and mother of Francis, reflect Thénaud's personal experience of her generosity. This was exemplified by the gift of gardens to the members of his order in Angoulême.

Et Louyse de Savoie veuve de Charles comte d'engoulesme père et géniteur de françois premier Roy de France arrivez en l'an 1515 augmenta le dit couvent de plusieurs petits jardins qui estaient au tour du dit couvent fist faire bastir le grand cloistre le refectoire vouste de pierre de taille comme il est a presant et le grand dortoir par dessus dans lesquelles voutes du réfectoire sont les cinq croix de Jérusalem. Et sur la porte du cloistre par laquelle on entre dans le réfectoire, et on va au dortoir par un beau et grand escaller de pierre, sont

Dedication and Contents Page 33

often happens when the scripture is cabalized and so one finds O mirror of lilies¹ and certainly the revolution of the name and title show forth that by divine providence these letters were thus united²

O miroer de lies

Before you one and all may come

folio H recto

les armes en ... qui portent d'Orleans ou de france, milan et savoye.

Les frères de St Gelais Evesque , doyen de l'église de St Pierre de la dicte ville ont contribué aux arcades du grand cloistre au dessus duquel est une est une (sic) belle bibliothèque quoy qu'elle ayt esté ruinée par deux fois et les livres brulées avec les titres du couvent par les hérétiques dans le temps que la ville estait entre leurs mains en l'an 1562, qui fut le temps qu'ils ruinèrent un beau tombeau et mausolée de bois qui estoit sur la sépulture de Beatrix de Bourgogne dont ils brulerent facilement les ossements enveloppés en cuyr doré.

Ms. Charente H1 19 1769 Angoulême, Archives Départementales de la Charente, cited in P. Dubourg- Noves, *Les débuts du mouvement franciscain dans l'ouest et le couvent des cordeliers d'Angoulême* in *Extrait du bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'ouest Angoulême, Archives Départementales de la Charente, 1975.*

Loyse mere du roy Loyse mere du roy.

¹O miroer de lies.

²Comparison of the first and second phases once again reveals differences. The first has 14 letters and the second has 13. The extra letter is a 'u'. Once again reference to the second occasion (very end of folio 75 recto and the start of 75 verso) when this manuscript refers to this anagram furnishes the answer to this difference and explains the reference to 's' as one syllable.

The mention of 'miroer' on folio G verso is given below:-

ra O miroer de lies, et

and is clearly an error, because folio 75 recto has:-

O mirouer

Similarly the mention of 'lies' in folio G verso is clearly an error because folio 75 verso has:-

de lyes. s. En

This explains why 's' is said, here, in folio G verso to serve as one syllable.

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As in the holy refuge and temple

Whom one regards and contemplates

Above a celestial goddess

Your magnanimity superiority

Goodness Prudence and sagacity

Cause admiration in one and all

O mirror

For Juno in his wealth

And Pallas in his prowess

By ample reason were preceded

Whose guide and example

Are of the feminine sex

O mirror

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The fourth name of the quadrangle of royal and monarchial glory is Margarite
'sister of the King.'² This letter G serves as a syllable and according to a
transposition one arrives at G true treasure of Mary³ and for sure this the
invaluable treasure reposes in her more-than-angelic spirit by which she can
say within in full joy

G true treasure of Mary⁴

By which one wills and wants

To serve with all ones power

For such is satisfying grace

Though fortune may vary

In L I put my trust

G true treasure

And under her ægis

Bequest her to assay me

For one who undergoes such good

Is without fear and mischance

G true treasure

folio I recto

The whole of this volume is contained in six short treatises without including
the preceding epistle and the prologue which immediately follows it. The first
treatise is as follows.

¹Marguerite (1492-1549).

²*Margarite seur de roy.*

³*G vray tresor de marie.*

⁴*G vray tresor de marie..*

Treatise One

About the four worlds comprising the universal which are so united and so distinct that the union and accord between them together with their differences are everlasting incredibly harmonious and perfectly balanced statements of the power of God.

These worlds are the Angelic, the Celestial, the Elementary and the Human How the Human is the union and the connection for all the other worlds. One chapter. Folio 3

The second treatise

Concerns the immortality of souls according to Plato And considers the last world first. For it is through knowledge of oneself that one comes to a knowledge of other things and is divided into eight chapters which are as follows:-

About the five things of which the whole universe is comprised which are God, Angels, Souls, Qualities, and Bodies. How Bodies, of themselves, can do nothing.

Chapter the first. Folio 9.

How Souls have power to transmutate, to change, to vary and to affect Bodies, as is shown by the four passions which are Joy, Sadness, Hope and Fear.

Second Chapter. Folio 13.

How Souls elevated and moved by holy furor prophesy and tell of future events. Manifold nature of such alienations.

Third Chapter. Folio 16.

How Souls can harm or benefit their own Bodies which they inhabit or those of others

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folio I verso

by their own interior wish and will And how they can have many effects on nature which one calls miracles.

Chapter five.

Folio 23

Numerous questions and points resolved concerning the immortality and true knowledge of souls.

Chapter six.

Folio 28

The image figure symbol or portrait of the soul according to Plato. The image of the goddess Necessity and of her three daughters Clotho Lachesis Atropos. The fable of the three judges Rhadamantus Eacus and Minos who judge the soul departed from the body.

Chapter 7.

Folio 33.

On the immortality of souls according to Hebrew and Catholic doctors. And how the celestial and elementary spheres are without souls.

Chapter 8.

Folio 39.

The third treatise contains the state of the holy angelic world. And is divided into six chapters. Of which the first is:-

How one can elevate oneself by purity of life, holy contemplation and fervent love so as to have knowledge of intellectual, angelic and ideal matters and which are separated from the senses and imagination.

First Chapter.

Dedication and Contents Page 38

Folio 41.

On the heaven of heavens and on the sun of suns which is God one in essence and three ¹ in persons and his triangle of glory incomprehensible.

Second Chapter.

Folio 42.

On Cherubim Seraphim and Thrones which are the triangle of triumph in the first hierarchy from which flow the three virtues which are Charity Wisdom and Justice.

Chapter three.

Folio 4²

folio K recto

About Powers, Principalities and Dominions which are the hierarchy and the triangle of victory from which flow three Fountains of virtue which are Force, Temperance and Hope.

Chapter four.

Folio 47.

About Virtues, Archangels and Angels which are the triangle of Virtuous Combat in which are the source and fountains of Faith, Perseverance and Obedience.

Chapter five.

Folio 49.

About the ten heavens and how they are related. About the sun and how one can thereby come to a knowledge of God.

Chapter six.

¹trine.

²Folio I verso detail. Should be 44.

*fluent trois vertus qui sont Charite Sapience et Ju
stice. Chapitre tiers. folio.iii.*

Folio 53.

**The fourth treatise contains the mystery of the Hebrew Kabbalah
and is divided into 12 chapters of which the first is:-**

Definition of the Kabbalah and how the faith was first of all disclosed to Moses
in three ways. The difference between the Kabbalists and the Talmudists.

First Chapter.

Folio 57.

The excellence of the Hebrew language.

Chapter two.

Folio 60.

How the Kabbalah surpasses in dignity, perfection and holiness all other
sciences. Which, by comparison, do not merit the name of science.

Chapter three.

Folio 64.

How the Kabbalist is to prepare himself by purity of life.

Chapter four.

Folio 68.

How the Hebrew letters signify four things. First, numbers, second everything
in the universe, third certain things in grammar, fourth according to the desire
of the doctor.

Chapter five.

The excellence of holy scripture which is a book of all doctrines a plate of all
sweetmeats a tree of all fruits and a mine of all minerals and how it alone is
cabalized by true art. Chapter six.

Folio 73.

Dedication and Contents Page 40

Division of the Kabbalah. Chapter 7. Folio 74.

About the three names of God which signify his incomprehensible essence.

Chapter 8.

Folio 76.

folio K verso

About ten other names of God, which are like his vestments of glory by which he makes himself known to his creatures, but above them all is one all powerful name for effecting miracles.

Chapter nine.

Folio 78.

The excellence of the Quaternary number and the significance of the four letters of the sacred name of God.

Chapter ten.

Folio 82.

About different Semhamaphores, which are interpretations, decodings and revelations of the names of God.

Chapter eleven.

Folio 86.

About ceremonies and prayers contained in the book of Aaron, by means of which the Kabbalists claim to have vision of and fellowship with angels.

Chapter twelve.

Folio 90.

**Treatise five, which is the most holy Kabbalah of the Christians,
and which has the following three treatises:-**

How Dame Simplicity takes her pupil out of the hand of the Hebrew Kabbalists and leads him into the church of the Holy Sepulchre where he sees the names and the books of all the ecclesiastical writers.

First Chapter.

Folio 95.

How Dame Simplicity leads her pupil penitent and transformed to the foot of Holy Mount Calvary. There he prays. Then he enters a state of enchantment and sees the book of life written within and without upon which he must ponder day and night, on account of it being the most holy kabbalistic revelation.

Chapter two.

Folio 98.

How Dame Simplicity reads to her pupil many lessons from the above mentioned books. Here one wished to insert many figures by Rhabanus Maurus,¹ which the fault of the scribe and the lack of time prevented.

Chapter three.

Folio 101.

Treatise six. Teaches how the angelic world influences the celestial one, which it rules, and which has two chapters.

How the angelic world governs the celestial by four Quaternaries.

First Chapter.

Folio 111.

About the Virginal Septain, and its figure.

¹ Rabanus Maurus, given here as:-

α Rhabanus maurus q

Chapter two.

Folio 113.

End of table of contents.

First Treatise.

folio 1 recto



see End Image folio 1 recto¹

¹The thumbnail image given above shows the pilgrim, on the right, being instructed on the vanity of the world by the speaker on the left. The opening text is a commentary on this image, which itself resembles Erasmus' *In Praise of Folly*. As has been noted above Thénau's was the first French translation of this work. M. Holban, 'Extrait de la version française de l'Éloge de la Folie d'Erasmus due à Jean Thénau', *Études rabelaisiennes*, ix, 1971, pp. 66-69. The image bears a striking similarity to an illustration of *The vain and transitory pleasures and sensual delights of this world*.



Courtesy of the Warburg Institute, Geisburg 1162, *Vanitas*, E Schön, Röttingen, Treatise 1 page 1

Having pondered deeply in my heart on the brevity, the failings and the instability of all honours, triumphs, glories, pleasures and desires of empires, kingdoms and earthy rules for which men conquer and extend themselves to their own destruction on earth, together with the manner in which man torments unceasingly every human heart and spirit I recognised all of human life, with its pomp, to be no more than the burdensome shadow of a dream,

folio 1 verso

whim or fantastic illusion and which may well be compared with cloud, smoke or cinder or even with a spark from the fire which soon passes and is as nothing. I recognised that this life which is lived in this world, even were it to last for a thousand years, is of such short duration that it is only a speck or indivisible instant in comparison with the universe and with eternity. Moreover this speck and instant of life is joined and united to such infinite causes of bitterness and misery that it would be better to be among the dead than the living considering that there is no freedom from the cares of the soul or bodily travail without fear or pain, illness or languor and without trouble and labour. For these reasons I determined after thinking in this way to sequestrate myself totally from all corporeal and temporal concerns which could prevent me from taking the way of heaven on account of their overbearing nature and to induce all people, as much by word or by scripture as by life, to do likewise, that being the one thing that it is necessary for them. Thus I proposed to employ my pen in praise of those who are triumphant in the kingdom of immortality which is the celestial paradise and to show the way by which one may come to such triumphs wherein lies true glory and everlasting felicity just as I have done already in the *Triumphes terrestres et de haulte renommee*.¹ For if the truth be told the delights of the body and the proud ways of the world are only vanity and affliction of the spirit.

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Comparison of these two images demonstrates once again Thenaud's respectful attitude to women.

¹*Triumphes des vertuz*, as discussed above in the Introduction p. 51 ff..

Margin has The Vanity of the World

First, it makes its appearance in the body which is only a seed of destruction, a sack of waste and a vessel of worms as well as representing a future serpentine¹ imagery and abomination, whatever vigour, youthfulness, strength, nobility, or elegance there may be present therein. This is the final lot of those who are commonly held in fame. Where is the superb glory and gorgeous pomp of so many kings who formerly ruled in Assyria, Sciconia,² Scythia, Thessalia, Lacedæmonia, Arcadia,³ Ephesus, Athens, Egypt, Corinth, Albania, Italy, Laurentia,⁴ Eleusinia,⁵ Dardania,⁶ Thebes, Phrygia, Ethruria,⁷ Tartary, Cilicia, Numidia, Barbary, Bougia⁸ and Euboea⁹? Where are the ancient kings of the Argives,¹⁰ of the Gauls, of the Indies, and the queens of the Amazons? Together with the kings of Syria, Samaria, of Judea, Persia, Media, Carmania,¹¹ Ethiopia, Libya, Nubia and of innumerable other kingdoms which have travailed and have laboured in their times and days to perpetuate their name, to spread abroad and to enlarge their lands and their lordship, and to enrich their heirs and successors. It is certain that they are dead, decayed and returned to powder, and their life is gone like a fine winter-day which is ruined and darkened by a sudden cloud or also the ligustrum,¹² which suddenly

folio 2 recto

¹ Thenaud has *hydeur*.

Compare Latin *hydrus*, or *hydros*, a water-serpent, or serpent, and thus, the serpent's poison.

² Latin *Cicones* a Thracian people of the area of the Hebrus (River Maritsa).

³ Latin *Arcadia* a mountainous province in the centre of the Peloponnesus.

⁴ Latin *Laurentum* a maritime town in Latium, between Ostia and Lavinium. Now Torre Paterno.

⁵ Latin *Eleusina* a very ancient city of Attica, famous for its mysteries of Ceres, now Lepsina.

⁶ Latin *Dardania* a city founded by Dardanus on the Hellespont, to the South-West of Abydos. The modern name is Dardanelles. Also the poetical name for Troy.

⁷ Latin *Hetruria*, *Hetruscus*, *Etruria* a country of central Italy.

⁸ Town in Algeria; also the Gulf of Bougia.

⁹ An island in the Ægean, separated from Boeotia by Euripus now Negroponte.

¹⁰ Latin *argivus* pertaining to Argos, the capital of Argolis, in the Peloponnesus.

¹¹ Latin *carmani* a people of the Persian Gulf, now Kerman and Laristan. Pliny 12,17,40, §79; Lacunas 3, 250.

¹² Latin *Ligustrum* a privet. According to Pliny the plant was believed by some to be the cyprus. Pliny 12,24,55 § 109; 24, 10, 45, § 74; 16, 18, 31 § 77.

Treatise 1 page 3

arrives, but even more suddenly dries out for they wither and are annihilated not only by dying but so also does their fame considering that the easy and perpetual passage of time and of the sun have already caused the corruption of letters, languages, books and volumes in which their names, facts and merits were registered. Thus have ended the glory and the fineness of other kingdoms and kings which are more recent than the above mentioned: they are quite gone and unknown as if they had never been, such as the Emperors of Rome, of Greece, such as the kings of the Vandals, the Goths, the Alani,¹ the Bulgarians, the Cephides,² Huns, Lombards and the Soudans of Egypt.³ In sum this glory of so many kings which have been in existence a little before our own day and that glory now existing in France, England, Aragon, Castille, Portugal, Grenada, Hungary, Poland, Dacia,⁴ Norway, Sweden, Scotland and Turkey what has become of it? What is there left of their Dukes, Counts, Marquises, governors, lieutenants, Captains and armies who seemed to cause the very land and sea to tremble and shake? Certainly they are dead and eaten by worms and others have succeeded them who followed them briefly; and this is without mentioning their treasures and riches, wives and women, provinces and chateaux, horses, hounds and birds, fortresses or artillery, their pursuit of falsities and practice of betrayals, as well as every form of worldly power and chivalry. If it is thus with those who seemed full of glory and felicity in this world, what of those who are at all times oppressed, trampled underfoot, exploited and molested? For this reason a philosopher said *Optiz est non nasci huic proximum cito aboleri*,⁵ which is to say There is nothing better than

¹ Pliny 4, 12, 25, §80. Lucanus 8, 223. A very warlike Scythian nation upon the Tanais and Palus Moetis.

² Latin *Cephisus* or *Cephissus* a river in Phocis and Boeotia, now Cephisso, Gaurio or Gerios. Lucanus 3, 175. Pliny 4, 7, 12, §§ 26 & 27.

³ This term occurs regularly in Thénau's *Le Voyage et Itinaire (sic) de oustre mer par Frere Jehá Thénau Maître en ars docteur en Theologie & gardien des freres mineurs d'angoulesme Et premierement dudict lieu Dangoulesme iusques au Cayre*, Paris, 1530.

⁴ An ancient European country between the Danube and the Carpathians. The inhabitants were conquered by Trajan and made into Roman colonial subjects.

⁵ *It was better not to be born at all, for the one who is next to a sudden death.*

See Jerome, *Comm. in Eccles.* Cl. 0583. cap. ss. 4 v. 2x; l. 31 (*) Ecclesiasticus xxiii. 19 which has:-

Ne forte obliviscatur te Deus in conspectu illorum, et, assiduitate tua infatuatus, improprium patriaris, et maluisses non nasci, et diem nativitatis tuæ maledicas.

to have never been introduced into this world or to have died in swaddling clothes and in the tenderness of youth without abiding in the misfortunes and distresses of this world and on the earth which is just about nothing. For if any person was elevated to heaven he would see this earth to be so small that it would seem to that person to be only a small and obscure black point in the middle of a great light.¹ The same earth from heaven is seen by us to be made up of five parts, three of which, that is to say the extremes are uninhabited due to the great coldness and the middle part due extreme heat. Of the two parts which are temperate and agreeable to human habitation, the one which is under the tropic of Cancer, which is one of the signs of the heavens, is unknown to us, on account of its great distance and on account of the torridity of the zone, except for the tales of some travellers who may, by their yarns, just as well lie as speak the

folio 2 verso

truth. The end result then is that we only have one fifth of this earth left, of which the seas, oceans, the Mediterranean, gulfs, basins, rivers, lakes, swamps,² deserts, dunes, forests, rocky places, mountains, frozen and burning hot and sunken valleys, remove³ two parts from us. The result then is that we live on only a small part of the world which is almost nothing. However on this small parcel which is really nothing, God the sovereign Creator has ordered and established a prison for serpents, toads, moles⁴ and other beasts together

L. Annaeus Seneca iunior, *Dialogi*, book 6, chapter 22, section 3.

Nihil est tam fallax

10

*quam uita humana, nihil tam insidiosum: non mehercules
quisquam illam accepisset, nisi daretur ignorantibus. Ita-
que si felicissimum est non nasci, proximum est, puto, breui
aetate defunctos cito in integrum restitui.*

4 1

*Propone illud acerbissimum tibi tempus, quo Seianus
patrem tuum clienti suo Satrio Secundo congiarium dedit.*

¹ *clarte.*

² Latin *Palus* marsh, swamp. French *le paludarium* a place allocated to amphibians such as frogs.

³ Latin *tollo* to lift up or to take up or to raise. Used here in the sense of *aboleo*, *oblittero*.

⁴ Latin *talpa* a mole.

with the evil and perverse spirits forever of men who are able to reason but who do not lift their eyes to heaven. That is the proper home and heritage for those who wish to perpetuate their stay there and so they incessantly make war, they murder, deal in treachery, treason and violate all that is right and orderly in nature. Such is their end and conclusion for they have distanced their parents, friends and neighbours from themselves and thus they have also accrued by means fair or foul their lands and lordships as they have done the length and breadth of the earth. So it is no wonder that the philosopher Democritus did not cease to laugh and Heraclitus only wept over human follies and vanities which are all the sum and the opposite of what should be done which is what we observe. They are careful of others good and negligent of their own. They know how to give good counsel which they do not know how to follow themselves. They have a high esteem for strange new things and yet have pleasure in despising traditional good things which are at hand and in front of their eyes. They go over work again when they should be at peace. They nourish and most carefully cultivate the evil beast that is leading them to death, which is the body, whilst they let the spirit, which wishes to lead them to life and to immortal glory, languish. They hope to reap spiritual fruit from their sowing, which is temporal and carnal. They seek good but they do not want to take advantage of it. Without ceasing they practise and speak evil of others and wish that others should do good to them and speak well of them. They declare false friends to be stable and they declare to be reliable those who are secretive, inconstant and duplicitous; they judge them to be entirely good and others they judge to be entirely wicked. They desire all external things to be good and delectable, whilst the internal they make vile, stinking and abominable. They weep over any small loss of gold or silver which can be replaced unlike a loss of time which is irreplaceable. They make harmony of the cords of music

folio 3 recto

but they are unable to achieve harmony in their passions and activities. They

are prompt in dealing with the illness of the body, but not of the spirit. They demand and want heaven on earth, happiness instead of misery, life in the place of death, health for sickness, eternity in corruption, health in place of languishing and repose instead of travail. They want to lord it over everything, yet do not know how to rule and govern themselves. They want dignity, yet do not strive to make themselves worthy of it. And in brief because there is not seen and has not been seen on earth anything but vanity, folly, fable and lies, I determined in myself to leave this world which is only a theatre of pain and labour to go to another to live in peace and repose. For some philosophers have written and declared that there are many other worlds though they had doubts as to how they were to start to travel there.

Margin has The size of the Earth

So I started like another Abraham, who by the commandment of God left his land and nation so that he may find another one, yet however many were my continuous travels in ecstasy and ravishment of spirit so it seemed to me that despite the size of the earth which is twenty thousand and four hundred miliers or in other words which is ten thousand two hundred French lieue,¹ I found neither ways nor means anywhere to carry me so that I started to question and to doubt the above mentioned plurality of worlds. When I was in this doubting and perplexed state of thought, I saw quite suddenly before me two glorious and resplendent women, whose bearing, carriage, gestures, countenance and clothing were markedly different. One of them came down from the heavens and exceeded in beauty all other women on earth that I had ever seen before, just as the light of the sun exceeds that of the moon. Her robe was a sheet of silver without superfluous luxury, and without any trace of being dissolute. The sweetness and the gravity of her eyes and face matched her virginal purity, humility of thought and her royal heart. There was suspended, from the chain, which was around her neck and which was made of large oriental pearls set in great tables of real diamonds, a golden plate which reached to her virgin breast, and on it was worked her name which was Simplicity. In one hand she held a cross richly decorated which she unceasingly

¹An old French linear measure, derived from Gaul. The *lieue marine* is a twentieth part of a degree when applied to the surface of the earth, and is thus about 5,556 m.

looked upon, but she stretched forth the other towards me so that I may follow her and at the same time she made me aware of the passion that she had for my salvation and of the wish that was in her royal heart to satisfy my desire. This she did by the gracious looks that she bestowed upon me, with the result that my poor spirit followed her as iron

folio 3 verso

follows a magnet, but the other woman who came up from the earth came between her and me. She had on merely the garb of the three beauties of Juno, Pallas and Demis - a very fine covering decorated with golden roses through which her delicious and odorous body was to be seen, perfectly proportioned as to colour, length, height and elegance in every aspect as Homer, Demosthenes, Virgil and Tullian would have struggled to describe. Her name was engraved on a table of emerald which hung from her neck. This was Curiosity. She said to me. Now that you want to know about other worlds, and because you desire to enter them, it is me whom you should follow, O pilgrim of the Most Christian Monarch. For I shall give you into the hand of Hebrews, Poets, Philosophers and even Mohammedans, who will lead you or show you the way. In saying these words she indicated a Jew or Hebrew, whom she commanded to teach me his Kabbalah, which means Reception, and to show me the way of heaven. Then she put him into my hands and I know not what came of these two women.

Here commences the Kabbalah of the Four Worlds, which are the Spiritual, the Celestial, the Elementary and the Human.

Chapter¹

¹The original does not give the number of the chapter as may be seen from the following image:-

**Chapitre
dit hebreu congnouissant**

Treatise 1 page 8

The above mentioned Hebrew, knowing the passion that I had to know if there were other worlds beyond this one in which I had found and discovered so much trouble said to me. Know that our legislator, Moses, made his tabernacle and all the things that go with it according to the ideas and patterns that God showed him when he contemplated on Mount Sinai, (in the place which you have yourself seen) and which was imitated by Solomon in the building which he made - the sumptuous temple which he built and erected in that place so that in this tabernacle and temple nothing may be allowed or made without very great and holy mystery representing some sacred and most excellent thing. In both of these buildings, that is to say in the tabernacle and in the temple, there were three parts. In the first of them, which was the entry towards the East, there were men and women, priests and seculars, cattle, cows, sheep and bulls

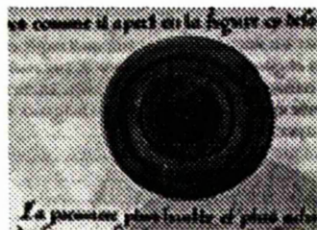
folio 4 recto

doves and other things that were sacrificed and this was not covered over against the rain, snow, wind and in the summer it was open to the burning sun. This part signified and represented this elementary and sublunary world (which is one of darkness) in which all things are subject to death, life, variation, alteration and corruption and all sorts of animals live there. In this are found the matter of bodies subject to passion and to alteration and is the place where divine justice executes its sentences some of which are temporal and others of which are everlasting. Here God has ordered and placed the seeds of all material and corporeal things so that they can be joined or separated and so that they may produce all manner of beasts, birds, fish, trees, plants, stones and metals. And these primal seeds¹ divided into four spheres which are sited and situated as in the following figure

Margin has Le monde elementaire

folio 3 verso detail.

¹ *semances primeraines.*



see End Image folio 4 recto

The first and highest and most active by its heat is that of fire, which is tempered by the cold of the heaven of the moon¹ and by the humidity of the air.² Under that one is the sphere of the air (as it is called) humid which could easily be extinguished by the heat of the above mentioned if it were not aided by the coldness of the water. The third is water, which by its coldness, as mentioned, and humour which it derives from the air, waters the fourth and lowest sphere, which is the earth, without which it would return to being a cinder and powder on account of its quality of dryness. Such is the elementary world which in a mobile manner moves without regard for certain laws. And these four spheres are called the Elements, like the lyemens or hylemens of hyle,³ which means matter. The second part of that temple, going towards the West was thoroughly and richly covered, closed and overall gilded so that neither rain nor other intemperate weather may harm it. Inside there was a great candleholder of gold which had seven very rich branches subtly wrought and upon each one of them there was

margin has The celestial world

folio 4 verso

¹ *ciel de la lune.*

² The concept of an element as it is understood today did not develop until the 17th century. In the days of the classical Greek philosophers Empedocles (fifth century BC), Plato and Aristotle, the material world was considered to be composed of four or five fundamental substances, or "elements." Empedocles named earth, air, fire and water as elemental substances, and Aristotle added ether (a perfect substance of which heavenly bodies are composed). These elements were not really material substances, however, but idealizations of material substances. Qualities of temperature (hot or cold) and moisture (wet or dry) were attributed to each of the four classical elements. Fire, for example, had the two adjacent qualities hot and dry.

³ Latin *hyle* Greek ὕλη wood, hence stuff, materials, matter. Attei. ap. Suetonius Grammar, 10; Macrobius. S. 1, 17 end. See also Introduction p. 151 ff..

a lighted lamp. There was placed the altar of good and sweet odours, all in gold together with a table also in gold upon which were the twelve loaves of propitiation dedicated to the priests. And this second part represented the second world which is the celestial one in which are nine heavens that is to say the seven planets of the firmament and the first mobile otherwise known as the crystal heaven. And this has been so since the expulsion of Berith¹ otherwise known as Lucifer, who according to our Hebrew doctors was the governor of the heaven of the Sun, and of his accomplices; vice and vicious ways there were not. This world partakes of darkness and of light, and moves and turns in a stable manner by invariable laws which according to Platonists is a spiritual form without any matter at all, however it does have movement and luminous or lucid dimensional quantity, which has manifested life as the spirit hides and conceals. By its virtue it causes and produces the generations and the corruptions which occur on the elementary world, which it rules and governs and which is ruled and governed by the angels and by those of the first world. Over this one presides an angel called Metatron,² guide to Moses who is illuminated by the refulgence of saday, and this is shown in the following

¹See also folios 5 verso, 7 verso and 81 recto. Thenaud equates Berith and Lucifer in this ms. here and at folio 7 verso. There is additional information in Gen. ms. Fr. 167 which gives the name of the first captain to Berith as Azeel.

Car come dient les cabalistes, si tot que lame est separee du corps, led' corps nest quung cadauer demeure en la puissance dung demone nomme Azeel, qui est interprete le seigneur de la Chair et du sang. Cestuy est capitaine (folio 16 recto) premier de Berith auquel il fut dit Tu mangeras tousiours terre & ailleurs. Ton pain ne sera fors pouldre de terre.

Traicte Premier folio 15 verso and 16 recto.

This indicates that ms. 5061 did not reveal the full extent of Thenaud's Kabbalism.

²M. Schwab, *Vocabulaire de l'Angelologie d'après les manuscrits hébreux de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Milan, 1989, p. 125 Metatron, the one who is associated with the divine throne, $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\ \theta\rho\omicron\nu\nu$ מֵטַטְרוֹן synonym for the archangel. For connection of the name Metatron with the rapture of Enoch, the pre-flood patriarch, Ge. v 24 see C. Mopsik, *Les Grands Textes de la Cabale. Les rites qui font Dieu. Collection des Dix Paroles.*, Paris, 1968, p. 54. For an early mention of the name see also L. Schiffman, and M. Swartz, *Hebrew and Aramaic Incantation Texts from the Cairo Genizah*, Sheffield, JSOT, p. 36.

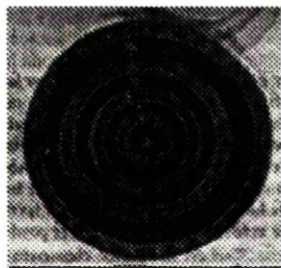
Thenaud's spelling "Mettraton"

: Mettraton

is to be contrasted with Reuchlin's, "Metatron."

Treatise 1 page 11

figure.



See End Image folio 4 verso

Messiba De omni tñ ratione atq; modo restaurandi originalis casus satis
super institutus fuit ab angelo suo Metatron. Ita em Cabaliste scribunt,
רַבִּי שֵׁל מִשְׁחָ מִטַּטְרוֹן qui est nūcius Sadai. Hanc itaq; san-
ctissimi Iacob reuelationem uniuersitas prophetarū recepit, qd in postre-

De Arte Cabalistica, folio 11 recto.

and with Reuchlin's 'Mettatron'.

Mettatron

De Arte Cabalistica, folio 3 recto.

None of the spellings reflect favourably on either author's awareness of the above mentioned Greek connection, but Thenaud's positioning of the letter 'r' is the most distant from the Greek. Nevertheless Thenaud does follow Reuchlin's reasoning, in that the connection between "Metatron" and "Saday" is preserved. This supports the claim that he was reliant on Reuchlin's *De Arte Cabalistica*. Reuchlin notes the numerical equivalence of 'Saday' שָׂדַי = 10, ד = 4, ש = 300, total = 314 and Metatron מִטַּטְרוֹן = 50, ו = 6, ר = 200, ט = 9, ט = 9, מ = 40, total = 314. Thenaud does not however note this numerical equivalence.

Reuchlin, in *De Arte* folio 3, acknowledges that the angel "Mettatron" was one of the three angels which were involved, according to the Kabbalists, in illuminating the mind of man. (The other two angels were *Sechel* and *Sandalphon*, according to the speculative system which described the *Merkavah* or Throne-Chariot. The *Merkavah* was the Throne or Chariot given in Ezekiel i and which could only be attained by travel through a series of Halls (*Hekhaloth*). This system of mystical speculation, which is generally held to have arisen by at least the second century AD, is only vaguely related to the Sephiroth system.

Treatise 1 page 12

The third part of the temple which is named Sancta sanctorum (Holy of Holies) into which only the High Priest entered regularly shone brightly with gold and with gems. In this were the ark and in it were the tables of the law, Aaron's rod, the vessel full of manna together with the book called Deuteronomy. Over the ark was the golden propitiatory from which God gave out responses to the requests of the priest and of the people. At the extremities of this ark were the two Cherubim in olive wood.

Margin has The spiritual or angelic world

follo 5 recto

And this part signifies the third world, which is the highest spiritual and imperial world which is so bright that the sensible and inferior lights are darkness in comparison to it. This angelic and spiritual world, which Plato calls the intellectual, cannot, on account of the incomprehensibility of its glory, spiritual spirituality and unthinkable felicity be comprehended by any spirit or understanding. In it is the source and the fountain of light and goodness, the uniform and omniform form of all forms, which is the unmoved substance of essence of all other things, by which all things visible and invisible have their being and movement, which by stable repose moves to itself as if to the centre of the nine orders of the blessed spirits to which are associated the blessed saints according to the diversity of their merits in their particular order. This world is not to be imagined round and spherical as all the others, but triangular as in the following figure



see End Image folio 5 recto

For by this figure one can better contemplate all the equality and stable permanence of that same world considering that this figure does not have in any way the least trace of dissimilarity, composition, disparity or precedence, but is about simple unity, individual trinity, continuous equality and also about perfect and incomprehensible eternity which does not join itself to other numbers or figures and likewise it communicates itself through all the spirits which it renders glorious that is to say upon all those spirits enlightened by the soul of the true Messiah, who takes his direct and incomprehensibly shining and reverberating light from Elhai which is to say Living God. And the light of Adonay is Ensoph which is to say infinite or God considered without any vestment for the infinite light of the incomprehensible light is itself.¹ This matter is so difficult that there is no understanding except the very first from which and by which all others come to understand, yet this first one can instruct one in it though it cannot be understood in this mortal life, but let us work to be translated from these shadows into the region of light in which we can see and be transformed into that light. Now you have come to know, said this Hebrew to me, the distinction of these three worlds; however there is only one for the highest which is angelic and which

folio 5 verso

rules, vivifies and addresses the second which is the celestial and this celestial

¹Thenaud's use of the connection between Creation and the light of the divine garb follows Reuchlin who relies on Moses Maimonides, Book 2, ch. 26 of *Guide to the Perplexed*, and on Rabbi Joseph the Younger of Castile, from Salema, Book 2 of *The Nut Garden*. M. and S. Goodman, *op. cit.*, p. 251.

Reuchlin, *De Arte Cabalistica* folio 53 recto, following on from a dissertation on the number 5, has:-

Double this number (a formality of arithmetic), multiply it by itself, and comes the thousandth generation. If its surface were perpetual, infinity would result, the kingdom of all generations, called Ensoph by the Kabbalists, the naked deity. God produced all the rest while cloaked in light as a garment, that there might be light of light, and then, with the light of his garment he created the intelligible world of distinct and invisible spirits, which the Kabbalists call "heaven," as you have often heard me say. This is how I understand the words of the great and wise Rabbi Eliezer. He posed the question, "from what was heaven created?" and replied "from the light of his garment he took it." ... Moses the servant of God rose high enough to discern the light of his garment, the Sabbath of Sabbaths, the higher jubilee, the thousandth generation, which were all none other than the higher world of ideas, angels, happy spirits. M. and S. Goodman, *op. cit.*, p. 249.

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rules and directs this elementary one in manifesting therein unceasingly new works and all three are proportional, adjusted and so conjoined in good harmony, number, weight and order that they take all their sources from that incomprehensible fountain of light, unity and goodness to which straightway they return so that all that we see in one is in the others, but it is in the superiors more perfectly; and the whole of the superiors is in the inferiors, but very imperfectly. Example:- In the angelic world, there are nine orders of the blessed angels in which preside the unmoved unity which moves them and cares for them without ceasing. Over the nine heavens which make up the second world presides the unmoved imperial heaven. On the third, which is surrounded with the nine belts which make the Stygian swamp, there is the realm of Berith just as it is written *Nouies stix interfusa cohercet*.¹ For there

¹ Literally, 'nine times Styx interposed coerced.'

Vergil A 6 439; Vergil G 4 480; *noviens Styx interfusa coërcet*.

Maurus Servius Honoratus, *In Vergilii Aeneidos Libros*, book 6, verse 127,

10

tus ad aetherium caeli suspectus Olympum". ergo hanc terram in qua vivimus inferos esse voluerunt, quia est omnium circumlorum infima, planetarum scilicet septem, Saturni, Iovis, Martis, Solis, Veneris, Mercurii, Lunae, et duorum magnorum. hinc est quod habemus "et novies Styx interfusa cohercet": nam

15

novem circulis cingitur terra. ergo omnia quae de inferis finguntur, suis locis hic esse conprobabimus.

Ibid., verse 385,

navita epenthesis, ut 'Mavors'. inde ut stygia prospexit ab unda ut "Siculo prospexit ab usque Pachyno". et hinc ostenditur quod diximus, iuncta esse haec tria: Acheronta, Stygem, Cocytum. de his autem nascuntur alia,

5

unde est "et novies Styx interfusa cohercet".

386 1

per tacitum nemus aut solum: aut ipsos tacitos, ...

P Vergilius Maro, *Georgica*, book 4,
*magnanimum heroum, pueri innuptaeque puellae,
impositique rogis iuvenes ante ora parentum,
quos circum limus niger et deformis harundo
Cocyti tardaue palus inamabilis unda*

480

*alligat et novies Styx interfusa cohercet.
quin ipsae stupere domus atque intima Leti
Tartara caeruleosque implexae crinibus anguis
Eumenides, tenuitque inhians tria Cerberus ora,*

Treatise 1 page 15

are nine crowds of evil spirits. The first makes its dwelling in the region of fire. The second is in dank¹ air. The third in the sea and abysses. The fourth and the fifth are the surface and the flat parts of the earth, one of which only has its virtue at day and the other by night. The sixth lives in underground caves and dark holes of the earth. The seventh seeks each day new abode in humankind or in beasts or in other creatures. The eighth comes and goes without ceasing so as to take the fearful messages from the centre of the earth to all the above mentioned. The final and ninth is with Berith in the centre of the earth; to this one all the others tend and flow towards; there, in him, in the end, all such will unite, for of all the above mentioned worlds there will finally only be the angelic heaven full of glorious angels and beatified souls and the centre of the earth stuffed with evil devils and damned souls. Moreover it appears that between these three worlds there is a great and a good connection. For just as we see in this elementary world fire in the celestial heaven - that is the sun - so also in the angelic world there are the fiery seraphim. This elementary fire burns; the solar vivifies and the angelic transforms in love. Here in the elementary world is water; in heaven there is the moon and in paradise there are the Cherubim. In the summer the lower water extinguishes fire, that of heaven nourishes it, that which is intellectual is full of intellect. In the elementary world there is the immobile earth. In the celestial world there is the nearly immobile firmament .

folio 6 recto

In the empire of heaven is the stability of thrones and thereby appears the distinction and the connection of the three worlds.

Margin has About the fourth which is man who joins and allies all that is therein

Beside these there is the fourth world, that is to say man, who according to some is often named All Creature or The Small World, for he has being like

atque Ixionii uento rota constitit orbis.

¹Latin *caliginosus*, full of mist, covered with mist, dark, obscure. Also used of blindness, dimness of vision, and in a medical sense.

the pure elements, vegetative soul like the trees and the plants, sensitive soul like the beasts, birds and fish, understanding and reason like the angels. The head, which is the highest part of man, represents the spiritual and angelic world in which resides understanding of the spirit, which is the director¹ which conducts and leads every man to God, without which he would only be a cloud of smoke. This spirit measures the earth and its depth, it penetrates the sea with its abysses, it subdues air, fire and all the heavens of the planets, with their influx, virtue and quantity, then numbers the stars which it unites and accords by many triplicities, quaternities and conjunctions and not content with that it goes to the third world so as to gain the friendship and acquaintance of its citizens whom it transforms as it pleases and not content with creatures it often makes itself one in spirit with the Creator, who grants to it liberty to be and to do so in such manner as he wishes for if he wishes to be beast, bird, star, metal, stone, archangel or seraphin for ever he may do so by life, study and love in choosing to inhabit any of the three worlds as his dwelling and abode, as pleases him so that he may be nearly his own creator and creature, maker and product, worker and output. For this reason less well informed doctors have compared man to the Chameleon which can change its colour according to its will, or to Proteus who could change himself suddenly into different species considering that man could make himself into a devil, angel, beast, stone, bird, god, star or serpent by love, thought or desire. So the philosophers and poets take the opportunity to write the metamorphoses and transformations of men into animals. We see moreover that man, not content with being transformed into creatures, has the wish to transform himself into the creator which he can achieve meritoriously by holy zeal and tender love or sacrilegiously in wanting to usurp the divine honours and to be known as God, which is what Psaphon did in Libya, who taught some birds that he held secretly in a cage, to sing Psaphon is among the greatest of the gods then he

folio 6 verso

¹Latin *currus*, has among its meanings, that of the pair of small wheels by which the beam of a plough was supported and guided. Once again there is a reference to Vergil, this time *currus a tergo torquere imos*, G. 1, 174.

let them go and thus those who did not know of his deception gave him divine honours. Likewise did Antioch, king of Syria, the emperors Gaius, Domitian, Diocletian and many others. Thirdly many wish, out of curiosity, to exceed the works of god or to attain equality with them. Zeuxis¹ did so by painting a vine full of grapes which the birds who were flying in the air stopped and hoped to eat. Appelle² made fawns, mares, bitches and other animals as sculptures and paintings so accurately that the males of these species stopped, wondered and amused themselves in soiling them. Praxitelle³ made many images of Venus for she stirred up the fire of desire in stable and steady men who regarded her. Archita of Tarent made, using mathematical proportions, doves and other artificial birds which were able to fly. And in short there is no thing so high, so deep, so hidden, remote or excellent of which human understanding, having its principal seat in the mind, cannot take cognizance. Thus it appears that in this aspect he represents the angelic, spiritual and intellectual world. The second part of man, which is from the neck to the waist, represents the celestial world, for just as the celestial world is ornamented with seven planets, of which the sun is the principal, and with innumerable stars, also in this part of man are the seven internal members, which are the tongue, the lung(s), the liver, the heart, the spleen and the two kidneys, but the heart is overall for there are many veins, arteries, nerves and vessels which signify the diversity of the stars together with the different things that are in the sky. All the rest represents the lower world in which are the four elements, together with all things impure, imperfect, and corruptible. Also in man are anger, which has its seat in the heart and signifies the air, phlegm, which has its seat in the brain and represents water, and melancholy, which has its seat in the spleen, and represents the earth.

Margin has The end of the great world together with that of the lesser

And just as the two great worlds have two ends, one already passed, which

¹ Greek painter, 464-398 BC.

² Greek painter born in Ephesus, who lived at the court of Alexander the Great and whose portrait he painted. Fourth century BC.

³ Praxitelle, the Greek sculptor, born about 390 BC in Athens, and whose statues of Aphrodite were famous in antiquity.

was by water in the Great Deluge, and the other, which is to come, is by fire. So man naturally dies by an abundance of phlegm and aqueous matter, which extinguishes the heat and anger which consumes and burns him up. For you must know that after divine justice

folio 7 recto

will have, by its just judgement¹, judged all the world and distributed to the good everlasting glory and to the evil the pangs of eternal hell, the foundations of the earth will be so shaken that they will not be recognizable and the sea will not be subject to law, proportion or measure, so that it will overwhelm its limits. When the seven planets are in the fourth degree of their ascendancy, which is that of the sun, they will look directly at the sphere of fire so they will directly emit their rays which dry up the air, water and the earth and they will consume all the cold and humidity of these elements. The fire, thus unleashed, which has been augmented by these elements, will mount up in the heavens, which will be dissolved and swallowed up by it, then this fire with the sovereign contrariety of these four elements, which it will adjust to its intolerable acuity, will descend to the place where the earth was, so as to be the horrible and everlasting prison, more confused, seditious, dark, malign, hopeless, damned, backbreaking and enraged than anyone can express or conceive of for the devils and evil souls. For these reasons they are punished for all the creatures that they have polluted and hated, which now and in perpetuity are cruelly armed so as to take vengeance for their harm and that of all creation. Such will be the end of the lesser world, as well as of the elementary and celestial, which man should always have before his eyes, so that he may escape this marvellous and cruel chasm² and so that he may mount up to the angelic and superimperial heaven in which is the true glory, beatitude and everlasting felicity from age to age. In this way you can know the quaternity and the unity of the world. By my words above (said the venerable Hebrew), you can know

¹*iuste iugement.*

² Latin *Barathrum* Greek βάραθρον abyss, chasm, pit, the Lower World. Vergil A. 3,421; 8, 245 ; imus barathri gurgis.

Treatise 1 page 19

now that all the kings and emperors wanted to put their images and their living likenesses in the midst of a royal and

margin has God puts his image and similitude in the middle of his universal city for everlasting and continuing remembrance

magnificent town or city, built and constructed by them; also God, after the creation and construction of the triune world put in the midst of it, that is to say in the earthly paradise, the garden of pleasure and delights, Adam whom he made in his image and resemblance, to whom he said, after he had granted him his blessing and granted him for his company the woman Eve.. "Increase and multiply and fill the earth, but take care on pain of death not to eat the fruit of the tree of knowledge of good and evil. If you

folio 7 verso

keep my commandments, I shall make you like my angels in the spiritual world and you shall inherit the place that the disobedient spirits have lost". But as soon as God left them Berith (or according to your doctors Lucifer) who had transfigured himself into a serpent, persuaded the women to eat of this fruit, which she did. Then she tempted her husband so that he ate. For this God called to them from the place where they had hidden themselves and said to them. I, who am the terrible judge and the one who is zealous concerning vice and the rigorous examiner, ban you from this place of delights and from the glorious and spiritual world, and so you are judged to stay exiled in the miserable earth made for the brute beasts in which you, Adam, will eat your bread in travail and in the sweat of your body. And you, Eve, will have your children in pain and suffering. My right hand will persecute you until you who have blemished my visible image have been visited and restored by the image of my invisible deity, in which and by which you have been created, together with all other creatures, who, peradventure, will restore the fruit to the tree which you sacrilegiously have picked¹ and taken. Then he said to the

¹ Latin *tollo*, to lift up, raise up, elevate, exalt, in the sense of *effero*, *elevo*. Thenaud makes no use of the occurrence of *tollo* when the crowd, at the pre-crucifixion trial of Jesus, cried out for him to be taken away and for Barabbas to be released.

Vulgate has Lk. xxiii 1:-

angels this final word, which the miserable Adam heard from his mouth. Et nunc ne mittat manum suam et sumat de ligno vite et comedat et viuat in eternum.¹ That is to say that, from the hour when the first Adam, who is the consubstantial image of my incomprehensible divinity engendered by my fecund memory before eternity and your creation, lest he put out his hand to the tree to restore that fruit, let this miserable being be himself put out from this place where he was made. How man is the image of God.

Thus it is needful for you to know why and how it is that man is more the image and semblance of God than angels or than any other celestial or elementary creature. For if one wishes to say that it is due to spirituality, immortality, invisibility, reason, knowledge or understanding the angel exceeds man in all these things, for he knows and understands how it is, by reasons, forms and ideas which are spiritually within him then I say to you that just as God joins, contains and unites in himself truly the perfection of all substances, so also

folio 8 recto

he made man, so it would follow, you could say, that there is no difference between God and man. I reply to you that this is too much. For all things are joined and united to God, as to their unity and primacy of source; then at their end they come to him as to sovereign good when they are blessed. For blessedness is only the return of each and every thing to its exordium and start. God is therefore the start and the end, Alpha and O, but the creatures are in man as if in the midst and due to this they are better in God, than in themselves, but in man those that are above him are imperfect and those who

Exclamavit autem simul universa turba, dicens: Tolle hunc, et dimitte nobis Barabbam.

¹Vulgate has Ge. iii 22:-

Et ait: Ecce Adam quasi unus ex nobis factus est, sciens bonum et malum; nunc ergo ne forte mittat manum suam, et sumat etiam de ligno vitæ, et comedat, et vivat in æternum.

NASB has Ge. iii 22:-

Then the LORD God said, "Behold, the man has become like one of Us, knowing good and evil; and now, lest he stretch out his hand, and take also from the tree of life, and eat, and live forever".

Thenaud omitted the opening phrase, which runs counter to his argument. He argued that man is the image of God, but Ge. iii 23a could be construed to say that man became like God.

Treatise 1 page 21

are below him are more perfect there than in themselves. The true and real qualities of the four elements are in man, as I have told you above; for in him is the spirit which resembles a celestial body which moves between the soul and the body together with there being there vegetation and increase as with trees, interior and exterior sensation as with beasts, intelligence as with angels, virtue as from all stars and the efflux as from all the planets; so also there are therein the virtues of all plants, stones, seeds, (healing as well as deadly), and in brief all natures; these flow to this divine image and possession so that there is nothing more wonderful and miraculous in the universe than man whom all creatures angelic, celestial, terrestrial, aerial and aquatic serve and obey, for this is their sole purpose and objective. For just as by observance of the laws of his creator he may have peace with him and in him so also he is not separated nor divided from him. For if he fights against the covenant and against union with God all the creatures will arm themselves against him so as to punish that division, injury and offence. And just as the good life, peace and sanctity of man is freely granted to all so also his perverse and dissolute life is hated and punished by heaven, air, sky and by all creatures. For this reason the holy prophets, who formerly announced the wishes and the commandments of God to mankind, called heaven and

folio 8 verso

earth as witnesses according to our legislator Moses who also started his song *Audite celi* 'q loquor *audiat terra verba oris mei.*¹ As if they wanted to conclude If man who is the union of the Creator and of all other creatures generates division and separation for himself and in himself by transgression and offence of sin towards his Creator let him be punished by deprivation of all the benefits which he should receive from you. For the God of Power desires it and commands it of you. Heaven closes its conduits so that the earth which he works becomes sterile. Planets send pest-bearing and death-

¹ Vulgate has Dt xxxii 1:-

Audite cæli, quæ loquor; audiat terra verba oris mei.

NASB has Dt xxxii 1:-

Give ear, O heavens, and let me speak; And let the earth hear the words of my mouth.

dealing rays to wear him down. And you, earth, you make him famished and poor so that the image of the living God which has been deformed in him may be reformed by amendment and penitence and so that unity, truth and goodness may once more shine forth in him which are never separated in entity or existence be it transcendent or immanent. First unity flows from God to all his creatures inasmuch as they are undivided in themselves and divided from others, but pride and ambition, which take the part of Belial against reason, wish to destroy in man this unity so that he may not be at one with his Creator. Secondly, truth in all creatures is dependent on that which is uncreated. The thing is true which is in conformity to its example,¹ and which is really that which its name and appearance show it to be, and if man is voluptuous like a brute beast he is not spiritually rational nor in conformity to him whose image he bears. Thirdly, God, who is transcendent and good, distributes and communicates his good to all his creatures so that they are good. And the more they participate in natural goodness, the better they are, and also the sensitive things are more worthy than the vegetative and the rational ones are to be preferred to the sensitive ones but avarice and coveting destroy in man this goodness, which he did not wish to abandon in the first place and which God had made.

¹*exemplaire.*

folio 9 recto

Here starts the second treatise which proves the immortality of souls and their excellence, in eight chapters.

Five things which are in the universe and which comprise it, that is to say Bodies, Qualities, Souls, Angels and God.

First chapter.

When the above mentioned Hebrew, full of human knowledge and divine wisdom had finished his words, and I had given them deep thought in myself about the four worlds, of which he said man is the union I was recalled to and reminded of what Chilon had written long ago in the temple of Apollo. Nosce teimpz,¹ which is to say Know thyself,

Margin has Prior to knowing the three worlds it is needful for one to know the fourth world which is oneself

for it is by the knowledge of oneself (which is to be preferred to every other science) that one comes to know and to understand all matters. For this I requested him that, if it please him, he would inform me of the state of man first of all and how he is the union of all the other worlds, so that he might continue the matter. He responded to me, "It is needful for you to know that in the order of all of the universe, there are only five things, that is to say, at the lowest there are bodies, then the qualities

folio 9 verso

or complexions, thirdly the pure souls, fourthly above the souls are the angels. Finally there is the divine nature. About bodies, as such, I know that they are celestial, elementary or composed of divers elements which are only material but that quantity seeks extension and that quality is desirous of form, and they are not capable of doing or achieving anything, but are totally passive

Margin has On account of a lack of unity, agility and subtlety bodies cannot achieve on their own

¹See End note *Know Thyself*.

And I shall now prove the truth of this. In order to achieve and to do something good, three conditions are required of the worker, that is to say Power, Agility, or promptitude, and thirdly subtlety so as to overcome with ease.

Margin has Unity increases power

Power is always gained and augmented by union as well as being reduced or diminished by its extent. For example. Fire is powerful because it is fiery and warm, not just because it is great, for if the least spark of fire which can exist is brought into material duly prepared, it can burn all the world, so therefore quality enlarges extent and makes it great. And the opposite is not true. For this reason the quality of dryness which restrains and encloses more than the others, increases cold or heat, for there is no greater winter or summer than the dry one.

Margin has Unity increases diligence

Likewise its opposite, which is humidity, extends laxity and reduces winter or summer and every quality. Secondly, agility and promptness are augmented by union for a spark and cinder of fire mount with greater agility than the flame and a pointed body falls through the air to the ground more quickly than a broad one and for this reason material bodies are slower to move than the larger and more extensive ones.

Margin has Unity increases subtlety

Thirdly, Subtlety, to be effective, must also have free rein and because every individual body occupies its own place and as two cannot be in one sole spot on account of their weight and solidity so they are not sufficiently united or extended and so being deficient in time and weight, they cannot work of their ownelves, and for this it is necessary to defer every action and operation to some spiritual nature which has no body. In considering these things, one sees that the elements which are more elevated, united and spiritual achieve more than the lower and more material ones.

folio 10 recto

Fire in an instant and moment can do that which the others cannot do at any time.

Margin has Example from fire and air

It transforms all things to which it joins itself. In the same way it is clear and luminous which is the significance of great spirituality, agility and penetration,

for light spreads itself abroad in an instant. The power of the air is very great for a vessel in water will be supported by a third part of the air. I know that this is so even if the other two parts may be earth or sand. And the great power of the above mentioned elements joined and united together is shown in bombardments which carry, in accordance with their art, a large and material body into the air with terrible noise, force and power and which engenders a thunderous noise. One must therefore conclude that the skies which are above these elements and which are even more spiritual than them, have the greater power, as to movement, light and effect, which they do not have. And the things which are purely spiritual are without any comparison more powerful in their achievements than the corporeal which have quantity and extension, such as their own passion. About Qualities. Above bodies are qualities such as warmth, cold, dryness, humidity, good, evil, the temperate, the intemperate, the obscure, darkness and more of such things by whose virtue and good actions bodies and materials move and change and also produce diverse things, some of which are contrary and different and others are temperate. For just as there is diverse union and mingling of qualities in matters so also is the diversity of effects in complexions, for complexion is only a nature composed of contrary qualities tempered by a certain harmony and proportion. That the actions and effects and operations come from qualities rather than from quantities is apparent, for in order to join up or to approach to a great thing or to a small thing or to a large or thin one, there has to be recourse to (the quality) great, or small, large or delicate, but to achieve cold from heat and so on, one has recourse to cold or heat.

Margin has By the qualities not by extensions or quantities souls have their effect on bodies

Moreover children are not at all, from their birth, at all like their forebears

folio 10 verso

as to height and dimension, as they are in many qualities, such as preferences, face, complexion and gestures; these outward signs are effects of quality and not of quantity. So it is that these qualities are not bodies, for two bodies cannot exist in one place. Yet several qualities may exist within bodies in one place and also many qualities may co-exist together as with honey having colour, sweetness and thickness. So also all bodies have length, breadth and

depth, yet qualities as such do not have these features and aspects for they have more active power and virtue when they are united than when they are separated. Qualities also are not things that are permanent and which subsist in themselves, for when they are joined with bodies they go from purity to infection, from subtlety to weight, from simplicity to division, from activity to passion, from stability to corruption, considering that they spread, unite, flow and vary with bodies. For this reason qualities are not primary forms or causes by which the species are as such in themselves and different from others and by which they work as such, nor are they principles of nature and operation. Moreover the effect of the qualities on bodies cannot ever remain in one and the same state at any given moment for movement of time changes, varies and alters from bad to good or from good to bad. For if one could make the good and temperate condition of qualities stable, permanent and effective for half an hour on bodies, they would be everlasting seeing that this permanence could as well last one day as one hour, and a thousand years as well as one day, but your Ovid said *Cuncta fluunt oisqz vagans formatur ymago*¹ by which these qualities cannot take their source or primary birth from corporeal material which in themselves are unfitted for production on account of their chaos and lack of form, for every product derives from forms. And not from other qualities, for one must always look for the productive causes of these prime qualities from which it is appropriate to say and to conclude that over such qualities there are other

folio 11 recto

substances without bodies subsisting, stable and intellectual of themselves, which have power to penetrate, to take over and to vivify bodies which are destined for living. For such substances these qualities are only the instruments which operate and are applied according to their times, seasons, matters and dispositions and which are destined to cause and to engender corruptions, changes and other mutations. For if these same living and permanent substances, which by their activity, keep them, by means of good cause, in order and proportion they would be ruined and swallowed up in a dark abyss²

¹Ovid *Metamorphoses* 12, 54.

Everything, once gathered, flows and all the roaming images are created.

²Ovid *Metamorphoses* 8, 843. *Vorago*, poetical for a devouring maw or stomach, ventris.

of first matter and bodies. About souls. Just as between white and black there are diverse colours, so one moves from one extreme to another. For in winter one comes to the summer via spring and from summer to winter by autumn. So it is appropriate to put between the qualities, which are totally fluid, mobile and variable, and the angelic essences which are totally stable, fixed and permanent, some essences which contain the nature of the two extremities and we can find none else apart from the souls. The angels understand what they can understand and do what they are able to do

Margin has How souls are between the qualities and the angels

without any delay of time at all in an instant and moment. But souls are different from them as to understanding and not understanding, for sometimes they are elevated above the angels and up to God, and other times they descend to low and corporeal things. In angels there are three permanent things, that is to say Essence, Virtue and Operation. In rational souls¹ (for I shall be talking of unreasonable souls in the Treatise on the Elementary World) there are three things, that is to say Essence, which is stable, fixed and permanent, Operation, which is temporal and mutable, as appears from bodies, which they nourish little by little, and Virtue, which is divided and separated into that which is natural and that which is acquired. The natural, which does not grow and decay, is stable, continuous and permanent. The acquired sort is mutable, for it comes from power to fact,

folio 11 verso

from fact to habituation, from habit to prompt operation. Likewise the soul has three things, that is to say understanding, or the spirit, which some have called Mens,² which is as it were the head and the highest part of it, for

¹ *ames raisonnables.*

² Thenaud follows Reuchlin's description, in *De Arte Cabalistica* folio 53 recto, which culminates in appreciation of 'mens' as 'mistress of all' (Horum omnium domina mens, recepto lumine superiori ...)

These then are the three regions to be found on this ascent, with some state of abstraction belonging to each. In the first region are the object, the "shimmer," and the outward sense. In the second are the inner sense, the appearance, and the brute judgment. In the third are human judgment, reason, and intellect. The mind (mens) is mistress of all of these, since with light from above it illumines and makes complete man's intellect. This is what the Kabbalists taught on Sechel, Sandalphon, and Mettatron. The states, however, differ in two ways here. In the first state the body stops and the soul (anima) takes over; this is called "animal." In the second, the soul stops and reason takes over; this is called "man." In the third, reason stops and mind takes over; mind alone, unrestricted, can leave man behind; this is called "God," in accordance with the prophecy: "I have said that ye are Gods." The names of these states then are sense, judgment and intellect. The states are identified by the
Treatise 2 page 5

thereby it reaches up to God and to the angels. Secondly, there is reason by means of which the soul goes from effect to cause, from premises to conclusions, from the particular to the universal and reason holds therein the middle part. Then there is Lifegiving Power, which some have called the idol of the soul, which is, as it were, the lowest part of it, and by which it joins and unites itself to bodies, so that very often it passes from the angelic to the brutal. For this reason some have defined it as follows: The soul is a spirit created from nothing, immortal, capable of divine and angelic light, reasonable, capable of being united with the body, which it vivifies, moves, nourishes, making it sensible and vegetable by the harmony of qualities and celestial bodies. The soul therefore is a mobile multitude. And it presents itself here in a multitudinous form in the spiritual nature, in various embodiments, for in the soul are found all the above mentioned things. In the angel there are also its essence, its operation and the divine light which so enlightens it that it returns and reverberates in it by which is produced the intelligible species of all the universal, in which it sees, knows, grasps and understands the breadth of its knowledge by intellect alone. Moreover I know that it comprehends things according to their proper species. Angels. Many of the old philosophers, like Heraclitus,¹ Varro² and Manilius have barely been able to ascend above the souls from which they sprang (including their disciples) that is to say, from the soul of the world, which some have named Jupiter the Universal, of whom it was written, *Muse iouis omnia plena*,³ or Appollo the great, who by the melodious song of his harmonious harp, according to Orpheus, caused all the gods and goddesses to dance and to move. Under them they have subjected the twelve souls of the twelve principal celestial bodies, from which one star rules the heart. For in the heart of Aries they have put Pallas, in the heart of Taurus Venus, in the heart of Gemini Phebus the lesser, in the heart of Cancer

intervening media: diaphane, appearance, and reason. These are not altogether dissimilar to the three fathers of Kabbalah in Merkavah Abraham above, Isaac below, and Jacob between. The two intervals between the three regions, sense and judgment, are doubled accordingly as they are higher or lower, and each can be reduced to two end points. There remain to be found the ten rungs of the ladder on which we climb to know all truth, be it of the senses or of knowledge, or of faith; from bottom to top we climb.

This quotation is also notable for the manner in which it relates two different forms of kabbalistic mysticism - the *Sephiroth* and the *Merkavah*.

¹ Heraclitus, born about 540 BC, died 480 BC; Greek philosopher of the Ionian school, for whom fire was the first element of matter.

² Varro born in the present day Rieti, formerly Reate, a Latin poet who died in the second century BC. Famous for the encyclopædic breadth of knowledge, though few of his works are extant.

³*Every thing is full of Jupiter's Muse.*

folio 12 recto

Mercury, in the heart of Leo Jupiter the particular, in the heart of Virgo Ceres, in the heart of Libra Virledius, in the heart of Scorpio Mars, in the heart of Sagittarius Diana, in the heart of Capricorn Vesta, in the heart of Aquarius Juno, and in the heart of Pisces Neptune. To these twelve they want to reduce another twelve dozens of souls which are divided as follows; each dozen into eight spheres of heavens, and into four spheres of the elements and under these seven twenty-four souls they wanted to put an infinite multitude of others. But above the souls which are changeable as to operation, it is appropriate to place a spiritual nature which works without change of time, which has its life totally united and which never joins itself to nor partakes of bodies, as form does with matter so it stays with regard to essence, virtue and operation, stable, fixed and permanent for it remains real and in fact entirely spiritual, intelligible and elevated which must in like manner be multiplied by species and individuals in bodies, qualities and souls as spiritual things are more dilated than temporal things and as the amplitude and circumference of heaven exceeds the centre of the earth. And just as in speaking of the intelligible and spiritual world we speak of this spiritual nature and of its distinction by orders and hierarchies, so it is appropriate to come to the supreme, incomprehensible and transcendent divine nature which is unity, verity, goodness and essence, of which I have already made mention. About God. Above the angelic nature which is the immobile multitude, it is appropriate to believe that God is the immobile unity, life, verity and primal light which is so conjoined that it is in it and by it that all angelic and human spirits see, understand and know and to which twelve excellent characteristics are attributed by our weak understanding. First Divine nature is the essence of incomprehensible Unity, Verity and goodness. Secondly it is everything. Thirdly it has created and produced everything. Fourthly, it is over everything. Fifthly, it is found within everything. Sixthly it is eternal. It furnishes all

folio 12 verso

things. It administers justice. It perseveres in the selfsame providence and just administration by incredible power. It treats all things, by means of soft and

Treatise 2 page 7

persuasive temperance. It lives in great riches, joy and voluptuousness; finally it reveres itself and by admiration cultivates its blessed state. And also just as there is nothing more certain than that God exists, so also there is nothing less certain than knowing who he is, just as the first proposition is clear and luminous, so also the second is obscure and dark.

Margin has God is that which is; Evil and Sin is what is not¹

He is who he is as it was revealed to Moses for all things which are created and produced out of nothing, are as nothing and if they were not maintained and guarded by him, they would promptly be lost and would be annihilated for so says Isaiah: Omnes gentes quasi nichil sint ante te reputabuntur.² Also the prince of malice is named as he who is not, as it is written. Job thirteen.³ Habitent in tabernaculo illius socii eius qui non est.⁴ That is to say the crowd of

¹... cest ce qui nest.

²Vulgate has Is. xl 17:-

Omnes gentes quasi non sint, sic sunt coram eo, et quasi nihilum et inane reputatæ sunt ei.

NASB has Is. xl 17:-

All the nations are as nothing before him, They are regarded by Him as less than nothing and meaningless.

Hebrew has Is. xl 17:-

כָּל־הַגּוֹיִם כְּאֵין נִגְדוּ מֵאִפֶּס וְתָהוּ נִחְשְׁבִירָלּוֹ:

3

Job tercio decimo.

Folio 12 verso detail.

⁴ Thenaud's reference to 'Job thirteen' (Job tercio decimo) is wrong.

Vulgate has Jb. xviii 15:-

Habitent in tabernaculo illius socii ejus qui non est; aspergatur in tabernaculo ejus sulphur.

NASB has Jb. xviii 15:-

There dwells in his tent nothing of his; Brimstone is scattered on his habitation.

Hebrew has Jb. xviii 15:-

תִּשְׁכֹּן בְּאֶהְלֹ מִבְּלִירָלּוֹ יִזְרָה עַל־נִנְהוּ גִפְרִית:

Septuagint has Jb. xviii 15:-

κατασκηνώσει ἐν τῇ σκητῇ αὐτοῦ ἐν νυκτὶ αὐτοῦ, κατασπαρήσονται τὰ εὐπρεπῆ αὐτοῦ θείῳ.

A literal translation of the Septuagint is:-

It shall dwell in his tabernacle (tent) in his night,
His excellency shall be sown with brimstone.

Clearly Thenaud has not followed the Septuagint. The intriguing point concerns Thenaud's view of *le prince de malice*, whom he describes as being *qui non est* for a translation of מִבְּלִירָלּוֹ

Thenaud takes it that *qui non est* is an epithet for the *prince de malice*. The possibility exists that Thenaud is offering a novel exegesis of מִבְּלִירָלּוֹ.

Ewald, *Heb. Gram.* § 323,a and 294, b. suggests the meaning is *what does not belong to*
Treatise 2 page 8

evil spirits, the immensity, the incomprehensibility of God surmounts all duration and quantity; his beauty, perfection, wisdom and infinity surmounts all praise and for this it is appropriate to speak of him in all humility and reverence; when I tell you of that spiritual world, it is sufficient that I speak to you of the five natures, of which the soul is the mean, as it were the centre and middle of nature, the link of the universe and the mirror of all faces.

How the souls have power to move, to alter, to change and to vary bodies, as is evident from its four passions which are joy, pain, hope and fear. ¹

Second chapter.

folio 13 recto



see End Image folio 13 recto

I know that for the production of the human body all celestial bodies, elements and qualities are involved to give to it and to accord it as it were to another

him dwells in his tent. Similarly Delitzsch considers that *מְבִלִּי* is an intensive of *אֵין*, as in Ex. xiv 11, so that he can support his focus on the strangeness of the beings that dwell in the tent. Thenaud's reference to the 'prince of malice' in terms of 'cil qui nest point' in his exegesis of the phrase derived from *מְבִלִּי לֹא* is in accordance with Augustinian theology. Augustine followed a Platonic understanding of hierarchy of souls and angels. In regard to the true nature of being the most significant verse was Ex. iii 14:-

And God said to Moses, "I AM WHO I AM"; and He said, "Thus you shall say to the sons of Israel, 'I AM has sent me to you.'"

The consequence was that the hierarchy of value was translated to all of creation. Physical objects, which are very low on the hierarchy, and indeed all creatures, when compared to God, are '*prope nihil*' (next to nothing). Consequently Augustinian theology did not acknowledge that the 'prince of malice' could have a true existence in the light of Ex. iii 14.

¹See End Note '*Fortune - Joie, Douleur, Espérance & Crainte*'.

Pandora¹ many choice gifts so that the recipient might be a worthy, sufficient and prepared domicile and receptacle for such a divine form which is the rational soul (which seeks repose ornamented with beauty) and variation for its own diversion and enjoyment yet the soul nevertheless retains such authority and power over it that it has close affinity to all these celestial bodies that only in fantasy can it change quality, complexion and form. So it is evident that by the four passions, which in some is joy,² in others sadness,³ in others desire⁴ and hope⁵ the others

folio 13 verso

fear⁶ and terror.⁷

Margin has Joy

Internal joy often causes the heart and the spirit to dilate and to spread, so that such a one dies, as it happened to Roman nobles who died when they saw their children alive whom they had mourned as dead. So it was for many elevated to high dignity, honours and offices who resembled Sophocles⁸ and Denys the tyrant⁹ dying of joy after it had been told them and announced to them that they had achieved glory and victory out of tragedies.

Margin has Sadness

The second passion of sadness (this time quite the opposite), so affects the heart and the spirit that man can die of it, or fall into grievous ill health. For just the sight of medicine can cause the saliva to turn bitter or just to see a phlebotomy being carried out may cause a person to faint and lose consciousness. Or just the thought of some things, to see them, to hear them may cause the teeth to chatter, the hackles to rise, words to be lost, colour to flee and the whole body to be changed.

¹The first woman created, in Greek mythology, by Hephaïstos, on the orders of Zeus. Athena, the goddess of wisdom, gave her all the graces and talents. Zeus gave the box and sent her to Epimetheus, the first man, who married her. He opened the box, whence good and evil escaped, leaving only Hope. Although Hope is one of Thénau's virtues he does not make use of that aspect of the myth.

²*joye.*

³*douleur.*

⁴*desir.*

⁵*espoir.*

⁶*crainte.*

⁷*paeur.*

⁸Greek tragedian, born about 495 BC, died 406 BC.

⁹Dennis the elder of Syracuse, 405 BC to 367 BC.

Margin has Desire

The third passion which is hope and desire is often used by a mother whose fantasies work upon the body of her child. The good doctor restorers well knew how to speak of and to recognize the grievous malady which afflicted his patient Antiochus who was pining for the great love which he had for his father's wife Stratonice.¹ Also others have in their brain and spirit continuing agitation, pains and distresses, on account of things which they have in their past desired or which they do actually desire, so that they have neither joy nor expectation. Moreover the bad will and desire which it is the intent of many miserable souls to do, can harm animals and children and fruit of the land as I have already shown you.

Margin has Fear

The fourth and final passion of fear often makes and causes numerous maladies, but on the other hand it can cure others such as spasms of the diaphragm and quaternary fever. Fear made the son of Croesus speak, who all his life had been dumb, when he said to the murderer who was killing his father, O vir ne interficias cresum.² Fear and pain make man become pale, die, wrinkled, greyhaired and aged before his time, as the sage wrote.

folio 14 recto

Spiritus tristis exsiccat ossa.³ Also joy and the presence of tempered delights makes one live long, for maladies and prosperities of the spirit come and go easily into the body just as the body responds promptly to them. But the pains and maladies of bodies do not show up in a strong and constant spirit as it appears in the case of the gestures and acts of valiant captains, glorious martyrs and virtuous philosophers, who died for their religion, liberty, truth, for their prince or for the public good without qualm. Diogenes did not feel the cold and the ices of winter, nor the ardours of summer, when he philosophised and was naked in the desert. The philosopher Anaxarcus was put in a lead vessel and said to his torturers who were acting on the order of Nicocreon, the

¹ Greek princess, wife of Nikator, an Asian king, whom she divorced so as to marry Antiochus.

²O man, do not harm Croesus.

³Vulgate has Pr. xvii 22:-

Animus gaudens ætatem floridam fecit; spiritus tristis exsiccat ossa.

NASB has Pr. xvii 22:-

A joyful heart is good medicine, But a broken spirit dries up the bones.

tyrant of Cyprus, and were to beat his body with great metal hammers, Pulverize and hammer Anararcus' container and vessel for you can do him no harm. And when the tyrant had commanded that his tongue be cut out, he himself tore it out with his teeth and then spat it in his face. The human body might have been stronger, more robust and more powerful than iron, steel or marble to resist contrary and intemperate things if God had so ordained it, but this he did not, but quite to the contrary, for he has put within the human and in his composition, more of the high and spiritual elements than earthly elements, so that he may the better obey the soul which moves a person to contemplation and knowledge.

Margin has Reason why God has not made the human body of sterner material

As a sign of which one does not see in any of the other animals so many diverse figures, forms as one does in the human, considering that their bodies are not at all obedient to the spirit, imagination or fantasy. Moreover all those who have been of a spiritual sort have had very delicate and subtle bodies, as had Plato, Socrates, Aristotle, Pyrrho, Carneades, as well as those in heaven as well as those of our times. How the soul has power over the body by reason and by its effects. Secondly, one can recognise the authority and excellence of the soul over the body as much over its own as over others by three things, which are works of reason, that is to say by

folio 14 verso

Subtlety and promptness of understanding. Secondly by stability of memory and thirdly by eloquence¹ joined to the power to describe. Promptness and subtlety of understanding were already evident in the poet Homer and in Didymus of Alexandria blind since their birth, and who knew how to make and to leave lines worthy of admiration. It was a great thing when Homer, who whilst begging, sang in such sweet harmony, so persuasively, rhetorically and

¹ Latin, late, *disertitudo*.

Vulgate has Is. xxxiii 19:-

Populum impudentem non videbis, populum alti sermonis, ita ut non possis intelligere disertitudinem linguæ ejus, in quo nulla est sapientia.

NASB has Is. xxxiii 19:-

You will no longer see a fierce people,

A people of unintelligible speech which no one comprehends,

Of a stammering tongue which no one understands.

with such excellent proportion of all the muses and fields of knowledge, both divine and human, adorned with all the flowers of poetry. Likewise Didymus of Alexandria knew so much of grammar, logic, rhetoric, philosophy, theology and mathematics, of the proportions of music and of the figures of geometry that he surpassed all the others of his time, as Origen records, whom one would not naturally consider to be in the most miserable state of body if the rays of sovereign intelligence had not illuminated them from birth by a special measure of grace, which augments and increases their desirability and achievement. And I know that some regions, such as the Eastern, those of the Meridian, and those which have a large measure of heavenly and aerial clemency, assist the subtlety of spirit which pure blood produces and by which the soul is joined to the body, which can be aided by medicine, but not as far as to be immortal. Moreover the tenacity and stability of memory, which Mithridates had, who, in a short space of time, learned how to speak twenty-two different languages; Lucius Scipio, who knew how to recite two hundred metres which two hundred students of his had composed, starting at the last and continuing up to the first; I know that he had only heard them once, and the memory of many other such things shows convincingly that the soul is a thing which is above the body, seeing that so many matters and books cannot enter into nor be comprehended by such a small structure¹ as the head, which is held to be the seat of the memory. And not only does the spirit regard and consider the things of the past, but it foresees the things which are to come (as I shall soon show you so that all times may be present to you). It follows therefore that this substance is eternal and everlasting

folio 15 recto

which makes of it a collection and store of all the fluidity and passage of time.

Margin has The excellence of speech and writing

Thirdly, the power of speech to describe, and the power of the hands to work, are witnesses of the power and spirituality of the soul. For I know that one lives like the beasts without such things, for they are accorded to man as his special treasures. For the word is given as humankind's intermediary with the spirit, and writing for authorizing and for accounting. The spirit conceives in

¹ Latin, *compages*, *compago* from the root of joining together, a connection, joint or structure.

C. Lewis, and C. Short, *op. cit.*, p. 385 c.

itself all that God has done in the world. The tongue publishes it and pronounces it, then the hand causes it to be recorded and despatches it to future nations. And I know that Epicurus dreamt and wanted to say that the beasts have reason in themselves, which they cannot express due to a lack of speech, writing, description, achievement and suitable organs, yet man can know his errors, for nature does not lack in things that are needed and does not give an excess of things not needed, as is evident from the trees and plants which have no feet to move around or to travel, for they obtain all their nourishment from the soil where they are located and where their sources are covered. But because animals cannot take their nourishment from one place only, or from one sole element they are provided with feet. Moreover because they have imagination and fantasies, which are confused and brutal they can show and partially declare them by their noises, songs, cries, roars and other signs. But as man is a divine and rational animal so he needs to be ornamented with hands, tongue and other organs to achieve, to speak and to perfect the concepts of his spirit. By some achievements he shows himself first of all a true son and disciple of God, when he wants to reproduce what God has already done. So it was with the good painter Zeuxis, Praxiteles, Apelles and the sovereign philosophers Archita of Tarente and Archimedes, of whom I have spoken earlier. He shows himself also as emulator of nature and to be envious of it; yet he is not beholden to it, for it exposes him in this world as naked, powerless and disarmed, inasmuch as he proves himself better than could be thought, for he may prove and ornament it, inasmuch as he corrects his achievements, and inasmuch as he gives to them beauty, form and perfection,

Margin has Man corrects the works of nature

folio 15 verso

as is evident from the pyramids of Egypt, from the buildings in Rome, France, Italy, and in other countries, from the transmutation of metals, in the production of glass, in all mechanical processes whereby he changes and alters plants, trees, beasts, resins, stones, metals and all that nature has made in diverse forms and figures. And not content with one element he makes use of all of them, changes and enriches them. For he waters the land, then works it, as well as cultivating it, garnishes it with flowers, colours, odours, trees and seeds. Likewise he controls the waters, he plans and cleans lakes and rivers;

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he uses all fishes, coral, pearls and other things which are in its depths. In the air he builds towers, pinnacles, châteaux and fortresses. He uses the birds of the air as much for his pleasure, as for living. (I ignore the wings of Daedalus and Icarus.) He knows how to gather manna, labdanum¹ and other things which are descended therefrom. If it is hot he knows the means of cooling down, as well as the ways of warming himself in cold weather; how to make his surroundings calm, clean and agreeable; how to change it (ice) into water, and to do just as he pleases. Fire he uses in all seasons, for cooking, and for the digestion of meats, to forge, to change, to heal, to heat, to burn and to do as he wishes, which is unknown to the other creatures. And so he shows forth his mastery and authority, which he has over the elements. Moreover, by his astuteness and power, he brings into subjection all of the animals, whether nature has given them teeth, horns, nails, claws and feet and he controls, imprisons, guards, binds, teaches and domesticates lions, leopards, tigers, elephants, dragons, eagles and vultures. One has never seen any of these animals gather together and arrange to capture and assault men and bring them into captivity. What is more, so that man may better approach to the divine authority, he also accomplishes all the above mentioned things in authority over his family, over people and over a world which he rules as he wishes, just as God makes his angels work so also just as he was

folio 16 recto

born and came into the world to reign, so he cannot endure servitude, but for liberty, for public good, for the religion of God and for his prince, he despises his temporal life, hoping to receive in its place a far better one elsewhere. And to know and to understand the secrets of infallible truth, he works night and day, visiting books of Physic, Theology, Mathematics, Metaphysics, Magic, divine and humanistic. He desires to know all languages, and such is his desire, that he imagines that he could do all that God has done, for all things are under his power and sway. For Architus made wooden doves fly, and Archimedes made copper heavens rotate under the influence of the celestial. These things are not to make one complacent in the body, for the body only suffers distress, pain and travail, but it is to satisfy its fantasy, and to render the spirit and reason, which is impatient to be reclusive and unrecognized,

¹ A resinous balsamic substance. *OED*, p. 1553d.

shine out of itself.

How holy souls, elevated, ravished and alienated by holy fury, prophesy and describe future events, and also work miracles.

Third chapter.

The rational souls and spirits which live in bodies, without being allied to or affected by voluptuosity, or some such form of love, which one describes as being transported, ravished and alienated take and retain due to their sacred fury (in the spiritual world and in themselves) the treasures of divine knowledge and wisdom, which cannot be found either in the celestial world or in the elementary world, as the prophet Baruch said. Quis ascendit in celum et accepit eam et eduxit eam de nubibus. Quis transfretavit mare et invenit illam et attulit illam super aurum electum. Non est qui possit scire vias eius.¹ And so it is that the more they seek and search for their

folio 16 verso

own affairs so they are removed from all worldly pursuits, as is evident from four types of people, that is to say, philosophers, poets, priests and finally prophets. Of the philosophers we present only Epimemides of Crete, Zoroaster, Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato, Xenocrates, Heraclitus, Democritus, Ligurgus, and Numapompilius. The first was fifty five years in the desert, alone, unknown and in a full state of rapture, without having a thought about the world, without drinking or eating and because of that the poets claim that he was asleep all the time, then when he returned to himself and discovered the state of his house and his city quite unchanged, he became the most profound philosopher, astrologer and divine of his time. Likewise Zoroaster remained twenty years, Pythagoras ten, Socrates lived for long periods in a state of rapture and without moving watching the sun and then waiting for the night, all in the same state, without rising, without feeling, knowing, seeing and without knowing what he was doing. Every day Plato entered into a state of rapture and ecstasy and so he was when he died. His disciple Xenocrates customarily

¹Someone went up in heaven and took her and lead her away from the clouds. Someone sailed the sea and found her and took her up, to the selected gold. No one is allowed to know his reasons.

spent two hours a day in the same state of alienation. Heraclitus lead such a solitary life that the accompanying melancholy (which is quite natural for the studious and contemplative sort) that he never ceased crying. Democritus had his eyes removed to advance his contemplative ways. The two last named legislators called Ligurgus and Numa withdrew themselves from the sovereign administration which was their public lot so as to lead the contemplative life and to have the grace of the gods, by the aid of which they claimed to receive their laws. Of the poets we present Lucretius, Ion, Tynnicus, Orpheus, Homer, Hesiod, Virgil, Ovid, Dante, all of whom, according to the ancient writers have witnessed to, spoken of and composed so elegantly so many things which are more divine than human, that they may hardly be heard either by themselves or by others, on account of their being in a state of rapture, fury, ecstasy, alienation and beyond all bodily sensation, which proves that

folio 17 recto

their poetry was due to divine grace communicated to them and not in any way of human invention, and the divine Plato wrote a book about this alienation *Jon de furore poetico*. And Ovid said. *Est deus in nobis agitante calescimus illo impetus hic sacre semina mentis habet fas michi precipue vultus vidisse deorum vel quia sum vantes vel quia sacra cano.*¹ Thirdly, the most chaste priests prove that the spirit freed and elevated from the bodily senses may mount above the heavens from which it may more easily take the treasures, just as Prometheus was formerly unable to gather celestial fire. Among others one must first mention the apostles, who according to faith and belief, after much prayer, fasting and abstinence, visibly received the Holy Spirit who filled them with all his gifts, that is to say with wisdom, understanding, counsel, force, knowledge, pity and fear and what is more he gave to them the gift of all languages. And this was then communicated to many, such as to that doctor of the law, Paul, who was taken in a state of rapture to the third heaven, where he saw the secrets which he dared not reveal. This happened also to that poor stigmata bearing Francis, who in his great devotions and fervent ways was so transformed in love that he wanted the signs and the stigmata to be permanently imprinted in his body and so it has been not only in the past, but also occurs in the present day, as it is said in your law - Also

¹*Polythecon* book 9, vss. 93,96 and 102.

Moses in his forty days, and Elijah were the same. The historians, even the Greeks, say that the souls of Harmonius Clazomenius and Aristeas were quite accustomed to pass beyond their bodies and that they went here and there and then returned to their bodies, and recounted new things and incredible things, which were found to be true. Aulegellus said that a good and chaste priest named Cornelius, living in Patavia, entered into a state of rapture in that city during the war and during the battle in Pharsalia between Caesar and Pompei, who recounted so well the fact of the battle and even more excellently even than those who were there, that he was able to declare at the end that Caesar had won the victory. Pompei fled. Appollonius in Ephesus said and saw in Rome what had happened to

folio 17 verso

Emperors Nero and Domitian. Your doctor Augustine said and recounts that in his time there was a priest who at the sound of a harp entered into a spirit of alienation, so that he did not feel fire or iron or any such thing, which divided his body. Then when he returned to himself he recited marvels. For this reason Plato says *In phedro diuinus meditationibus qui recte utitur perfectisqz misteriis semper imbuitur perfectus reuera solus euadit Ab humanis autem studiis segregatus diuinoqz numini semper inherens vulgo capitur quasi extra se positus sed ipsum deo plenum fore vulgus latet*¹ Fourthly the power of the spirit ravished and carried into ecstasy is evident in all the prophets, by the Sibylls, and by the Vaticanators, who can predict infallibly and truly things which will come to pass, as if inspired by God, or by angels, or as if they had already seen them be. Souls alienated from their bodies (not at all as in the case of maladies which turn men into beasts) but by holy contemplation understand and see all places and all times by their just recompense, which is understanding, for they approach the angelic realm which is not measured in time or space, so they receive the influx and the rays of divine goodness and angelic exhortation which continually flows to that particular location, which reason does not often attain, because it is usually impeded. For often it happens that one sees and one hears a man or some other thing, and all the

¹ *He who makes use of divine meditations and is always trained in the perfect mysteries (or full of mysteries), indeed he alone perfect escapes. But yet the one cut off from human concerns and sticking always to divine power is held commonly to be placed outside of himself, but the crowd is not known to be itself full of god.*

time reason, which is the aspect that properly belongs to the soul, and by which the soul is such, thinks otherwise, so that it has no recall of having seen anything, nor heard anything and also on this account reason is so attentive to vivifying power in the internal and external senses of the body and in the mundane things of which it has no recall at all, nor memory of such divine and angelic pulsations, rays, and inspirations, so that reason may be attentive to them, but it is freed from those things, and alienated therefrom, recognising, knowing and seeing how it has a share in providence. Likewise the soul by its lower vivifying portion, whence its qualities and complexions

folio 18 recto

take their source and birth, has a grand alliance with the heavens; and, according to Plato, with the celestial souls are the elementary and with their idols also are the elements so that if the portion joined to reason is attentive to the flow and pulsations which are directed to it by these souls, idols and bodies, it will feel rain, sterility, heat, pestilence, wars, winds and all such other things that occur; for fate, which is no more than the course of virtue and celestial movement, and which has influence on elements and thus on elemental things, executes the disposition and ordaining of divine and angelic providence. The soul, on account of its inferior portion, may have power over this fate in proportion to its state in providence. According to Plato this is how it is:

Margin has How things which will occur may be produced naturally

Firstly celestial idols which will have decided to send rain on some country adjust the planets so as to cause them to produce (not only so as to cause them to make new movements). The heavens, thus adjusted, move the elements, so that the air will be damp and humid. The humid air moves the phlegm in the human body, and the phlegm moves the vital spirit in its aquatic portion. For the same spirit is only a subtle vapour of blood. And in the blood (by which purgation and healing of universal maladies are achieved) there are the four humours. It follows therefore that in the spirit are to be found the virtues of the four qualities, complexions, elements and humours. The spirit, thus moved by phlegm, moves the lower part of the soul, which is the vivifying one, and which produces certain images of fantasy, like clouds, rivers, mountains, rains, lakes, eels or fishes, which reason touches not. Moreover, often one finds oneself in a joyous, annoyed or angry state and one does not know

where such a state comes from; this is often the heat or dryness that moves the blood, the spleen such that the spirit will be moved thereby, and the spirit will be moved according to the vivifying portion of the soul, But when reason introduces its understanding, it accepts or it rejects the joy, fear, or anger, which are passions in the fantasy, as I have told you. Inasmuch as I found the

Margin has Question

folio 18 verso

words of my master and Hebrew obscure and rather difficult, before he went on any further I said to him. It seems to me that you are saying that there are two sorts of alienation of spirit; the one is good and comes from God and from nature, which you call Holy Wrath.¹ And the other comes from a malady, which you call rage and folly.² But still I do not understand this Holy Wrath in which the spirit can be so alienated and elevated that it gathers such divine and celestial treasures.

Margin has By seven ways one enters holy wrath and elevation of spirit

You must know, he told me, that this Holy Wrath, ecstasy or repose, can come by any one of seven ways, that is to say by dream, by sincopization, by melancholic humour, by tempered complexion, by solitude, and by the solitary life, by reverences and admiration and finally by fervent, chaste and pure devotion.

Margin has By dream(s) the spirit enters into alienation

Firstly, by dream. Inasmuch as the spirit is never retiring³ and is less hindered in mundane, corporeal and external things so also is the internal need, and because of the sleeping state the spirit withdraws into itself, even if it is not at all retiring. But some people have so impeded it by pandering to their voluptuous, lascivious, avaricious and worldly ways, that in the sleeping state they only have images in the likeness of outrageous desires and sentiments, which they had in former times. And they will dream of seeing horses, treasure, dances, banquets and such things. But there are others who for the love that they have for knowledge and philosophy disdain the delights and avarices of the world, and only want to study and to visit books, which contain in the serenity,

¹ *Sacre fureur.*

² *rage et follye.*

³ *oiseux.*

in repose and in tranquillity of the night, fantasy and reason; these they could not have whilst awake. Thus Galien, when ill, dreamt that he would be healed if he was bled from the vein which is between the thumb and the next finger. Also a dragon showed to Alexander whilst he was asleep, near the bed of his sick friend Ptolemy, a plant, by which he could heal his patient. There are other such, which all originate with God, and which ask nothing of this human and temporal world, either as to knowledge or to possessions, but the love of God, in such a way that to serve him, to please him, is all their life and felicity. On these people be they asleep or awake the true light comes down, which chases away

folio 19 recto

all spiritual darkness and ignorance and in which they read, as if in a book, all that God is disposed to do in this world, which is to say changes of reigns and lordships, the rising up of new sects, or of laws, great adversities, or prosperities and divine judgements. Thus were Joseph, Daniel and other interpreters of dreams which is a most difficult thing.

Margin has Why it is that dreams are difficult to interpret

For I know that a dream may be known when one often does not know the origin of the dream and its motive, and all of this when there is a multitude of words, so that one loses one's starting point. In the same way images and dreams multiply when one knows the initial source upon which interpretation depends, and in this way many interpreters are deceived. And not only does fantasy generate images while asleep, but also whilst awake, for sometimes it makes its vehement apprehension in the imagination; such images proceed into common understanding, and thence into particular sense so that one wants to see, hear or to touch things which will never come about.

Margin has By sincopization the soul comes to itself

This alienation and Holy Wrath are also arrived at by Sincopization, and fainting, which come from the weakness of the heart, to which all the spirits, who wish to assist it, go and leave the other members. And when they are united, if there is only one fortified spirit, it knows and receives more effectively the divine influences and rays, the angelic and celestial revelations. Thus Mohammed and Hercules when they had passed out, often said and did marvellous things. Plutarch tells in his book on the soul that there was once a

man called Enarchus who suddenly fainted and sincopized so that he was judged by the doctors to be dead. After he had returned and come back from this sincopization, he said how he had been dead and the spirits who had come for his soul, were roundly blamed by their master for taking him in the place of a powerful man called Nychandas, and so they had to return him. At that very time the same Nychandas fell into

folio 19 verso

a great fever from which he soon died, and the other man was healed. Thirdly, the melancholic humour which joins, unites and restrains impressions or fantasies more than the other humours, (just as hot iron retains its heat for a long time) is like an alienation or ecstasy. And by this humour the demon spirit or familiar god of Socrates was allied to him by means of which he predicted things to come. For Socrates did not prevent his friends from doing things which they would regret doing. On the contrary as when it appeared to him with regard to Tymarcus, who was killed in going to the place that he had been forbidden to go. With regard to Charmides, who suffered only confusion in the battle which he undertook against the advice of this same Socrates. And with regard to Crito who lost an eye in working the wood which had been forbidden to him. When Aristides and Tucidites were in the company of Socrates, they were ready to deliberate, to contemplate, to philosophise and to study, which they were not when he was absent. He predicted a little in advance to his friend Anito that his son, who seemed to be an entirely moral being, would become dissolute, which did happen. Fourthly, the well tempered complexion, in which there is no superabundance, which does not take more from one fantasy than from another, for which all affections, thoughts and operations are moderate in man, these make him fully disposed to know things that are to come and to know many secrets of God. For I know that whether they are awake or asleep, they have a better disposition. Pythagoras, Pherecides, and Plotinus, who knew the cogitations and the thoughts of man, had this complexion. Pliny the younger recounts that a beautiful goddess appeared one evening to the African Consul called Cornelius Rufus, who predicted to him all that would befall him. Plotinus knew one day that his disciple Poryphry wanted to kill and to destroy himself, which thought he revealed to him and saved him. Fifthly, the solitary life such as Orpheus pursued in Thrace, Zoroaster in Egypt, and

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sundry others called the Desert Fathers, and Thebadius who did not permit distraction, negotiation or any occupation, except that he should give himself continually to thinking.

folio 20 recto

which God and the blessed angels have determined to do here below. Also God inspires them to do so, in drawing them to himself in showing them something of his goodness, just as a nurse does with an apple for children, by which their spirits are lifted. Sixthly, Fearful Admiration and Reverent Devotion¹ which one has in some holy place, with a saint, male or female, together with the faith and devotion mean that the external senses, fantasy and reason and the higher part of the soul are turned totally to that saint or spirit, which cannot simply deny its grace and spirituality, be it good or bad. So also the furious Sibylls foretold many things in caves and temples concerning their own as is recorded in the *Æneid*. So also Albigerius of Carthage, as your great doctor Augustine mentions, told the wishes and the thoughts of those who came to him. The seventh alienation is effected by a very pure, clean and chaste and virtuous life dedicated and directed all in all to God, for thereby the soul is its spouse, dwelling and seat, as Isaiah² said. *Celum michi sedes est et anima iusti sedes est sapiencie*. By this Holy Wrath the prophets told of the things concerning centuries and times to come. By this the apocalypse was revealed, and by this Enoch prophesied in the past. I want therefore to conclude that the rational soul has such power over the bodies as it needs, so

¹ *craintiue admiracion et reuerente deuotion*.

² Vulgate has Is. lxvi 1:-

Hæc dicit Dominus: Cælum sedes mea, terra autem scabellum pedum meorum. Quæ est ista domus quam ædificabitis mihi? Et qui est iste locus quietis meæ?

NASB has Is. lxvi 1:-

Thus says, the LORD,

"Heaven is My throne, and the earth is My footstool.

Where then is the house you could build for Me?

And where is the place that I may rest?

Thenaud's quotation is therefore at variance with Isaiah. The phrase *Cælum michi sedes est* was a favourite of Rupertus of Tuitensis, occurring five times in his *De sancta trinitatis et operibus eius*.

The most likely source for Thenaud's quote is Bernard of Clairvaux. *Sermones super Cantica Canticorum*, sermo n 27, part 8, vol. I, p. 187, l. 23 (*) has:-

Ergo virtus est sidus, et homo virtutum, cælum Nisi quis forte, cum Deum per prophetam dixisse legit CÆLUM MIHI SEDES EST, cælum hoc volubile visibile que intelligendum existimet, et non potius illud de quo alibi apertius Scriptura commemorat ANIMA, inquit, IUSTI SEDES EST SAPIENTIAE.

that it has no need of their help, though such help and aid is given to it. For just as the body and that which follows it, does not stop the soul, it joins, unites and allies itself in like manner to God, to the angels and to the heavens, which is directed to providence and fate, which are above time and nature.

How man, by his power and interior will can harm or aid his body or the bodies of strangers. And how he can naturally do things that are nearly miraculous.

Fourth chapter

The human spirit has power not only to form and to shape, by fantasy and by vehement affection, many things in the body which he vivifies. Also he has not only power to change and to amend and to make

folio 20 verso

by art many things in the corporeal realm but what is more he can naturally and of his own accord, change many corporeal things and can work on other bodies, such as men, elements, heavens in as much as he is an instrument of God. And just as this supernatural transmutation, such as the raising of a wind, the bringing of rain or of drought, the healing of illnesses and bringing whatever one desires down from heaven, comes to pass later and exceeds the power and the understanding of he who sees it come to pass, this I call a miracle. You can know from my doctrines already given that the soul is a third essence, which of itself is above bodies and qualities, yet below the angels and God. In addition I have told you that as the spirit or understanding is like the head of the soul, then reason is like its heart, or centre, and the power to vivify the body is like its base and inferior part and the feet. However this base inferior and vivifying part attracts, by love, the soul to a particular and specified body, and is pleased to do so, with the result that it leaves alone the regime, authority and exercise that it could have over other bodies. To that universal regime it could at some stage return, with the assistance of the two higher natures. For example consider a very powerful king who at some stage was enamoured of a woman from a city or province in his realm, so that it seemed that he had forgotten all else. When however he grew tired of that love and

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was bored with her, he got close to others, and then his power and his authority were evident for he was equally welcome there as he had been with the first. Likewise if the soul in this low and inferior vivifying part has such power over bodies, one is lead to conclude that it will have yet more due to understanding and reason. And just as love and affection will be greater towards one body the more it works therein, so when the love of the soul redirects itself, so also it will achieve this. For this reason it is written, *Verius est cor ubi amat`q ubi animat*¹ and elsewhere

folio 21 recto

*Amor meus pondus meum.*² And just as the blessed angels, (who have love and apprehension with regard to their low and inferior operations on celestial bodies which they move and displace), are fixed, stable and permanent (for they never hate that which they have once loved) so also one does not see in this celestial movement anything but stable uniformity, which neither changes nor varies. These angels and blessed spirits are formed according to the diversity of their perfections; so also are formed the forms of all bodies, of all qualities, heavens, elements and elemental things in the same as there is formed in the spirit of a good worker the image of the house, castle, or statue which he wishes to make; this is the pattern, the example and the formula for his hand. On this account the soul, which by love is joined to the government and vivification of a body gives it (as having all power in itself), firstly the complexion, tincture, figure, portrait, movement, life, sense and quality, as it may please him; and just as this soul is movable and not fully stable, as is the angel, it often changes these things just by its fantasies, as Hippocras and Galien wrote. *Inueterati affectus priorem corporis mutant complexion et in suam trahunt naturam.*³ For by ire and by anger, it makes the body blush, boil, heat up and become lax. By fear it makes it white, pale, full of fury and cold. Also by distress it turns it black, hard, dry, low, lined, wrinkled and grey. Thus

¹Bernard of Clairvaux, *Liber de præcepta et dispensatione*, par. 60 vol. 3, p. 292, l. 24:-
Neque enim pr'æsentior spiritus noster est ubi animat, quam ubi amat, nisi forti magis esse putetur ubi invitatus et ex necessitate tenetur, quam quo sponte et alacri fertur voluntate.

²Augustine of Hippo, *Confessionem libri tredecim*, Cl. 0251. bk. 13, ch. 9, line 16 (*) has:-

pondus meum amor meus; eo feror, quocumque feror.

³The old ones change their previous physical state and they derive their complexion from their own nature.

is it true that fantasies alone, which are only works of the low vivifying power of the soul, have such power on a body to which love joins them. It is therefore to be concluded that the portions of reason and of understanding are too great not only with regard to one body, but with regard to many.

Margin has The soul has power over divers bodies

That they have power over other bodies one must believe and confess, seeing their power and spiritual activity, for many plants, resins and stones do so by vapours, just as the body can harm other bodies, as is evident in physical thefts, pestilential visitations, deceptions, weepings, dysenteries and failings, and nevertheless any body has less

folio 21 verso

power than souls and qualities. Moreover habituation and good or bad company change and vary manners and conditions which are spiritual things. That souls, by fantasies can harm and damage others bodies is evident from Scythia in Illirica, and from the tribes where there were, and where there still are, men and women who have two pupils in the eye, who can kill by look alone those with whom they are angry or with whom they are enraged, as it is with the basilisks¹ of Cyrene, and with the Catoblepas² of Lower Ethiopia. And without seeking out remote regions one sees evil witches and sorcerers which share Saturn or Mars in an unfortunate position at their birth, who have been procreated from earthly seed of poorly nourished parents, and who live unfortunately doing evil and bringing damage to the children whom they seek to harm just with a look. For the wicked fantasy which they have, stirs up in themselves wicked humours, anger, feverishness, pestilences; these fantastical desires excite their generative members, which thus moved, are dispatched forthwith by the ardour and desire of the spirit (straight as it were to the whites of the eyes) to the child where the evil desire approaches them and enters them by the delicate and tender eyes of the infant, or with the air which he

¹ OED p. 690c. From the Greek βασιλισκος a fabulous reptile also called a cockatrice, alleged to be hatched by a serpent from a cock's egg. Pliny said that the name was on account of a spot on the head resembling a crown. Mediæval authors furnished it with a comb or coronet.

Se also Douai Bible, 1609, ls. xxx 6 - The viper and the flying basiliscus.

² OED p. 188 b. Catoblepas from the Greek κατωβλεψ 1398 Trevisa Barth de P.R. xviii xvi (1495) 776. *A wylde neest that hyghte Catoblefas that hath a lytll body and nyce in all membres and a grate heed hangynge alway towards the earth.*

1587 Golding de Mornay, xvi. 209 *Ye eye of the beast of Ægypt which killeth those whom it looketh upon.*

breathes down to his heart or spirit, so that his health degenerates into malady and languorousness. So it is that the evil fantasy, joined to evil humours and qualities of the body is so powerful that it can harm its own body or those around it. It is therefore concluded that the power of the motivated spirit to do good by understanding and reason will be twice as strong, for goodness overcomes malice and reason overcomes fantasy. For the man, who is (first) of a good, celestial and temperate complexion to the extent that he has a gay, frank and free spirit, liberated from any excess of humours who is secondly nourished with temperance of delicious meats and is robed with all things pure and clean, who is thirdly nourished and instructed in virtue

folio 22 recto

manners and sciences, not only divine but human, and finally who loves God, his rewards, the public good, honesty and celestial things, such a man can, by his wish, (which is not only for the angels, but also for the spiritual, adopted, true son of God) may have grace to work miracles; for the heavens, the elements, qualities, angels and all bodies obey such a one, for so said an evangelist. Quotquot autem receperunt eum dedit eis potestatem filios dei fieri hiis qui credunt in nomine eius.¹

Margin has The conditions which must be met by those who work miracles

He then who wishes to work miracles must overcome and subject every tyrant of a fantasy, those mothers of earthly, worldly and corporeal passions which have their heart and bastion in the face of reason, into which the Lord of eternal glory wishes to enter so that he may achieve thereby his exquisite works, as David said Attolite portas principes vestras et eleuamini porte eternelles et introibit rex glorie² and the ancient Zoroaster. Quoniam anima per potenciam

¹ Vulgate has Jn. i 12:-

Quotquot autem receperunt eum, dedit eis potestatem filios Dei fieri, his qui credunt in nomine ejus,

NASB has Jn. i 12:-

But as many as received Him, to them he gave the right to become children of God, even to those who believed in His name,

The exegesis by Thenaud, inasmuch as he relates the notion of power to become a son of God with the power to work miracles is somewhat cavalier, for the passage is not concerned with the working of miracles but with spiritual regeneration.

² Vulgate has Ps xxiii 7:-

Attolite portas, principes, vestras, et elevamini portæ æternales, et introibit rex gloriæ.

NASB has Ps xiv 7:-

Lift up your heads, O gates, And be lifted up, O ancient doors, That the King of glory may come in!

patris fit ignis splendidus dominetur in te immortalis profunditas anime et oculos omnes una tolle in altum tunc neque materiale ipsum corpus precipio derelinquens eleuabis.¹ For if to please the body and sensual delights, fantasy makes the soul brutal and bestial, by greater strength of reason, by zeal, by fervour and by love which it has for God and for the glorious spiritual intelligences, it can make it angelic and divine, provided that divine inspiration and exhortation of good angels is of greater power than sensual suggestions, and this divine and luminous clarity once more enlightens the body, so that from corruption it comes to incorruption and from the mortal to immortality, from weight to agility and subtlety, so that it serves as a blazing chariot² to mount to heaven as our patriarchs Enoch and Elijah formerly mounted. (This is the solution of your first desire, which is to know the way to mount up to heaven). But to return once again to our subject, you know and see that the soul governs first of all a body, which starts out only about one foot high, then it governs it when it is two, three,

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four six eight even fifty or a hundred as was the case with some giants, so the rational soul, as has been described, is said to be the first that governs this small world and the human body (in whose make up there are so many diversities) that it will be liberated, freed and no more allied to this lower world, it will govern the upper and will arouse or calm therein winds, thunders, rains, plagues, wars become peace, plenteousness follows famine as it does in its own body. These things have already been achieved as all our theologians confess, and in addition to them so say Mercurius Termegistus Orpheus Hippocrates, Avicenna, Avicbron, Appollonius, Plutarch, Porphyry, Iamblic, Proculus and many others.

Margin has Question

When my above mentioned master and guide, whom Curiosity had given me, had instructed and taught me about the authority and power that the souls have over the bodies, even as to the working of miracles, I asked him some questions, the first of which was Why the holy soul, thus elevated of itself and

¹On that account the soul will grow, because of the power of the father, and the shining fire will be dominated inside you. Raise up at the same time the depth of your immortal soul and your eyes, and then you will ascend, leaving behind you even the material body itself.

²Latin currus, a chariot, car, wain. C. Lewis and C. Short, *op. cit.* p. 503 b.

which disdains every body and the lower world has a concern for corporeal things. He replied it is because it is the daughter of God, who wishes communal good and such a wish is to be conformed to throughout eternity. Secondly, I asked him if that soul or spirit, which unifies the body can attain to celestial bodies. He replied to me Just like the flame which is in the lantern spreads out in accordance with the will of the one who is holding it and who can open it more or less, so also you can judge of the spirit in the body, of which the light is greater than that of the sun, as I shall show you in speaking of lights, at the start of the treatise on the celestial world. Thirdly, I asked him In what state the spirit should be when cabalizing and doing miracles. He replied just as the stone is elevated into the air when it is thrown violently for it is necessary to do violence to that love which precipitates it downwards, so to obey the divine which pulls it upwards, which makes it want to do

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what God wishes to grant and will know the divine will and does not wish to descend down here, until it has accomplished the task, but remains up there by prayers, fastings, supplications and contemplations.

How the soul is desirous of deity, so much that it will never be satisfied until it is deified, as is evident from several reasons.

Fifth chapter.

The human spirit, beside the power that it has over bodies (which you know from my foregoing remarks) naturally desires to be God and to be totally deified and has no rest until it comes to that divine state of beatification. This natural desire is sent to it and into it by God, who joins, attracts and moves to himself all things, according to their nature as to the end of all things. All natural movement tends towards its end as to its term and repose as is appropriate for its type . Example. The air wants to ascend up to the region of fire for the rapport which the height of the air has for the base of fire; when it is there it does not wish to proceed elsewhere. Also for the rapport which water has for air, water stays naturally lower than air. So it is that the highest part of the human spirit, which has understanding and wish, have great affinity

with God and God attracts them and raptures them far more fervently to himself than delectable objects do to the external senses, that is to say the colours to sight, odours to the nose, or savours to the taste, by which it is needful for the human spirit to be deified in time, for it is in this manner attracted to and ravished upwards, otherwise God would be a cruel tyrant, who would make known and cause to be desired something that was impossible by keeping it always dangling in wearisome hope. Also he would be like an unthinking archer, who despatches towards us spirits like unstable arrows towards the bull and towards the centre of his goodness whose beauty

folio 23 verso

enlightens all things, and surrounds all things. The sum of human nature and its effort would be a vain thing good for nothing and superfluous, when it alone could not achieve its objective. So it is that the spirit cannot be deified, if it does not take on the form of God and leaves behind all else repugnant to the divine. Example. Air which is warm and humid is attracted to fire and if the fire removes its humidity and leaves it its heat, it is no longer air but fire. For this reason if the divine and seraphic love extinguishes in the human spirit all carnal, mundane and temporal love, that spirit will be transformed into the divine as it is written in the ninth chapter of the second epistle to the Corinthians. *Nos omne reuelata facie gloriam dei speculantes in eamdem ymaginem transformamur a claritate in claritatem tanquam a domini spiritu.*¹ So that it

¹ Vulgate II Cor. iii 18 has:-

Nos vero omnes revelata facie gloriam Domini speculantes, in eamdem imaginem transformamur, a claritate in claritatem, tamquam a Domini Spiritu.

NASB II Cor. iii 18 has:-

But we all with unveiled face beholding as in a mirror the glory of the Lord, are being transformed into the same image from glory to glory, just as from the Lord, the Spirit.

The wrong reference is undoubtedly a scribal error. The confusion arose from the misreading of "iii" for "ix".

It is noteworthy that the use which Thenaud makes of the verse has no reference to the other party considered in the chapter. That other party is "the sons of Israel" (*filii Israel*) iii 7. These sons of Israel have a veil which "lies over their heart" (*velamen positum est super cor eorum*) iii 15. They are compared unfavourably with the one who "turns to the Lord" (*cum autem conversus fuerit ad Dominum*) iii 16.

This is a striking illustration of the manner in which Thenaud selects a well known verse, and then applies it more globally than is warranted. A regular exegesis would call for it to be applied selectively, and as a contrast. Thenaud can be justified only if the meaning of "*Nos omne*" applies in the wider sense.

The presence of the δέ in the Greek is not reflected in the Vulgate cp. NASB. Had
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may come to its destiny, resting place and place of satisfaction for its natural desire. The bird is no less made to fly, than man is made to be transfigured into God. As a sign of which from this mortal life, he naturally wishes and desires that which belongs to God alone, that is to say, all his preeminent gifts, and superexcellent glories. Also I shall show this in six ways. Firstly. God is sovereign truth and sovereign good, so that the human spirit only seeks truth and goodness. For the understanding which comes to knowledge of a truth then follows another and after that it wants always to know, so that it declares itself not to be satisfied nor at peace until it achieves sovereign verity, the formal cause of all things; it knows all truth and also as there is but one sort of understanding and of intelligibility (as all the philosophers say), so also human understanding will be one in the incomprehensible and divine truth. The will also only desires joy and fruition of life and just as good is the greatest, fervour of the will comes and inclines one towards that end more ardently, so that it cannot be satisfied until it is subsumed into the very depths of the fountain and source of divine goodness

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which makes such a one forget the world, parents, friends, riches, body and himself. Moreover nature has given to heavy and weighty things inclination to go downwards, whither they are conducted by the aid of weightiness, gravity and coldness. Also it gives to light things inclination to mount up whither heat and agility lead them. In beasts it causes a desire to drink, to eat, to sleep and to luxuriate and also gives them organs fit therefor. But God the guide, rector and animator of nature has planted and inserted in human spirits the desire to come to the sovereign truth and goodness, which desire is more natural for him than the desire to drink and to eat, for one only eats at certain times and corporeal wishes are brief but the desire to know the sovereign truth and the rejoice in good increases all the time more and more until it is grasped. What is more, the delights of the body can be mortified and repressed but the desire for beatitude cannot be annulled nor destroyed but increases so that when one has had a little taste of the smallest of its sweetness all other things without it are bitter and mortal so that it is necessary that this desire may be,

Thenaud been aware of it, it could have been used by him in favour of his argument.

3.18 ἡμεῖς δὲ πάντες ἀνακεκαλυμμένοι προσώπῳ τὴν δόξαν κυρίου κατοπτριζόμενοι τὴν αὐτὴν εἰκόνα μεταμορφούμεθα ἀπὸ δόξης εἰς δόξαν καθάπερ ἀπὸ κυρίου πνεύματος.

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sometime, satisfied and fulfilled, or else dame Reason would be more unfortunate than the external senses and more unfortunate than the beasts. For this reason Plato in Phaedo de anima said Mala omnia deuitari non possunt neccesse est enim semper bono contrarium esse Apud superos autem mala esse impossibile est Sed circa mortalem naturam locùqz inferiorem neccessario reuoluuntur Quam obrem hinc illuc `q primum est fugiendum fugere vero illuc nihil est aliud `q deo quathinus fieri potest se similem reddere Similem vero faciunt iusticia et sanctitas cum prudencia¹ The understanding then and the will are in the spirit like the two wings with which one flies to God.

Margin has The wings of the soul

By understanding one wants to know all things, which one encounters but one understands according to one's natural regime, that is to say absolutely, universally and simply matters and natures which are in themselves particular, divided

folio 24 verso

and confused. By will he wants everything, he wishes to enjoy all things and to attain them. It suffices for understanding to recognise gold in general terms, and that it is a soft metal, pure and durable, incorruptible and precious. But the will is not content with this and wants in particular to have the joy of having it and using it, so also it is evident that the understanding is not to be satisfied, short of transcendental truth, nor the will only with goodness, which is the very source of all good. Secondly God, who is everything, is over all. Also man, who is everything, that is to say grows as do trees, is able to feel as do the beasts of nature, Moral as are the Heroes, Mathematic as are the demons, Contemplative as are the angels, Liberal and desirous of communicating his goodness like God, such a one wants to be over all things. For he is impatient of servitude, he seeks liberty and if he is held subject and imprisoned he naturally hates the one who constrains him, so that he is always wanting to go on from honour to honour, from dignity to dignity; yet he finds shame and fear

¹All bad things cannot be avoided for it is always necessary that there is something contrary to good. With the gods, on the other hand, it is impossible that there are bad things, but they revolve necessarily around mortal nature and the lower region. For which reason one ought to flee from here and there as quickly as possible, indeed to flee there is nothing other than to flee to god, to the extent that it returns the same. Indeed justice and holiness with prudence create the same.

if he makes mistake, or if he is humiliated, defeated and overcome. And what is more the rulership and the mastery of this world does not satisfy him if he knows that there are others, as Alexander showed when he heard Anaxarcus and Democritus disputing about the plurality of worlds, who said sighing Alas how miserable I am, when I, with all my force and power could not even subjugate one. Likewise man, who often is not content to be held in repute, good, just, victorious and great wants to be considered to be God, as did Nebuchadnezzar, as well as the aforementioned Alexander. So also were many of the Caesars, and among the philosophers Empedocles. For this reason Mercure Trimegistus said. Magnum miraculum esse hominem animal venerandum et adorandum qui genus demonum nouerit quasi natura cognatum qui ue in deum transeat quasi ipse sit deus.¹ Thirdly. God is everywhere and he is everlasting and without end. Also man is in all places by the light of his spirit; things such as the depth of the sea, the height of the heavens, the remoteness of the world, the depths of walls, and the antiquity

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of time are not able to hinder him; such a one wants to last for ever and if he cannot do so, he tries to do so by acclaim and renown here below with immortal life hereabove. And even if he is ingenious, a great power and one of the world's victors, yet he has this desire and to achieve it and to seize it he despises all the goods of this world and its transitory life. All creatures naturally desire to live and so for the conservation of their life (in accordance with their vegetative, natural, or sensitive inclination) do whatsoever they can. Example. The trees take to themselves the best sustenance that they find in the earth, where they are planted, and so as to reach out as far as they can and to defend themselves against the wind they put forth their roots wherever they can. Then they cover themselves with leaves, so that their fruit and seeds which conserve their species may not be destroyed by the heat of summer. Also the beasts flee by nature their enemies and follow their natural prey and foodstuff so as to preserve their lives. As soon as the wolf sees the lamb it follows it. Likewise the dog and the hare, the cat and the rat; such things are the result of natural sense, which have only a relevance to the present life.

¹*It is a great miracle that the human being is an animal that it is to worship and adore; he knew the origin of the demons, and he almost knows, by its nature, what is transformed into a god, and he is almost a God himself.*

But the human spirit, which is moved by understanding, as soon as it hears the life everlasting spoken of, desires it due to the magnificence of its nature, as if its own being had revulsion of the contrary, which is everlasting death. And the connatural and peculiar desire of the whole of a species is never vain nor impossible, as Zoroaster said Nichil a paterno principio progreditur aut voluitur imperfectum. Man does not naturally desire to fly, nor to travel dry on water, nor to have claws like lions or tusks like elephants, unless they are mad or taken with sensual passions, for all these things are impossible and impertinent to human nature, but all men look for felicity, so that it is evident that they want to be totally and forever like God. Fourthly God is sovereign Prudence, sovereign Justice, sovereign Force and sovereign Temperance¹

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and man is naturally envious and desirous of these four virtues. For in the first place he wants to record and to ensure a memory of the things of the past so that he may rejoice greatly on account of the knowledge of the glorious things of the past. He regards the present circumstances of his condition and those of others and he makes comparison of one with the other. He wants to foresee and to anticipate the future and never to be taken by surprise, which he takes for a great slur lest he comes to be known as ignorant, ill considered or asinine, as if that were something against his nature. Secondly the spirit pursues justice as it governs its body, its family, its goods, its cities and the realm by laws and thereby it punishes severely thieves, murderers, adulterers and transgressors. In this way he maintains, defends and honours the good which he holds in high regard. Society and the mass of humanity is governed and ruled by one prince, king, duke, judge or prefect, as also is the multitude of angels in the heavenly empire (together with the universe) by the will of God. And what is more pirates, thieves and lost souls who desire to hide and to find excuse for their excesses under the shadow of some excuse or another have their own ways of justice and policing themselves for the distribution of their booty and to keep order among themselves. The force of God is found in the permanence and stability of his state, which sage and prudent men want to have and to practice, for the mutations, damages and losses which occur to

¹This is a clear reference to Thenaud's moralistic works on the four virtues of Prudence, Force (Strength), Justice and Temperance as expounded in *Triumphes des vertuz*.

their bodies and to their goods, do not count with them for they seek only the riches and the good of the soul and are unmoved by all the striving after fortune. I know that other wise ones have sought it differently, that is to say in removing from themselves, by force of arms or by other means, all those whom they feared, were scared of and who could do them harm. Finally such a one is not he who doubts the divine temperance, that is to say to be delivered from all the passions and the affections which pull him here and there in the spirit, together with every excess and failing which can bring languor or malady to the body. So then everyone

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desires and hopes for tempered concord and union, as much spiritual as corporeal and everyone is attracted by the seeds and buds of cleansing civil virtues and those of the spirit already purged; it is quite natural for these to hope for and to desire the divine and exemplary virtues by which we will have part and portion in the divinity. Fifthly. Sovereign abundance and essential joy belong to God alone to whom man desires to come with all his power. For I know that even if a man may have a sufficiency of goods for his life and state, together with him having voluptuous and joyful things sufficient to conserve his spirit and body in health, he may still be insatiable with regard to riches and voluptuosities. So it was with Midas, Croesus, Sardinapallus, and Xerxes, who ordered the distribution of rewards to the one finding any novel and voluptuous thing. And all the time the mass of goods and voluptuous things did nothing at all for the body, considering that they are things that are harmful and cannot satisfy the spirit, which is desirous of divine joy and abundance. To every single created thing there is a proper place of repose and joy, where it can satisfy the necessities of life, so that it need hope for nothing else. Example. Moles and beasts live in the earth, fishes in water, the Salamander in the fire. But man, I know that even if he be in his bed safe and sound, is never without cares for himself, or for his relatives, or for his conscience, or some such thing which taunts and goads him for here he is only a pilgrim en route for Paradise, which he seeks and sighs after, where he will have abundant and delicious glory, which he will never have down here. For just as the dream of drinking and eating never did fill an empty stomach so also the

waters of the river of Lethe¹ did not at all stop thirst, so also all things temporal, which are always linked to suffering, increase desire and cannot satisfy the human spirit subjected to the eternal sun, according to the gospel. Qui biberit ex aqua hac siciet iterum.² But first of all it is needful for him to imbibe of the nectar river. And inasmuch as there are differences between the thoughts and the facts of

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vigil and dream, between the joy of a man infuriated and a sane man, between the shadows of bodies and their true existence, so there is difference between the joy of the soul separated from the body and that which is still joined thereto. And the one who knows that well is like Tiresias³ in hell of whom Homer said. Solus iste sapit ceteri ut umbre volitant.⁴ Also the ancient philosopher Euripedes said that our life is only a shadow or dream. Finally, God loves, reveres and sanctifies that which the human spirit does by one of two ways. For in the first place the sages and the wise ones submit and subject all

¹Lethe, a river of the underworld, a draught of whose waters induced forgetfulness. Ovid vii 152, xi 603.

²Vulgate Jn. iv 13 has:-

Respondit Jesus, et dixit ei: Omnis qui bibit ex aqua hac, sitiet iterum; qui autem biberit ex aqua quam ego dabo ei, non sitiet in æternum;

NASB Jn. iv 13, 14 has:-

Jesus answered and said to her. "Everyone who drinks of this water shall thirst again; but whoever drinks of the water that I shall give him shall never thirst again;"

Thenaud has once again treated a text in a manner that suits his subject. His replacing of the reference to Jesus by the reference to the sun is in accord with his use elsewhere of the imagery of the sun. Thenaud was linked to the ordre des Minimes, whose device was the word *charitas* surrounded by the sun. In ms. Fr. 882, folio 28 verso Thenaud gives *La figure de tout le monde selon les docteurs catholiques*, and the imagery of the sun is absent. On the following folio he gives *La figure du susdit universel selon les hebreux cabalistes*. Here the sun imagery abounds. The uppermost triangle of Pater, Filius, and Spiritus/ Seraphins has three sun images. The sun imagery is also used for the lower triangles. At that same time, 1518, there was a clear connection made between the imagery of the sun and France. On 6 June 1518, following the baptism at Amboise of the dauphin François, and the marriage of Laurent de Medici with Madeleine de La Tour d'Auvergne, the royal family entered Angers. The King, the Queen and Louise, (the mother of the King), were greeted in the place Neuve with a presentation in their honour, which was based on Revelation xii. An inscription read *Magnum signum apparuit in celo, mulier amicta sole et luna sub pedibus ejus et in capite ejus corona stellarum duodecim*. Reference was made to France as the woman clothed with the sun. Under the stage there were four windows which opened to reveal automats, one of which referred to the King as the sun of justice - *du roy François, vrai soleil de justice*. See *Entrée du très crestien et chevaleureux roy de France ... et de la très noble Royne en leur bonne et notable ville et cité de Juving l'an mil v cens xviii*, s.l.n.d. (1518), p. A. v. These examples show the widespread manner in which the image of the sun was applied and understood in Thenaud's society.

³The power of this imagery was recognised and employed as late as John Milton's *Paradise Lost*, Book 3, line 36.

⁴*He was the only one who knew how the dead souls fly (to heaven).*

worldly and temporal things to the conscience, as if to a divine thing, which they fear to spoil by fact or by thought. And I know that they have no fear of being punished by any superior, for doing anything against such a one, in secret, in thought, or will or cogitation. However if they do so, they are ashamed, remorseful and fearful so that their conscience does cry against them; on the contrary they are applauded in bringing them joy and praise, as if they had horror of sin. Every man, whether a sage or mindless person approves of his own opinion and attitudes as if it were a divine decree and judgement. Also when they see someone living a saintly and just life in this world they honour them as God not only during their life but also after their decease and then call them heroes and friends of God. Moreover, there is no creature which cultivates, recognises and adores God with his mouth, hands, knees, sacrifices, temples, affections and ceremonies as Lord, King, and Father, except the human who can make this recognition only by divine grace. For just as one cannot see the sun, except by its light, with which the eye must be filled and just as one cannot hear the sounds in the air without the ear being full of air, so also one cannot have knowledge of God without special grace from him and inasmuch as that grace grows so also does one's love towards him; it is likewise with the above mentioned knowledge so that it despises all the world as if it were a transitory dream

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or shadow concerning his love. Thus it is that God, who inspires in him these desires, who sees, knows and hears them, at the same time that he proves the small and useless creatures, does not despise and is not ignorant of his desires, as well as meeting them and acting on them, as David asked, *An qui plantavit aurem non exaudiet et qui finxit oculos non considerat?*¹ His desires do not only strive towards eternity, immortality and participation in divinity, but worldly joys, temporal riches and corporeal pleasures are repressed and despised, which is quite unlike other creatures. If then the human soul and spirit are never to attain it, they would be more evil, unhappy and miserable, than all others, considering that they would have no joy here nor elsewhere

¹ Vulgate has Ps. xciii 9 :-

Qui plantavit aurem non audiet? Aut qui finxit oculum non considerat?

NASB has Ps. xciv 9:-

He who planted the ear, does He not hear? He who formed the eye, does He not see?

any that they would not have any good at all and that it would be the divine inspiration that would have induced and conducted them there, which is impossible. For just as one cannot approach fire without feeling heat, so also one cannot approach God without feeling something of the everlasting felicity, beatitudes and joy. Moreover, the sovereign, eternal and first life must first of all vivify the one who comes nearest. But the human spirit, which without ceasing mounts up to God, and on whom God descends, is affected the more intimately, from which it follows that the life eternal will be granted him, which is like the possessions of friends which should be common to one and to another, for God is transcendent love, goodness and beneficence. In addition God is the first truth, which cannot fail the first goodness, which cannot do any evil and is the sovereign wisdom which cannot err, which has promised beatitude to all those who cultivate it in holiness, seek importunately and love fervently, so our destiny is evident - that the human spirit will have this state of beatitude, by means of which it will come to God. You may ask me, how it is that, seeing that humankind, above all animals, for many reasons and for even more particular rewards, can produce works of art, can speak, write, sing and reason thereby has this most high pre-eminence. I reply that it is by religion, which grants him knowledge of God, of his service, and makes him

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contemplate God, which the other animals do not do. I know that some of them have such a measure of reason that they foresee the times of thunder, tempests and hard times, so that they move away for their safety. Others know by certain plants, roots and by other means how to treat themselves for their maladies. Others know how to make wise decision by nature, practical astuteness and complexion, which leads them, but there is not one of them that lifts its eyes to God to know him and to contemplate, as does man. Man then is most perfect and excellent above all the animals, for he is joined to God and to the angels by contemplation and religion. And if his religion were useless and vain he would be the most miserable, foul and senseless and unreasoning of all animals. Therefore it follows that by religion and by knowledge of God (which is in the human spirit, just like his own passion) he cannot be so perfect, then so imperfect, for that would be a thing too contradictory. I say to you then that religion and knowledge of God is his true passion. For there

has never yet been a time, nation, place nor season where man had not knowledge of God and recourse to him in his times of necessity, to which they have been and are inclined (beside their connatural inclination) by divine providence, apparent reason and by evident miracles. Reason. So many contrary influences, diversities, influxes, qualities, natures, spirits and bodies, which are for the perfection of the universe, could not exist or last together and in such peace, as we see them without an organiser and without a director, who takes in hand and who governs all this same universe, as it were his family and his own possession. Moreover, man is a social animal (according to all the philosophers) and one who is naturally desirous of company, without which he can never live, for they are at all times interdependent. For this reason he can speak so that he may declare and manifest his need towards his neighbour. So then many men can dwell all together, bearing in mind the diversity and the contrariety of their passions. It is necessary, so that they be not separated from one another and so that they do not destroy one another

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that they have laws, statutes and agreements which will be nugatory, if they did not derive as much authority and force either from them or from their legislator, so that man might not infringe and violate them. If then some man or another promulgate, exclaim and announces himself as a messenger of God, it is appropriate for him to prove by miracles and by works which are beyond human power, that it is God who sent him, and this has been done at all times and in all states of the world, so that one is to believe in prophets and in the true messengers of God, who have told us and have announced to us that it is by religion that their number are to be better received in accordance with their miracles, doctrine and life inasmuch as they are more saintly, divine and religious.

Margin has Nota

These sayings were known to Plato who in his book de regno said Quemadmodum bestie nequeunt a bestia feliciter sine homine duci ita neqz homines ab homine sine deo.¹

¹*In the same way that the animals can not be lead happily by another animal without a man, at the same time men cannot be lead by other men without God.*

Here are solved and laid to rest many questions and difficulties concerning the knowledge of the soul.

After the above mentioned Hebrew had indoctrinated and instructed me in the dignity and excellence of the rational soul, which is over the body and which has neither repose nor stability until it be deified I prayed him and requested him that he would respond to certain doubts that perplexed me, which he promised to do. The first question was this: If the soul is as divine, spiritual and powerful as your words suggest, how is it that it is so tormented, agitated and perturbed by passions and maladies? For several reasons, of which the first is this: The human body is better qualified, tempered and complexioned than any other elementary body, for its temperance conforms it to the celestial, and this

folio 28 verso

temperance makes it more vulnerable seeing that there only need be one degree of any such quality for its destruction, which is not the case if it were very hot or very cold for a great heat or a great cold resist their opposite qualities better, and also they are not moved easily from one quality, which is in conformity to their inherent complexion. So the soul loves its body, as the mother loves her son and even more so as the workman loves his product; so the soul is continually occupied with repairing that temperance and harmony in the body, which at any instant in time is liable to corruption, to being undone or to lose some aspect of the selfsame body. And just as the external sense is offended when it is forced and constrained to partake of displeasing things, so also the soul is displeased to see so many contrary vapours, humours and qualities which are repugnant to the inner senses, so that its inferior part cannot vivify the body as it wishes. And so it is that reason and its upper part, which are part thereof, and which wish to afford succour thereto, in leaving their true operations, make images, dreams and fantasies, which conform to humours, faults,¹ and superfluity, which sometimes become folly,

¹Thenaud has *pecans*. Latin *pecco*, to miss or mistake anything, to do amiss, and to transgress. Hence *peccans*, *peccantis*, participle.

rage and mania, or other maladies, in due degree according to that intemperance. The second reason is that the natural movement of the soul is spherical, round and circular, in as much as it is celestial, spiritual and immortal, but because it must nourish and support the body, it comes down from on high, and, albeit contrarily, inasmuch as it often has its chief part down here, and its inferior part above, and this movement is not natural for it, so it follows that it is tormented and fatigued. The third reason is on account of the imprisonment, enclosing and exile, in which the soul is enclosed within the body, for it is surrounded and closed in by nine circles of the Stygian swamps, which are the eight heavens and the elementary sphere together with the body in which are the rivers Lethe,¹ Acheron,² Cocytus³ and Phlegeton,⁴ with all the infernal monsters.

Margin has If an angel had the rule of a body such as the human and such love for it as he has for his soul he would be just as impeded as such a soul

And for this reason I want you to know that if it were possible for an angel to have twenty or thirty years to govern and to vivify a human body

folio 29 recto

he would find himself just as impeded, foolish and aggravated as the soul does. Also if the soul did not have to govern only one heaven, planet, star or other celestial body, which are equally simple and in which there is no contrariety, it would not be more perturbed than an angel, but such a thing is impossible for the angel does not have love, which inclines it to inform the body. I know that the Platonists say that the celestial bodies are informed by the angels, which thing is proved in many ways by Plotinus, Poryphry, Iamblic, and Proculus and whose opinion is supported by Theophrastidius, Avicenna, and Algantelles the Peripatetics. Also Ptolemy, Abumasar, Zael and Manilius. Among whom this Zael has assigned nine characters and signs to the angelic spirits as I shall show you hereafter in speaking of the celestial world. Secondly I asked

¹Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, vii, 152. xi, 603. A river of the underworld whose waters induced forgetfulness.

²Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, v, 541. xi, 504. A river of the underworld, whose name was sometimes used for the underworld itself.

³The river of lamentation, derived from the Greek Κωκυτός from κωκυώ. Cicero Tusc. 1, 5, 10.

⁴Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, v, 544. xv, 532.

him if the soul is completely spiritual and the human body completely material how they can be joined and united together. And he replied to me Know that there are many sorts of unions and conjunctions. The first is when they touch, as for two bodies; in this case the soul, source of the virtuous life, is not at all joined to the body.

Margin has Seven sorts of unions

There is secondly a union as with water and wine, which destroys the force which each one had originally of itself, and so they cease being what they were, but this is not the case when the soul is joined to the body. Thirdly, the union may be made differently as when fire heats water, but in the process a part of the heat is in a part of the water, not only all the heat in all of the water; this is not how the soul is united with the body. Fourthly, there may be a union of the voice and the air, such that the voice is in all the parts of a house, which reaches all ears so that a message may be given to the soul, but as the voice can only go forth and exist by disturbing the air; this union does not apply to the body and the soul. Fifthly there is another union which is of the air and of colours, which enter the eye. These colours are not at all hindered by winds and tempests, but come suddenly from far away, and together; they pierce the air right into the eyes, which they inform. But inasmuch as

folio 29 verso

these colours do not in any way govern the air, so the soul is differently joined to the body. Sixthly, there is another union like the rudder and the ship which it controls, but because it does not fill it at all, it governs it only by a tail piece; as there has not been granted and communicated to the soul the art of governing, this model of union is of no use. For this it is necessary to find some other form of union, which is not in the sea, nor on earth and we take that of light and air. The air, of itself, and without light is cold, dead, obscure and without form. But light, which is never separated from the sun, as it is reflected in it, has two qualities, that is to say light and heat; these are communicated altogether to all the parts of the air, and thus light and air are made open without those qualities being communicated to it, so that it becomes luminous; also it produces heat which it transmits. For notwithstanding that the sun may be below the earth, with its light that goes with it inseparably, so that the dark air is warm sometime after, so then the light of the sun and of the

air is one and the same light, but that of the sun is itself, and that of the air is by participation. And I know that it is commonly said that the light is in the air, however, it is to the contrary, for the air is in the light, seeing that impassible light is of a greater extension and extent than passible air, which is subject to winds, rain, cold and heat. With regard to this, therefore, the soul is also in the body, for it has two operations. The first is understanding, which it does within the body, whilst granting or distributing power to it. The second is vivifying, which it grants it. For I know that the body cannot understand like the soul; however it (the body) lives in dependence, and that same life, which belongs to it by essence also belongs to the body by participation and communication. And for this reason, after the separation of soul and body, the shadow of life, that is to say warmth and movement reside for a period of time therein.

Margin has The body is in the soul and the soul is not in any way in the body

Thus the soul is not enclosed within the body, as if within a vessel but it penetrates all that body, which it moves and has six

folio 30 recto

principal parts above the heavens and all bodies; by this means it is joined to God so that the body is thereby joined to God, so that the body is in the soul and not at all the soul in the body. For this reason Plato in his *Timæus* said that the great creator of the world put bodies within souls. For concerning Vivificative Power, it is over all bodies. Moreover, if a superior, perfect form contains in itself the virtue of all the inferiors, so also the reasonable soul contains in itself the inferior forms and virtues of things which only comprise vegetation, sensation and those which have reason. With regard to this inferior form and virtue of being, which may be likened to the feet, so it joins itself to matter, in which are tempered the elementary qualities and complexions of which it is composed. By the second virtue and vegetative force it informs the body thus complexioned. By the third virtue it forms the vital form, the productive source of the spirit, the instrument of the senses. By the fourth, which is the form of all the above mentioned forms, it is next to God, remote from matter and from all the intellectual. And just as the fire in the first degree drives out cold from wood, in the second degree it makes it warm, in the third it heats it and in the fourth it transforms it into itself, burns it, and makes it light, so also

is it with the above mentioned four forms. Thirdly, I asked him why God wants to enclose and to ally souls which are as much spiritual and divine to bodies which are earthly and miserable. And he replied to me that this was for three reasons. The first is so that the soul may be more glorious. The person who is always healthy does not know how great is the treasure of health, if he has not tasted the bitterness of ill health. Good weather causes one to rejoice more after a hard winter, than if it had been always the same, as it is written, *Gracius astra uitnet ubi nothus imbriferos definit dare sonos.*¹ Also the will shall have sweeter and more fervent fruition and adhesion to eternal goodness after the tempests and turbulence of this earthly and corporeal calamity than if it had all the time existed in felicity and beatitude. For there are four degrees of good. The highest is in God, who

folio 30 verso

is entirely good in essence, and who has all good in him. The lowest is in material things, which have their good from another. The second is in the angels, and the third is in souls which have their good not only from God, but of themselves; however the angels which are above time have it by eternal operation, which is that sudden conversion which they had in God, as soon as they were created and souls have it by the good and meritorious temporal operations which they do in time, successively and little by little. This reason was formerly known to the poet who said *forsan et hec meminisse iuuabit.*² The second reason is so that the soul, which has love and inclination to vivify its body, may do so for a time, for life and so that this appetite may not be in vain. For there is no life which is separated from the body for all time, as it is with the angelic. The other is always joined to the body, so that with the death of the body it dies, as it is with the brutes. The third life is for a time joined to the body, then separated therefrom, as it is with the humans, for as soon as the soul is discharged from the human burden it lives gloriously. But over the body it has nutritive, imaginative and sensitive powers. And if you ask why this is that one does not see and one does not know these souls separated from the body alive, or why they do not enter into other bodies so as to show us their immortality, I respond that this vain and useless return, which is against

¹The stars shine more graciously when Notus (the South Wind) stops making rain-bearing noises.

²Virgil A. 1. 203 *Forsan et haec olim meminisse iuvabit.*

the laws of the divine providence, must never be sought. With regard to this, shall the old and victorious knight, who has already had his triumph, return without reason into his martial labours and wars? The sphere of fire making its circuit and tour always ascends naturally upwards, and descends later in the sphere and element of the air. With regard to this the soul who has two faces, as it is with another Janus, and which has its life sharing and participating roles in the divine and in the brutal lives, which looks upon corporeal things and upon incorporeal, can see and perceive that the divine and incorporeal life is to be preferred to the other, the brutal and corporeal. For this reason it distracts and separates itself little by little, then at death does so completely, so that it is reluctant to make its return, notwithstanding

folio 31 recto

Lazarus, Simonides and many others who are mentioned in holy scripture and in the ninth book of Plato. So it is that one does not see God, angels, a voice, air and yet one believes that these things exist. Also notwithstanding that one does not see souls separated from the body, they exist and can move a fiery, aqueous or aerial body that we can neither see nor move, and which our spirit, will and fantasy cannot direct. The third reason is so that the universe and all the world may be provided with rational creatures so that God may be praised, adored and sanctified by all worlds. In the spiritual world there are the blessed angels, which are stable and permanent in their nature, who are converted into God beatifically, who praise without ceasing as imitators of the divine providence and who send to their inferiors the superabundance of their light, so as to draw them to God. In the celestial world there are the angels, (which we other Kabbalists call Composed Numbers, and which you other Platonists call Intelligences of the Souls of the Spheres) which have two movements; one is intellectual, by which they mean transcendent truth and all the other truths therein contained; the other is corporeal, by which, of one common wish and accord, they rule and move the celestial bodies and in these two fashions they praise and magnify God throughout the centuries. So it is that the third and elementary world (even the earth which is the fundament of all the others, around which all the others turn, and upon which they send their virtuous rays by marvellous union) must be peopled with rational spirits who praise and worship God Almighty and who, in governing the lower

temporal things and their bodies, are always elevated by praises, prayers and supplications and who are participants of the earth in which they live and that in various ways according to their living conditions. For they live and they dwell differently, according to their different regions, as Diodorus, Pliny and other historians have written of the favoured isles,

folio 31 verso

of the Elysian fields of those who only know of sweet odours and scents. Olympiodorus said that Aristotle had known a man who never slept and who lived only in the most serene air which he had from the rays of the sun. Fourthly, I asked him. And if it is so that souls are thus exiled and in misery, inasmuch as they are in the body, why do they leave it with such great sadness, regret and under such constraint? He told me that all those who die depart not in any way under duress but any reasonable person desires death and awaits it joyously. Theodorus, Cleombrotus the Gymnosophists and formerly the Thracians, of whom it was written. Hii vite erumpnas deflent hii funera plaudunt.¹ That is to say they weep at the birth of the birth of infants and they sing at their death and decease. Moreover everyone cries at birth, but many sing at death, so your question is a minor one. Also the soul in all its parts has not horror of death, as it does in its higher parts (that is to say in spirit and in reason) it learns to die, as Plato said Philozophie studium est meditacio mortis.² By moral philosophy one wishes to separate the soul from the corporeal affections. By speculative philosophy one elevates the spirit above the senses. Also death is joyful for philosophers, who know in what peace, tranquillity, light, serenity, repose and joy the souls separated from the bodies find themselves for Daniel said fulgebunt docti quasi splendor firmamenti et qui multos ad iusticiam erudierint tan'q stelle in perpetuas eternitates.³ But in that part whereby the body is nourished and vivified, it does have regret and

¹ These people mourn the hardships of life; these people applaud funerals.

² The study of philosophy is the meditation of death.

³ Vulgate has Dn. xii 3:-

Qui autem docti fuerint fulgebunt quasi splendor firmamenti; et qui ad iustitiam erudiunt multos quasi stellæ in perpetuas æternitates.

NASB has Dn. xii 3:-

And those who have insight will shine brightly like the brightness of the expanse of heaven, and those who lead many to righteousness, like the stars forever and ever.

Hebrew has Dn. xii 3:-

3 וְהַמְשַׁכְּלִים יִזְהָרוּ כְּנֹהַר הָרָקִיעַ
וּמַצְדִּיקֵי הָרַבִּים כְּכּוֹכְבִּים לְעוֹלָם וָעֶד: פ

sadness, like the absence of its friend. Taken altogether there are many who have greater fear of the agonies of death than of death itself, which are not great if one dies from a resolution of humours, but they are a source of amazement if one dies from suffocation. Moreover they have fear, sadness and horror of death when they know they have not merited nor deserved everlasting light, but only the outer darkness for they

folio 32 recto

lifted neither their eyes nor their spirits to the celestial and incorporeal treasures. I know that they have no connatural hope of immortality and of beatitude, to which they cannot come, on account of these dark pleasures and voluptuosities which pull them into everlasting darkness. Fifthly I asked him Why God had not created all souls together, as he had made the angels, but created them day by day and distributed them into bodies, according to the wish and pleasure of those who enjoy their love. And he replied to me. If the souls had life absolutely free and liberated from the bodies (and originally these never wanted to be incorporated) so also God never wanted to force nor to constrain the freewill. Had he not ornamented the universe and the human species he would have caused them never to exist and he would have caused a lack of honour, service and divine recognition, and so there would have been a failure in this lower elementary world. Moreover just as all the angels had been created with celestial bodies which they move and govern, so also God wished to create souls with human bodies, for souls are like the forms and bodies are like matter, so then I know that in the universe the form would be before matter passible according to the order of nature; however it is after it in one subject. From this diversity of bodies comes the diversity of human affections and conditions, for all souls are good and pure in themselves, but the diversity of bodies induces and persuades them to many different things. Example. All the rays and influxes which descend from the celestial world into this elementary world are from Saturn, Mars, the sun or from others and these are good in as much as they are celestial but according to the diversity of matters upon which they work so arises the diversity of evil effects in bodies. So it is with souls that are created in bodies. However as bodies are procreated successively, not all together, so also souls are to be created according to the eternal law of providence in their organization, which has been known and

recognized in eternity, and just as God continually illumines the angels, whom he informs, so also he procreates without ceasing souls

folio 32 verso

for he is the first efficient cause and agent, who cannot be without continual operation and action, just as fire cannot be without its heat. Sixthly, I asked him whether it was true that the soul descended into the body, or if it joined and united itself to it at the very first. To this he replied. I know that the disciples of Plato said that many legions of souls were joined to each one of the stars, before the time when they knew the laws of divine providence, and the laws of fate, then by love and inclination were attracted here below into bodies and descended into them by the lunar and vegetative influx, which dilates and spreads abroad the spirit, to sensible things; then returns by that of Capricorn, that is to say by Saturn, which is dry, unitive and which gathers the spirit into oneself by contemplation; yet one does not need to delve into either the descent nor the manner thereof of those natures which are beyond space and place; on this account your question asks nothing. But just as the rays of the sun are everywhere where its light reaches, so also God who has his centre everywhere, creates the spirit where it pleases him to do so according to his disposition and according to the organization of the body which is convenient to receive that spirit, which first joins itself to the centre and middle of the heart by heat and by heat to every subtle spirit of the body and by the spirit to the humours and by the humours to the members. So also for the separation and resolution of these it prepares first the members, then the humours, then the spirits and finally the cordial warmth, as I shall explain when I speak of the Cosmology of the Kabbalah and of the elementary world. Finally I asked him how the human spirit, which is the rational soul, can ascend to God and be joined to him. To this he replied This difficulty exceeds all the others. But you are to know that as there is no human or angelic spirit which can ascend to God in its own power, so it is necessary for it to be raptured as the apostle said *Non est volentis neqz currentis sed dei miserantis*.¹

¹Vulgate has Ro. ix 16:-

Igitur non volentis, neque currentis, sed miserentis est Dei.

NASB has Ro. ix 16:-

So then it does not depend on the man who wills or the man who runs, but on God who has mercy.

The inferior and lower elements do not ascend at all upwards, unless they be elevated by the superiors. Also the lower natures cannot ascend

folio 33 recto

to the heights unless they be ravished by them. Example. The moon cannot send its rays towards the sun, unless it is first strongly illuminated by the sun. Your face which is in the mirror cannot see you unless you look at it. The sound of an echo responds to you provided you speak first. Also you cannot love God unless he first of all embraces you with his love; you cannot see him, (for he is invisible) unless he covers you with the shining light of his grace and glory which descends from the deep store of his glory to enlighten your purified eyes which were formerly unenlightened. To ravish, to understand and to ascend to celestial and divine things, is merely to be ravished, comprehended and lifted up by them. Those who are raptured are those who love fervently, ecstatically and furiously.

Margin has It is impossible to ascend to the heavens if one is not attracted by God and to attain the sun, it is necessary to ascend to the heaven of love

The sun is in the fourth heaven. If therefore you wish to ascend to the incomprehensible sun of glory and to be transformed into it, it is necessary for you to be on the heaven of Venus which influences love; and to see him I know that he sees you first with a most loving look, and just as he gazes upon you by the rays by which he gazes upon himself, you gaze upon yourself again in him, and from the heat by which he sets you afire, you are set afire towards him and you likewise so that you see the selfsame sun in yourself, and yourself in him, just like a shining and luminous mirror, set afire with the rays of eternity and glorious eternity, and you speak thus: O incomprehensible light, who illumines all things, without whom all lights are darkness. O sovereign eye, which alone seest thee just as thou art, and by whom blessed and spiritual eyes see thee. O immortal life of the living. O fountain of joy, from which all joy emanates and upon which it depends. O thou alone art the good desire, who filleth the desire of those whom thou attractest to thy love. O most pure light, purify and amplify my darkened, obscured and feeble eyes, so that I may see thy incredible beauty, which warms and heats my heart. Thou alone art the one, O my God Almighty, who can satisfy the thirst of my will which

thou hast generated with thy glorious ardour; may it please thee to recreate that which thou hast created. Pitying Father, pardon thy children to whom thou hast promised thy face and thy good heritage. They only want

folio 33 verso

that to which thou leadest them, and desire only thee, who art glorious from age to age.

Second treatise on the immortality of souls.

Chapter seven.

The image, figure, symbol or portraiture of souls, as much in the universe as in the celestial or human realms according to Plato. About the Goddess Necessity, together with her three daughters Clotho, Lachesis, Atropos.¹ About the three vigorous judges Rhadamantus² Eacus³ and Minos,⁴ who judge souls after they are separated from the body.

When I saw that the doctor and rabbi wanted to bring this matter to an end - the immortality of souls - (had he continued I could have still gone on listening) I prayed him that he would solve some difficulties for me, and satisfy my desire, so I said to him as follows: Venerable teacher, because there are in

¹Reference should be made to the discussion in the Introduction pp. 91 ff. supra of the presence of the fireback decorated with these three figures in the royal château of Amboise.

²In Greek mythology, Rhadamantus was the son of Zeus and Europa and one of the judges of Hades.

³In Greek mythology, Aeacus was a just king who in life ruled the island of Aegina but in the afterlife was a judge of the dead in Hades. He was the son of the nymph Aegina and of Zeus, ruler of heaven. When Hera, Zeus' wife, discovered her husband's infidelity, she took revenge by visiting a deadly plague on an island whose misfortune it was to be called Aegina, the name of her rival.

⁴In Greek and Roman mythology, Minos was both the ruler of Crete and, after his death, a judge of the underworld. Along with his twin brother, Rhadamantus, Minos was the son of Europa, who had been impregnated by Zeus in the guise of a white bull. After becoming king of Crete with the aid of Poseidon, Minos used his powerful navy to rule over an extensive Aegean empire. The Minoan civilization, which flourished on Crete from about 3000 to 1450 BC, was subsequently given his name; and the palace at Knossos, excavated by archaeologists in the early 20th century, is popularly thought to be his palace, within which Minos confined the deadly Minotaur in an elaborate labyrinth built by Daedalus. The killing of this creature by the Athenian Theseus is interpreted as symbolizing the political freedom won by Athens after years of paying tribute to Crete. Known for his justness, Minos was consulted by Odysseus (Odyssey, Book 2) in his capacity as judge after death.

the spiritual world things so spiritual of which human understanding may make no symbol, figure, image or portraiture for a rude and barbarous people, yet by visible and tangible things they may come to the knowledge and memory of invisible and spiritual things (for they have figured God, his angels and all of paradise; also they have employed colours, shades and images for bodies, heads and wings) I would like to know how the ancient mages, sages and philosophers have figured and painted the soul. And he replied to me. Socrates said in the book called Phaedon that he could not do a greater harm for the soul than to meet its desire to see corporeal images; that it should fly and elevate itself to contemplate things divine, spiritual and mathematical is such bodily fallaciousness and imbecility. But because our Athenian Moses, otherwise called Plato, of whom I have been informed, also learned all that I have told you above, I will satisfy your desire - shortly - about painting and figures.¹ Know then that there were in the past - in divers times and places six philosophers,

folio 34 recto

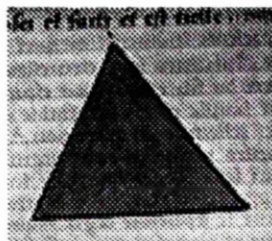
who put into writing all that belongs to holy philosophy as they knew it; these were of one opinion, and expression. The first was Zoroaster, the son of Oromasis, greatly reknowned and praised by the Mages. The second was Hermes Trimegistus, High Priest of Egypt. The third was Orpheus, composer of hymns, odes and divine praises. The fourth was Algaophemus. The fifth was Pythagoras. And the sixth was Plato. This last one put into writing, ornamented with all the colours of rhetoric the flowers and sayings of the other five, which he completed with singular fables and delectable poems, so that ignorant and barbarous people may understand them easily. For this reason his disciples, who came after him and found his books, interpreted him in divers ways. And these disciples were divided into schools or pedagogical establishments, three of which were in Greece and the others elsewhere. The first academy or school flourished under Xenocrates. The second under Archesilaus. The third under Carneades. The fourth pilgrim and foreign one was in Egypt under Ammonius. The fifth was in Rome under Plotinus. And the

¹ J. Reuchlin, *De Arte Cabalistica*, folio 24 verso describes Plato as none other than Moses speaking Attic Greek. He credits this attribution to Numenius the Pythagorean. C. Trinkaus, *In Our Image and Likeness*, Chicago, 1970. Vol. II, pp. 741-42. See End Note *Pythagoras - Metempsychosis and Palingenesis*.

sixth was in Lycia¹ under Proculus. I cannot briefly tell you their differences and particulars. However I have taken from Plato, and also from his disciples, two figures of the soul, the first of which is in the form of a triangle, in which are the numbers by which all the principal accords or proportions of music are composed and made, and it is as follows:-

Margin has The image of the soul according to Plato's Timæus

folio 34 verso



golden triangle with a blue border
note the small numeral 1 at the top
see End Image folio 34 recto

folio 34 verso

Margin has Three accords or proportions

To understand this figure it is necessary for you to know that there are three

¹Part of Asia Minor, an area of Southern Turkey between Caria and Pamphilia. Lycia, an ancient country of southwestern Anatolia, occupied a mountainous promontory on the Mediterranean coast. The Lycian chieftains Sarpedon and Glaucus figure in Homer's Iliad as allies of Troy in the Trojan War. Lycia was a self-governing confederacy from 169 BC to AD 43, when it was incorporated into the Roman province of Lycia-Pamphilia. The Lycian language and alphabet were in use until the 4th century AD. Thénaud does not mention here, no doubt due to the fact that this discourse is attributed to a Jew, the strong connection of Lycia with Saint Nicholas. (Saint Nicholas, d. c. 350, was a bishop of the Christian church of Myra, in Lycia, Anatolia, about whom little is known with certainty. He is sometimes referred to as Saint Nicholas of Bari because his remains were supposedly translated there in 1087. His reputation for generosity and compassion is best exemplified in the legend that relates how Nicholas saved from a life of prostitution the three daughters of a poor man. On three separate occasions the bishop is said to have tossed a bag of gold through the family's window, thus providing a dowry to procure for each daughter an honourable marriage. The story provides the foundation for the custom, still followed in many countries, of giving gifts on the saint's feast day. Saint Nicholas is the patron saint of Russia, of children and of sailors. Variations of his name range from Saint Nikolaas to Sante Klaas to Santa Claus; he is known as Father Christmas in England, Grandfather Frost in Russia, Père Noël in France, and Saint Nick in the United States. Feast day: Dec. 6.)

sorts of accords in mathematics. The first is between the numbers of arithmetic, as when one says that there is a proportion and agreement between twelve and twenty four, and forty eight or between seven and fourteen as there is between fourteen and twenty one. The second accord is between the measures of geometry, as with measure by measure, cane by cane,¹ quintal by quintal.² The third accord is between musical weights, which join and unite in harmony many different sounds, tones and voices. This accord of music has been observed and guarded by God in the composition and creation of souls as much for the universe, as for man and for the heavens. For according to Plato God put within a precious vessel, that is to say in the Idea of the rational life something of the generality and universality of all the essences and things, as much in the simple as in the divisible and these latter also he assembled by musical accords, which are the diapente, the diatesseron, the diapason, the disdiapason and other such. In order to understand the above given figure better, it is necessary to consider three things. Firstly that which is in the realm of geometry, which is the figure of the triangle. Secondly that which belongs to the realm of arithmetic, which are the numbers. And thirdly the accords of music. The triangle in geometry represents the divine trinity, whose unity I shall reveal to you in the secrets of the Kabbalah. This trinity shines forth everywhere, but especially in human souls, which are its perfect image and similitude. Moreover the triangle represents the universe, in which there are only three things. Some are eternal, such as the trinity of Father, of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, which is sovereignly simple in essence, stable in virtue and reciprocal as well as reflective in operation. Some things are temporal, measured in breadth, length and volume, which have their essence composed of their mobile virtue and their transitory operation. Among these is soul which is of the seventh degree, and which has three faces to see and to watch that which is above it, that which is under it,

folio 35 recto

and itself. Also so as to contemplate the causes, the effects and to find effects in causes and vice versa. Similarly to join the past, the present and the future, and thirdly there are the angelic intelligences, about which I have taught you

¹French *canne*, an old measure of length, between 1.71 m. and 2.98 m.

²A measure of mass, equal to 100 kg.

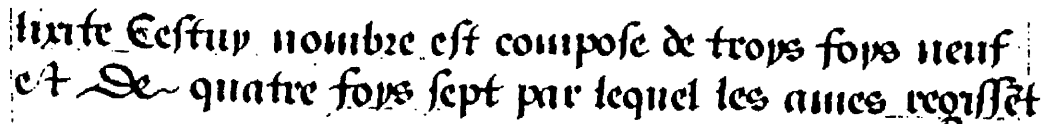
above. As to arithmetic signalled in the description of the soul, the leading number to be mentioned here is twenty seven, of which I shall speak, leaving out the others to avoid long-windedness. This number is composed of three times nine, and of Four times seven¹ by which the souls rule and govern the bodies and even the very soul of the universe. Also all the lower things are ordered by sevens. The first seven is in the firmament, which has secretly, invisibly and collectively every source of virtues, powers, pre-eminences and forces of the seven planets, which flow from and depart from them. The second is in the seven heavens and seven guiding lights of the planets, as is well known, and seen, as much by their light as by their movement. The third is in the four elements, which are such in their first qualities or in their second qualities, which they are by the sole influx of the heavens which they receive. Example. Fire is hot, clear and luminous, by the influx of the sun and thus is adjustable by the heaven of Mars. The earth is on the outside painted and ornamented with herbs, flowers, colours, mountains, valleys, trees and forests by the influx of Mercury. Also it is solid, firm, dry and arid within after Saturn. Between the fire and the earth are the air and humid water but the humidity of the air is ruled by Jupiter and that of water by the moon. This humour, which is between the two elements is governed by Venus. The above mentioned sevens² are directed and governed by seven circulations which can be considered to be in the above mentioned soul of the universe, which is sometimes considered as a part of and sometimes divided from these three portions, which are the highest, the lowest and the middle.

Margin has The three parts of the world soul³

The highest portion is the apprehension of the sovereign intelligence, which establishes it in such a way that quite suddenly without passage of time and of place it turns in

folio 35 verso

¹*De quatre fois sept*. Thenaud seems unaware that $4 \times 7 = 28$, as may be seen from the following image:-



Lixte Cestuy nombre est compose de troys fois neuf
et de quatre fois sept par lequel les ames regissent

Folio 35 recto detail.

²*septainiers*.

³*lame du monde*.

a circle more than suddenly in a single fixed and everlasting central resting point. The second and middle portion which is that of reason, has three circles, which are not entirely mobile and not entirely stable. The first is the circle of love. The second is the circle of the imagination. And the third is the circle of adjustment and the place of collation the one with the other. By the first, the causes love their effects and the effects love their causes. By the second, the causes consider what they can and should do. Also the effects have recognisance of, recourse to and reverence for their causes. By the third the universal forms give themselves to many universals and these latter to the lesser. The third is the lower portion of the above mentioned soul, which is sensible, vegetative and vivifying execution with regard to bodies and has three circles. The first is the natural influx of the efficient cause upon its effect and the reflection of the return of that same effect on the cause. The second is the interval of time which is required to make the variations, exchanges and mutations here below according to the celestial determination and figures. The third is that of generation. So then it is evident that the circles are the ones following the reason of the soul and generation. So also then it is evident that the circles are the ones following the others, just as the circle of celestial generation follows the circle of reason of the soul, and that of the soul follows that of angelic providence and thus appear the four Septenaries which make twenty seven. It is evident also that the corporeal life depends on three souls, that is to say, on its own soul, on that of the sphere and on the universal soul, as will be seen in the kabbalistic figure. Thirdly, as to music, it remains to be seen what the numbers in that figure signify. Above the triangle is one. For all that is above the soul participates in unity and invisibility, more than it does in number and plurality. But inasmuch as the soul is joined to the body which is as it were a multitude by its corporality and materiality, and also as in it there are diverse passions and affections together, so it is the source and the fountain of movement of generation and production; thus the number two is attributed to it, like an exordium and the commencement of plurality which is united and accorded musically. The good musician conceives

folio 36 recto

first in his spirit of the diverse proportions or good accords which the mouth
Treatise 2 page 55

and instruments may make and generate. Also the soul, which for its unity is dependent and subordinate on the divine, can be an emanation. Secondly as it has distinction and diversity of matter so it is signified by two, so that it distributes its harmony of which it is comprised in qualities, humours and complexions peculiar for that body, so that it will be conserved in health, life and in happiness as long as the above mentioned harmony endures. Then there are the numbers that make the accords of the diapent, or a fifth, composed of two or three. Then there is another proportion of two and four, of four and eight, commonly called a twelfth or diapason. Moreover there is a fourth of three and four called a diatessaron. Also there are disdiapante, dysdiatesseron and many other such proportions, together with diverse accords, which are all found in the numbers figured in the composition of the soul, to show that souls are composed according to the proportions and accords of music, which they cause to shine and to appear without ceasing, but which cannot be heard with corporeal ears, for that harmony is entirely spiritual, although spiritual, demonic and heroic souls do know them most excellently, in proportion to the dignity and the excellence of their nature and constitution. It is also appropriate that you should know that some have called intelligence¹ 'unity',² because it achieves its effect, which is understanding, in an instant; therefore knowledge³ is duality,⁴ for the conclusion is proved from the premises.⁵ Opinion⁶ trinity.⁷ The sense which is directed towards the four elements is called quaternity and thus consecutively follow all other numbers. According to these Platonists souls descend in accordance with fate into human bodies, to vivify them and to make them appear or to be known to be in them, according to the time determined by the order of universal course, so that their hope and desire to live corporeally precedes the determination and the election to live. Then it dwells in them and thus they may desire to choose the form of living which

folio 36 verso

¹*intelligence.*

²*unite.*

³*science.*

⁴*dualite.*

⁵*premisses.*

⁶*Opinion.*

⁷*trinite.*

will be to their liking and for this they will have such demon as they wish (just as it is written *Non vos demon sortitur sed vos demonon virtus vero libera est*¹ which they cannot abandon, but they finally lead it, if it is good to the Elysian fields, and if it is bad to the infernal rivers. For it is inevitable that the fatal goddesses accomplish or conclude their duties between the legs of Dame Necessity where the world is placed and situated, as appears in this figure.

Margin has Picture of Dame Necessity of the universe



see End Image folio 36 verso

folio 37 recto

From the foregoing picture it is evident that all fantasy and imagination of the Platonists and Pythagoreans, who understand by the Goddess Necessity the soul of the world which in accordance with her most elevated position is always attentive in contemplating the divine verity and goodness, together with the state of the heavenly empire, which arises from cumulative numbers (in distributing its goodness) to celestial intelligences and thereby to heavens which this Goddess causes to turn by the lower portion, joined to the will of divine providence. The shuttle represents virtuous and insuperable fate and destiny which cannot be avoided or fled from by prudence or reason, as it is written *Racio nulla fatum vincere potest*² however it may be changed and composed. And I know that it is unique, although it has three names, according to the three things that happen to souls when they descend here below into bodies. For firstly they pass through the hands of Lachesis, when they desire

¹A demon does not draw lots for you, but you for a demon: for virtue is free.

²No reason is able to overcome fate.

to live in bodies for their conservation and so that they are not separated from them they do all that is divinely possible for them. For souls living in bodies which are still in the maternal womb are so occupied with their perfection and with bringing them to birth, that they have no other concern. After their birth they are so concerned with making their bodies increase, to grow, to fortify and to bring them to perfection, that they only reluctantly give themselves to wisdom and contemplation. For this reason the sages equated to the river Letheus, which engenders oblivion, the human body, for love of which some souls fell away, so that all other things were quite forgotten, even the divine and spiritual ones, some more than others. Secondly they fall into the hands of Clotho, who turns the shuttle, for one goes incessantly between joy and sadness, or on the other hand from peace to division, or on the contrary from fortune to the opposite, and from one state to the opposite, as Job said *Numquā i eodē statu permanet*.¹ Moreover there are the cases where the souls are judged by the immutable celestial courts.

folio 37 verso

Thirdly they fall into the hands of Atropos, who breaks the thread, for she destroys and ruins all harmony and proportion in which is found life, so that after comings and goings, the fluctuations and changes of this life, she, of necessity, induces death and resolution. After which souls do not pass from a human body to a beast or brute, as was falsely attributed to have been said by Pythagoras, who was well aware that the soul of a fly could not inform the body of the moon, nor could a good musician exercise his art on the tools used by a potter or a mason, and even less the human form could not inform a brute. But by this palingenesis and circulation of souls, which he seems to have written about, he meant the general resurrection, as you will see hereafter, when my mistress Curiosity will lead you to the schools of that philosopher. And to follow the platonic fable, most philosophical and theological, it is necessary for you to know that the souls submerged in the river Letheus (which is the human body) lose their natural wings which lift them up to know the eternal

¹Vulgate has Jb. xiv 2:-

Qui quasi flos egreditur et conteritur, et fugit velut umbra,
et numquam in eodem statu permanet.

NASB has Jb. xiv 2:-

Like a flower he comes forth and withers,

He also flees like a shadow and does not remain.

truth and also omit to love the sovereign goodness, which are the moral virtues, as well as the theological ones, so that they cannot fly so as to take the golden fleece which is divine wisdom, unless the goddess of love, Venus, addresses them by means of her doves. For there is no virtue, no means, nor anything at all which can lead us to God, who is the eternal wisdom, the Ambrosia and pleasant nectar, without his furious love. So Virgil said that two doves would lead Æneas by the commandment of his mother Venus, so that he might find the golden fleece, by means of which he could pass over Acheron, Cerberus, all rivers and infernal monsters, so that he might come to the Elysian fields. Tollunt se celeres liquidumque per aera lapsae Sedibus optatis gemina sub arbore sidunt.¹ But this is so that we may understand that we do not know for sure in this mortal life, and in the river Letheus anything at all except by

folio 38 recto

the spirit and by the high portion of the soul which has true wisdom for its objective (for every other science and knowledge outside it is shadowy, darkened and evil). Plato proves this by the following example. If an infant is nourished and brought up in a cave or in a place where there is a column to which he is attached so that he can only see another one, or a wall which is in front of him; behind him there is a large flame that spreads its light throughout the cave; then between him and the flame there come, pass, run and fly men, women, beasts, birds and all sorts of things, such as mountains, valleys,

¹ P. Vergilius Maro, Aeneis, book 6, verse 201 ff:

inde ubi uenere ad fauces graue olentis Auerni.

tollunt se celeres liquidumque per aera lapsae

sedibus optatis gemina super arbore sidunt,

discolor unde auri per ramos aura refulsit.

Then as they reached Avernus' stinking throat

they rose with a swoop and sailed through brighter air,

to perch on the tree they loved, a pair at home

but - strange - through the branches came a flash of gold.

This phrase was also used for didactic purposes. CETEDOC. *Ars Laureshamensis, Expositio in Donatum maiorem*, part. 2, *De praepositione*, page 142, line 78:-

Super vero et subter cum accusativo casui naturaliter praeponantur, ablativo tamen plerumque iunguntur, ut sedibus optatis gemina super arbore sidunt et ferre iuuat subter densa testudine casus

Sedulus Scottus - *In Donati artem maiorem* part 2, page 306, line 21 *:-

Super vero et subter cum accusativo casui naturaliter praeponantur, ablativo tamen plerumque iunguntur naturaliter accusatiuo quidem seruiunt uero ablatiuo sed figurate ut sedibus optatis gemina super arbore sidunt.

prairies, forests, rivers, seas and fields, all of which things he sees and regards as shadows coming and going and changing on the wall he will be rightly advised that these shadows are true and subsisting things and that without them is nothing. But if he is taken out of the cave and ditch and if he truly sees that it was only shadows that he perceived then he will know that even if he had lived in that state for a hundred years, he had been deceived, when he took the shadow for the reality. In this regard as long as the soul is dwelling in this miserable body, as it were in a cave, it only sees the shadows of the true and subsistent things, for it can only know the accidents by the external senses without coming to the substance, but as soon as it is liberated from its prison and column it sees without any assistance all that is, inasmuch as its light can go forth without confusion, shadow, without assistance and without obscurity. And if one follows the Platonic thread, one finds, towards the end of the books called Gorgias and Phaedon, that the spirit (demon or angel) of the soul thus delivered from that body, will lead it to that great space where Rhadamantus¹ Eacus and Minos judge all those who depart from this world to the other; these judges cannot be deceived or corrupted, for they are naked, spiritual and dead, as are the souls. Rhadamantus

folio 38 verso

is judge for Asia. Æacus² Eacus for Europe, but Minos³ with his golden staff decides ambiguous and difficult cases. And so also just as after the separation of body and soul the greatness, grossness, scars or deformities of the body remain and appear for some time in the body, so also for the internal senses in understanding, will or memory of the defunct there remains for some time some habituations or intelligible traits in the soul by which these judges know the study, the passion and the affection which these souls had when they were in the mortal life and according to which (without taking account if it was the soul of a tyrant, an emperor, a king, a pontiff, a merchant or a labourer) it will be judged. For so said Virgil, that Platonic poet.⁴ Que gracia currum

¹Ovid *Metamorphoses* 9, 436; 9, 440.

² Ovid *Metamorphoses* 13, 25.

³ Ovid *Metamorphoses* 8, 121 inter al.

⁴P. Vergilius Maro, *Aeneis*, book 6, verse 651 ff.
arma prucul currusque uirum miratur inanis;
stant terra defixae hastae passimque soluti
per campum pascuntur equi, quae gratia currum

Armorūqz fuit viuis que cura nitentis Pascere equos eadem sequitur tellure repostos. These judges contemplate and most often see before them the souls of the Kings of Persia, of Ethiopia, or of other kingdoms, together with the souls of tyrants, satraps and governors of towns or of provinces, who have every liberty to do evil and to sin, who have been nourished with honours, voluptuosity, rapine ways, acts of violence and delights without truth, justice or temperance, who are full of deformities, scars, monstrosities and horrible vices. For this confusion they are sent with the charge, which contains the dictum of their sentence, to the infernal places of torments and pains, so that there they may feel the punishment of their evils. Thus it is that every pain is inflicted for one of two causes. First so that the one who suffers for it may be improved, or so that others may derive example from it, and so that they may fear to sin. Those who are punished so that they may be improved are sent to the places of purgatory, which Virgil and Dante place outside of the depths of hell in five first circles, according to the extent that they had offended their neighbour by mutilation, by violence, harm or by any other means. It is necessary for those that had been offended and injured to grant them pardon before they can leave. For this reason Plato says in the Phaedo. Qui sauabilia

folio 39 recto

quidem peccata sed ingencia commiserunt veluti si qui contra patrem vel matrem irati per vim aliquid fecerit sed pmā ducti eos in cetera vita coluerint vel qui simili quodam pacto fuerint homicide eos in tartarum quidem uccem est cadere sed ibi per annum commorati a fluctu ciciuntur homicide quidem per Cocytum Parentum vero violatores per pyriphlegetòtem Post `q vero ab hiis delati fluminibus ad paludem acherusiam peruenerunt clamant illic vocitantqz eos quos vel necauerint vel iniuris affecerint supliciterqz rogant atqz de precantur ut eos permittant progredi per paludem re¹. Those who have unremmittable

*armorumque fuit uiuis, quae cura nitentis
pascere equos, eadem sequitur tellure repostos.
(Aeneas) was startled: there by cars and arms
at rest, spears stacked and horses running free
grazing in the field. The joy the living knew
in arms and car, their love of grooming horses
to sleekness, followed them beyond the grave.*

¹ Those indeed who have committed curable sins, but large ones - just as if those who, enraged against a father or mother, did something through force but, having been led (by them) at first, cherished them for the rest of their life; or those who in a similar way were murderers: it is indeed necessary that they fall into Tartarus. But having lingered there for a
Treatise 2 page 61

sins are sent by these judges to the deep pits of hell through which none may return, where rage, death, hopelessness, hardship and eternal distress torment them without end, so that all may take example from them. For this the unhappy Theseus and Phlegias cry from hell. Discite iusticiam moniti non temnere diuos Vendidit hic auro priaz dūzqz potentem Imposunt fixit legis precio atqz refixit Hic thalamum inuasit nate vetitosqz hymeneos Ausi omnes immane nephas ausoqz potiti.¹ But if those same judges see pure, innocent and just souls garnished and furnished with the wings of contemplation and morality then they despatch them to the blessed isles or to the Elysian fields, as the above mentioned poet said. Deuenere locos letos et amenia vireta fortunatorum nemorum sedesqz beatas.²

The second Treatise Eighth chapter.

On the immortality of souls according to the Hebrews and Catholic doctors. And how the celestial and elementary spheres are without souls.

Before bringing this matter to an end in which I have followed the philosophers Pythagoras and Plato, as the most elevated of all others together with those who are nearest to our laws and sect, I wish to tell you of the principal points which they have given which I reduce to two for you. The first is that they say souls

folio 39 verso

to have been made in the heavens then they descend down here into human

year, they are cast out by the flood - the murderers indeed into Cocytus, those who injured their parents along the Phlegethon. And having been carried away by these rivers, after they have arrived at the marsh of Acheron, they shout there and call on those whom they have killed or affected with injuries. They beg in supplication and they beseech them that they allow them to proceed through the marsh.

¹ Quodultheus - Liber promissimum et prædictorum Dei. Cl. 0413, part. 3, ch. 37, line 16:-

Ad hæc maro: discite ait, iustitiam moniti et non temnere diuum. Promissio impleta ...

Rupertus Tuitensis - *De sancta trinitate et operibus ejus*. CM 21, bk. 3, In Genesim III, p. 242, l. 280:-

Discite iustitiam moniti, et non temnere diuos. Item cum diceret ...

Sedulus Scotus - *In Donati artem maiorem* part. 3, p. 356, line 86

... discite, iustitiam moniti et non temnere diuos pro contemnere quod metrica

necessitare poeta posuit.

²*They became happy places and beautiful gardens, the blessed dwelling places of the fortunate Gods.*

bodies organized for them to vivify, to move and to perfect. And they say that in descending from the heavens, from the seven planets together with the four elements, they take them on or adopt them with some passion, concupiscence or quality in accordance with the same planet and element; thus they are submerged and taken deep into the human body, as if into a dark and shadowy prison, to such an extent that they forget their natural and spiritual state, the region of light and clarity from which they have descended, together with all that they knew beforehand, but when they have finished down here and accomplished their time together they return on high. It is appropriate for them to leave in each heaven or element the quality with which they were clothed, so that they may come in total purity to the place of their creation. The second principal point wherein these philosophers have erred is that they have put souls in all the heavens, stars, planets and elements, saying that all the world is a perfect animal and under it are all other animals such as the sun, the moon, the earth, fire and likewise all other things, which has been the occasion for the ancients to adore in an idolatrous fashion the celestial bodies. So it was that Eusebius in his *Præparatio evangelica* said *Egyptios ferunt primos oiz cum in celum oculos substulissent motum ordinem et quantitates corporum celestium admirantes solem ac lunam deos putasse ac solem quidem osyrim lunam ysim numcupasse a proprietate quadem inditis sibi nominibus.*¹ On account of this it is needful for you to believe our doctors on the two principal points. This is firstly that every day and moment God Almighty creates intellectual souls from nothing, whom he joins and unites with bodies so organised as forms are to matter so as to give them life, sentiment and movement as our David said. *Qui finxit sigillatum corda eorum.*² And I know

¹*Egyptians were the first who, by looking up at the sky, admiring the motion, the order and multiplicity of the planets, thought that the sun and the moon were Gods, and, giving them names according to their features, they called the Sun Osyris and the Moon Isis.*

²Vulgate has Ps. xxxii 15:-

qui finxit singillatim corda eorum;
qui intelligit omnia opera eorum.

NASB has Ps. xxxiii 15:-

He who fashions the hearts of all of them all,
He who understands all their works.

This passage was extensively commented on in Christian circles.

Jerome *Comm. in Isaiah*, Cl. 0584, SL. 73A, lib. 18, cap. (SS): 66, par. 18+, lin. 59:-
qui finxit singillatim corda eorum, et intelligit omnia opera eorum.

Balduinus de Forda, *Sermones*, sermo 12, lin. 215:-

Et iterum qui finxit singillatim corda eorum, ...

Script. ord. Grandimont, *Uita Stephani Muretensis*, cap. 23, lin. 9:-

Quis enim nouit cogitationes hominum, nisi qui finxit singillatim corda eorum et

intelligit omnia opera eorum aut cui voluerit ipse reuelare?

that souls cannot be seen, just as one cannot see air, odours, and wind and angels

folio 40 recto

and many other things, which are well known due to their operations, for whom bodies are only instruments. It is in no way the body which measures the size of the earth, the depths of the abyss, the heights of the heavens, which exceeds every hierarchy of angels, who studies, writes, paints, disputes, builds and constructs boats to cross the sea and to go to other worlds, but these are done by the rational soul. Every exterior thing has been made for the human body; and these bodies are made for the placement of souls and the rational souls have been made for the abode and dwelling of God. For this reason those who wish to separate from the soul perpetuity and immortality, such a one will have his opinion confounded by the universal and world order. This will augment faith and so you will believe concerning divine, spiritual and invisible matters in the holy doctors, just as your apostle to the Gauls told you in his book called *de divinis nominibus*. *Nulla ratione presumendum est aliquid de supersustanciali secretissimaqz deitate aut dicere aut cogitare preter illa q` nobis sacra eloquia tradiderunt.*¹ Secondly it is needful for you to believe that neither the heavens nor the spheres of the elements have any souls whatsoever, for souls are adjoined to bodies by qualities and the rational soul is adjoined to the body by that which is sensitive and vegetative, but the heavens, together with the pure elements have no such things, from which one is to conclude that they are without souls. I know that they have some angelic intelligences which make them turn according to the laws which invariable divine providence has granted them so that by that movement, light and warmth they do have influence down here on those things that are necessary for the conservation of the elementary world. And that is sufficient for you with regard to the immortality of souls and for the second treatise. For it is time for each one of us to withdraw each to his own house for the night, as is the case

¹Dionysius Areopagita, Secundum Ambrosium Traversarium, *De Diuinis Nominibus*, p. 7, colon. 1 (*):-

Nulla ratione præsumendum est aliquid de supersubstantiali secretissima que deitate aut dicere aut cogitare, præter illa quæ nobis sacra eloquia tradiderunt.

By no means may we presume either to say or to think anything about the transcendent and most secret deity beyond those things which they (the sacred scriptures) have passed on to us by their sacred eloquence.

for the Moor also who calls out from the mosque for withdrawal, after which we would be delivered to be consumed and to prison if we were found in public.

folio 40 verso

(blank)

Third Treatise.

folio 41 recto

Here starts the third treatise of the celestial Kabbalah and the angelic world.

How one can be elevated by purity of life, holy contemplation and fervent love to have knowledge of spiritual matters.

First chapter.

Just as the avaricious person is incensed with increase of wealth, love and desire for it and just as the dipsomaniac by excess of drinking has insatiable thirst, so also the profound and wise sayings of the above mentioned Hebrew incensed my soul so that it would have been snuffed out, extinguished or suffocated had he not gone on and administered material to sustain it more and more by holy and contemplative matters. To this end I addressed to him begging and most humble prayers that he should have no fear and doubt of the night nor of the superstitious traditions of the Saracens, should he instruct me in and inform me of the three other worlds and of the matters contained therein. Then he said to me. Our Mosaic law proscribes and prohibits us from showing and revealing these secrets to strangers, as a figure of which there were in front of the Holy of Holies, not only of the tabernacle but also of the temple, many curtains and walls. For showing these off and for letting these be seen by the people of the King of Assyria, Hezekiah was punished.¹ However I do see that you are reverend in these secrets of the science which you wish to use and you will not abuse them in any way. Firstly I will tell you of the

¹ II Kings xx where Hezekiah showed Berodach (Merodach) - Baladan a son of Baladan, king of Babylon, all his treasure house, the silver and the gold and the spices and the precious oil and the house of his armour and all that was found in his treasures. There was nothing in his house, nor in all his dominion, that Hezekiah did not show them. The consequence was that Isaiah pronounced judgement that the days would come when everything would be carried away into Babylon.

existence and the state of the spiritual, angelic and intellectual world, as much as one can do so, and as far as it is in my power to show you the figures, not only those which are geometric, but also the arithmetic. Secondly I shall show you how that world influences the celestial world which it rules, moves, governs and displaces. Thirdly I shall show you how it is

folio 41 verso

with the celestial world. And inasmuch as one sees by experience and evidence how it rules and governs this elementary one, so I shall submit the rest of it to the astrologers and nature followers so as to flee and avoid superfluity of words. To comprehend, to know and to understand how it is with the intellectual, angelic and spiritual world it is necessary for you, by means of the solitary and contemplative life (into which you can be lead and maintained by holy prayer and careful devotion) to elevate your burning spirit, purged and cleansed from all vices and lower affections, as much and as far as it exceeds the spaciousness and the beauty of the heavens of the seven planets of the firmament and of the first mobile, which some have called the crystal heaven, beyond which the spirit of the philosophers have been unable to pass. And when he will have truly contemplated their substances without matter, their diverse movements over the poles and axes of the world, or of the Zodiac, their eccentric or concentric figures, their innumerable rays, effects, powers, virtues, influxes, courses and locations and how they are in apparent contrariety and diversity adjusted by compass beyond geometry and by number beyond mathematics, he will want to know who causes them to move, and from whom their beauty, virtue and power come and from whom they proceed. This matter he cannot attain, if he does not rid himself and does not dispossess himself of four things, that is to say of all sensitive and corporeal thoughts, secondly of imaginations and opinions, thirdly of acquired sciences, and fourthly of love for low and transitory things, and then he will be tired of such things.

Margin has It is necessary for one to leave four things here below so as to have knowledge of the angelic world

Holy love and divine grace will elevate one above and will give one, by glorious inspiration, and loving contemplation, knowledge of the incomprehensible, angelic, spiritual, invisible and most high world, which is above one and by which the one who is under it is governed and ruled. Such a one excels as much in desirability, power and beauty as that heaven does the elementary world. And the greater the love, the greater is the elevation of the spirit by the other love which fills that invisible heaven.

A fire attracts another, and so it is with the most holy ecstatic and ravishing love which transfigures and transubstantiates the spirits removed and separated in zealous and furious connection which drives out for ever separation

folio 42 recto

and contrariety. Glorious revelation is found there, which shows it all the state of that imperial heaven, wherein is true fullness and abundance of life, joy, blessedness, sweetness, goodness and truth which is full of innumerable and glorious, angelic, incorporeal, immaterial intelligences distinct and divided into nine heavens. In each one of which shines forth, according to the diversity of their essences and powers (just as in mirrors that are polished and clear) the goodness, beauty and figure of the eternal, unfathomable, incomprehensibly luminous and clear sun, from which the superiors give forth knowledge to the inferiors, and the inferiors to reasonable souls by the most luminous reverberations, so also do the three hierarchical operations, which are purgation, illumination and perfection.

About the heaven of heavens, and the sun of suns, which is God, one in essence, and three in persons.

Second chapter.

Above these intelligences, which are the glorious angels, is the eternal, sovereignly good and totally spherically intellectual divine essence, whose

centre and indivisible point is goodness and which is everywhere and the circumference, which is beauty, is beyond the universe. This divine essence is uniquely unique, absolutely absolute, totally pure, perfect as to form, powerfully present in form, and unfathomably luminous, which is indivisible in all regards and above all else. To whom all things, affirmative and negative, privative and positive, which are and which are not, understood and not understood, contrary and repugnant can be attributed. And inasmuch as this essence is infinitely good and as goodness is the more communicative and productive according to its degree of greatness, so it follows that the infinite goodness, gives rise to a production and generation which is infinite and within itself. (For two infinities outside of itself are impossible)

Margin has The mystery of the trinity

And what is more, because love is inseparably joined to good, and good is joined to love, so that if the good is infinite, so also love will be infinite, so also it is necessary to conclude that infinite good and the above mentioned generation engender an infinite love, mutual and reciprocal the one for the other. So the marvellous, holy and sacred mystery of the blessed trinity appears, which

folio 42 verso

cannot be known for what it is except by means of its own divine understanding, which in its own knowledge knows all things as they are, and this knowledge or knowing is the cause of all things that have been created. And I know that this same mystery of the unique divine essence, which is also in three persons, can be eventually known by the angels and by the glorious spirits, due to the rays of the divine good which illuminate them according to their virtues and their capacity. Take for example the sun, which illuminates the eye of the eagle, of man and of the owl. However I want you to know that there is not angelic or human eye, however it may be illuminated by glory, that can see the eternal and uncreated sun in all its fullness as it is, and even less able thereto is the eye of any living man who cannot see the corporeal sun without pain in the centre of his sight. But such a one can see only a point that is

infinitely penetrating, ardently ablaze and luminously acute, from which issue and emerge the incomprehensible river of beatitude, which is joy, light and love everlasting, which some have called the Ambrosia Meat and Drink Nectar. And I know that there is no sense, reason, understanding or knowing which can or should determine by external means, sensible or imaginative, this divine majesty, unique in essence and three in persons. However so that your soul may be elevated to that great height, I shall declare to you and shall describe unity via arithmetic, and by geometry the triangle.

Margin has One in arithmetic and the point in geometry give to us some knowledge of God

And do not be scandalised if it is by little things that I lead you to the knowledge of the greatest and infinite matters. For as Saint Bartholomew said according to the allegation which Saint Dennis, the apostles of the Gauls, made *Theologia plurima est eaqz paucissima*.¹ That is to say Overlong praises and words of psalms, hymns, songs, and other sounds of jubilation, which all men and angels may make are not sufficient to tell of God. But for the bravest and for those in contemplative silence more is merited in this matter. In arithmetic we may contemplate, by unity, or by a mathematical point, the divine essence. For unity precedes every number, which it measures and comprises and is not a number, notwithstanding that it is the productive source of all numbers. Also the mathematical point, which is not a figure, is the commencement and exordium of all lines, longitudes, latitudes, bodies and of all figures.² So it is that unity is the exordium and principle of

folio 43 recto

all things. And even more so is this so with infinity. For all things amount to unity and point, outside of which there is nothing. All the city is in the king, and in his disposition, all the army in the emperor, and every number is in unity.

¹*Theology is made of many things, but it is still very small.*

²J. Reuchlin, *De Arte Cabalistica*, folio 42 recto.

As One is the origin of the mental world, so Two is the beginning of the corporeal world. It would not be corporeal if it did not consist of these four things - point, line, area, and volume. ...

And just as unity multiplied by itself produces nothing outside of itself, for one times one is only one, and to add point to point is to add nothing to nothing, so also unity, indivisible and infinite of the divine essence which is the commencement, the communication and end of all things produces nothing outside of itself, except itself; in all cases it is from itself, by itself, in itself; there are found all things and to these they are finally reduced. For this reason the above mentioned Saint Denys said.¹ Et enim in monade omnis numerus uniformiter constat habetqz oèz numerum unitas in se ipsa unice et omnis numerus coniunctus quidem in monade est Quantum vero ex monade processerit tantum discernitur et multiplicatur. Number is only a measure well ordered and founded in unity

margin has Definition and division of number

and terminated therein by which all essences can be measured. And it is divided into three sorts or parts. For firstly there is the number simply simple, secondly the simple and thirdly the composed. The most simple belongs only to the divine majesty, which makes up in unique trinity three and one good, which are the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, which are one coeternal majesty, inseparable deity, equal and infinite power, without priority, majority and diversity, which by one power inseparably makes all things. The Father is the generative will in eternity. The Son the eternal and engendered power.

¹ Dionysius Areopagita, Secundum Ambrosium Traversarium, *De Diuinis Nominibus*, p. 343, colon. 6 (*):-

Namque in monade omnis numerus uniformiter præst, habet que monas omnem in se numerum unice. Et omnis numerus complicatus quidem in monade est; quantum vero a monade progreditur tantum discernitur et multiplicatur.

Thenaud's version differs from the above and from others as may be seen below:-

Dionysius Areopagita sec. Robertum Grosseteste - *De diuinis nominibus* - page 343, col. 6:-

Et enim in monade omnis numerus uniformiter præexistet, et omnem habet numerum monas in se ipse universaliter

Dionysius Areopagita sec. Ambrosium Traversarium - *De diuinis nominibus* - page 343, col. 8:-

Et omnis numerus complicatus quidem in monade est; quantum vero a monade progreditur, tantum discernitur et multiplicatur.

Dionysius Areopagita sec. Ioh. Scotum - *De diuinis nominibus* - page 343, col. 6:-

Et enim in monade numerus antesubsistit, et habet numerum omnem monas in semetipsa singulariter.

Dionysius Areopagita sec. Iohannem Scotum - *De diuinis nominibus* - page 343, col. 8:-

Et omnis numerus unitur quidem in monade; quantum autem monade prouenit, tantum discernitur et multiplicatur.

Treatise 3 page 6

The Paraclete the love which proceeds from the two. In this number is the consummation of Kabbalistic Arithmancy,¹ for unity does not confound the trinity, nor does the trinity confound unity, which mystery is so holy, difficult and secret that it is to be simply adored, believed and venerated and not vainly investigated. In Geometry, by considering the above mentioned indivisible point, and by considering the figure of the equilateral triangle can be understood the divine and unique essence of three persons.

Margin has The figure of the triangle

Not that it is in any way necessary to understand God as a triangular figure, or any other figure at all, or to hold that our senses, imagining and spirits can give a form to him; he is the one who assigns forms to all things, he is the form that forms and he reforms all else, he is the understanding whereby all others understand, the spirit by whom all others breath, the life of lives, the sun of lights, and essence

folio 43 verso

by which every other has its being. But just as this figure is the first and the most perfect, which does not have priority, majority nor disparity in its angles, it is the more apparent that there is no other more suitable for us who can only comprehend the invisible by means of the visible. With regard to the figure of the triangle the whole of the circumference is only the unfathomable abyss of which David said Posuit tenebras latibulum suum² before which all angelic or human understanding is amazed, as is written. Sicut tenebre eius ita et lumen eius.³ It is the unfathomable and amazing light which your Saint Paul ravished

¹ For a full discussion of Arithmancy see Gaster, *Secretum secretorum, Studies and Texts*, II, pp. 742 ff.

² Vulgate has Ps. xvii 12:-

Et posuit tenebras latibulum suum; in circuitu ejus, tenebrosa aqua in nubibus æris.

NASB has Ps. xviii 11:-

He made darkness His hiding place, His canopy (pavilion) around Him, Darkness of waters, thick clouds of the skies.

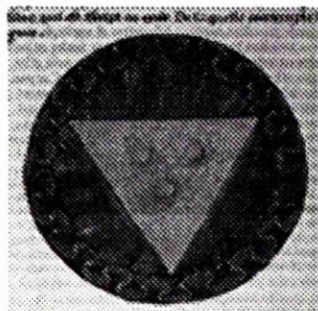
Hebrew has Ps. xviii:-

12 יֵשֶׁתׁ הָאֵשׁ׃ אֶתְּלוּ סִבִּיבוֹתָיו סִכְתּוֹ חֲשֹׁכֵת־מַיִם עָבִי שְׁחָקִים׃

³ Vulgate has Ps. cxxxviii 12:-

Quia tenebræ non obscurabuntur a te, et nox sicut dies illuminabitur; sicut tenebræ ejus, ita et lumen ejus.

up to the third heaven, could not describe for he did not have sufficient vocabulary to speak of it, which Moses also knew of most obscurely as it is written in Exodus; whence one should contemplate this figure.



See End Image folio 43 verso

See then and consider that just as you cannot see any other spirit with the spiritual eye, and certainly not with the corporeal eye, so also it is with this incomprehensible immanent trinity

folio 44 recto

existing in itself just as it is, which is the heaven of heavens, the sun which eclipses all other suns, the fountain of lights from which issue and emerge all intellectual species together with all that is; so then it is necessary for you to see it in his stars and moon which are the above mentioned species or angelic personalities and glorious souls. These are illuminated according to the degree in which they not only are regarded by the sun but also return their regard and return themselves towards the incomprehensible sun, as when a face sees itself in a concave mirror; thus it is lifted up to its own true sun, in attempting to conform itself thereto in all its effects. It is therefore appropriate

NASB has Ps. cxxxix 12:-

Even the darkness is not dark to Thee, and the night is as bright as the day. Darkness and light are alike to Thee.

Hebrew has Ps. cxxxix 12 :-

12 גִּם-חֹשֶׁךְ לֹא-יַחְשִׁיד מִמֶּךָ וְלֵילָה כִּיּוֹם יֹאִיר כְּחֹשֶׁכָה פְּאוּרָה:

12 גִּם-חֹשֶׁךְ לֹא-יַחְשִׁיד מִמֶּךָ וְלֵילָה כִּיּוֹם יֹאִיר כְּחֹשֶׁכָה פְּאוּרָה: Treatise 3 pag:

for you to purify your spiritual eyes, so that you may see the most holy, high and pure angelic intelligences, in which are reflected perfectly the triangle of glory, which are the first emanation of the above mentioned unity and of the indivisible or infinite points. For just as the production of a point outside of itself makes a line, so also the movement of unity outside of itself makes two, then three, then four and so on to infinity. That which is first of all outside of the divine essence (which is the unity) is not God; so it is that be it two or a multitude, which is like a confused matter, cannot be without form. The result is then that the unity will always be the form of two, and likewise two, which is like matter, with unity, which is like form, make three; this is the number appropriate for all divine things, as in the figure of the triangle

margin has All things in the angelic world are numbered in threes, and figured in triangles

It follows that it is appropriate to conclude that all natures, species, hierarchies and orders of angels, which are the first rivulets issuing from the divine unity, are numbered in ternaries, and figured in triangles, and so Vergil said: *Numero impare deus gaudet*.¹

Margin has All paradise is comprehended by four triangles, of which the first is that of Glory. The second is that of Triumph. The third is of Victory and the fourth is of Combat.

There are then under the triangle of Glory three others of which the first is called Triumph. The second is Victory and the third is Virtuous Combat. In each one of them there are three angles, or cantons, and from each one there flows down a virtuous and luminous solar fountain. And these nine cantons joined with their glorious and beatific form, which is the uncreated unity, make the perfect number of ten. For there is no other number at all except only

folio 44 verso

¹Petrus Abaelardus - *Theologia 'Scholarium'*, lib. 1, lin. 2362:-

Denique cur uel terna licia dixerit uel triplicem colorem siue trinum circuitum altaris, quasi in omnibus ternarii numeri magnum uim attenderet ad celebrationem diuinorum sacrorum, adiecit quia "deus gaudet impare numero", ac si diceret quia hoc numero secundum personarum trinitatem describi uult sui perfectionem.

reiteration, duplication, triplication, quadruplication and so on up to infinity which is unity. For this reason the Pythagoreans say that ten is the first quadrature, the first and powerful quaternary, seeing that four, three, two and one make ten, whence they swear in this manner. *Juro ego per sanctum pura tibi mente quaternum eterne fontem nature animqz parentum.*¹ This is the second number, which I have referred to above as the Simple, for unity and uncreated trinity, which can never be composed, adjoined, or mixed with any other number, communicates itself in nine orders of the supercelestial orders² so that we may thereby, to some extent, comprehend, understand and attain, by glory and by grace, to the uncreated love, which sustains, governs and rules all things which it has created. For this reason it is appropriate that one should consider the nine simple numbers, which make the above mentioned three triangles.

About Seraphins, Cherubins and Thrones, which make the triangle of Triumph, as well as the first hierarchy, from which flow and emerge three virtuous fountains, which are Charity, Wisdom, and Justice.

Third Chapter.

The first hierarchy and the first triangle is that of the Seraphins, Cherubins and Thrones, upon which, as with those created objects which are better proportioned and accepting of the divine reception, the divine will, the eternal power and the incomprehensible charity send their flaming rays of marvellous coruscation and reverberation, which are so great that uncreated love and

¹ Irregular Latin word order. *I swear with a pure mind to you by the holy fourfold fountain of the eternal nature and the parent of the mind.* The phrase *pura tibi mente* occurs in the *Liber Sacramentorum Engolismensis* at Cl. 1905 d, rubrica 866 linea 1 (*):-

Largire quæsimus ecclesiæ tuæ Deus et a suis delictis, ut pura tibi mente deseruiens, pietatis tuæ remedia sine cessatione percipiat.

The theme of the fourfold fountain (the four rivers of Genesis and the four Evangelists) was a common theme, notably with Bernard of Clairvaux.

² Angelic perfection was seen as simultaneously absolute and divine. The perfect creations of God are entirely perfect. In them is the perfect 3 reflected upon itself, *super se reflexa* Boanventura, *Sentences*, II, dist. 9, qu. 8, ad opps. 2) Yet this perfection is secondary to the perfection of God, wherefore the addition of the Unity of Godhead is necessary to complete the Decad.

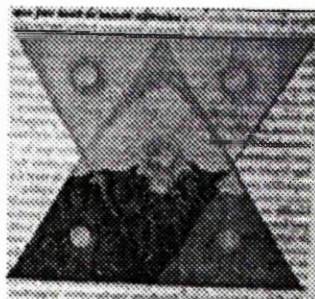
that of the created Seraphins, are united together, without mixing and without being confused by beatific and thankful communication into one point. I do not want to astound you if I say that these two loves, that is to say the eternal and that of creatures, is united into one for thus it pleases the divine and merciful good, so that and with the result that the creatures, which are, of themselves, imperfect and which tend to nothing, may be perfect, stable and existent. God has no need at all of his creatures and neither does the sun of its rays nor does the fountain of its streams, seeing that their plenitude is sufficient for them but so that it may be communicated and distributed, by eternal love and confederated peace to its creatures, it communicates with them in the quadrangle of Alliance, in which one love attracts the other, just as

folio 45 recto

fire attracts fire. And this quadrangle is composed of the two triangles of Glory and of Triumph, as may be seen in the following figure, from which it may be seen that the unity and eternal good gives perpetuity and conservation to the dependence, the multitude and to the changeableness of his creatures.

Margin has the quadrangle of love

For if one asks why it is that God has created the world, one cannot give any other reason except that he is good and goodness wishes to be spread abroad.



See End Image folio 45 recto

About the Seraphins. The Seraphins make the first canton of the triangle of Triumph or the highest sphere of the intellectual heaven, which are also called Fire. For they are all incensed with and ardent with the love of God, whom they contemplate like love, and like the sovereign good, without any diminution and conversion at all, but with an amorous rapture and a zeal so furious, ecstatic and heroic, that all the lower ones are fully aware of it in the same degree that the sun may be compared to a glowing light. In these then there is and there shines the first influence of peace, grace and divine love which unites the lover

folio 45 verso

to the beloved, so that two lives and two spirits are as one. These are they who have the name of fire for three reasons.

Margin has The seraphins are depicted and named for three reasons

Firstly because just as fire always rises up without ceasing in making shining flames and burning cinders, so also they by rapture are greatly incensed and unceasingly change themselves into God, whom they praise and whom they know in his divinity and humanity to the highest degree, who can be praised and known to his creatures. For this reason they are painted and figured with wings with which they can fly over all others. Secondly, just as fire, by its marvellous activity transforms all sorts of matter into itself, joins itself to whatever it wishes to assume its igneous form, and whatever it wishes to raise upwards, like all the blessed Seraphins, it also transforms, warms, elevates and incenses with the love of God, by means of marvellous virtue, all the lower angels and holy saints. Thirdly, this lower fire purges, illuminates and perfects, for it purges metals, it enlightens by flames and gives perfection of life considering that from it comes warmth and from warmth life. Also the glorious Seraphins purge (not just from blemishes but from not knowing) their inferiors inasmuch as they elevate them to the highest and clearest knowledge of God and then illuminate them by their brightest rays, so that they are perfect and entirely glorious. O how happy are those souls who live here seraphically in perfect

love of God for which they despise all other things and are then transformed into God by grace, for they will be even better, in the future, in glory, with these blessed Seraphins. And they will be delivered from everlasting darkness into which the evil and wicked souls and the damned spirits are delivered, who because they hated and despised eternal and innumerable good have given their love to some vile and wicked creature. So it is clear that there is nothing more elevated and better than holy love and there is nothing more punished nor oppressed than hatred of God and aversion to him.

Margin has There is nothing above love

The Seraphins hold the second place in the simple ten, and it is by them that uncreated love is communicated diversely to creatures according to the diversity of their nature; they conserve all things in peace, by first of all allying them to itself, secondly to themselves, thirdly the ones

folio 46 recto

to the others by unconfused union. Also fire is joined to air, air to water, water to earth, spiritual things to corporeal by means that are appropriate. I know that each element retains its wholeness and retains its quality. About Cherubins. Cherubins make up the second canton of the above mentioned triangle or the second sphere of the intellectual heaven and the third number of the simple group of ten. And they are also named on account of the most high treasures of divine science and wisdom, which shines forth in them, which cannot be known in God, nor in the first trinity of angels except in general and implicitly, but it is communicated and spread into the lower spirits, in two manners. Firstly essentially when it is distributed to all the angels, holy souls, which it nourishes, satisfies and fills with its beatitude and knowledge, according to the measure of their capability; however this knowledge rests on each one of them without being communicated to the others. Secondly, by transfusion,¹ by means of the glorious cherubins, which without any means, see and know in God the secrets and treasures of wisdom, knowledge, power, beauty, reasons

¹*transfusiblement.*

for all things and the uncreated truth, quite as fully as the reflection and the reverberation of the above mentioned clarity shines out and communicates of itself without distress and avarice to the lower angels and to the holy souls who are elevated by the Cherubins to know the eternal truth and wisdom, who has made all things number, weight, and measure,¹ so that the earth is the archetype and exemplar of eternity, which shines forth in these Cherubins. For this reason they are shown full of eyes.

Margin has The Cherubins are shown full of eyes

O how happy are the holy souls, who can see in the stars (whose beams are more enlightening than the sun) the secrets of God, which are hidden and unseen by superb and proud philosophers and the wise ones of this world and which are revealed to the humble and poor. About Thrones. The glorious Thrones make the third and final canton of the above mentioned triangle and the third intellectual sphere and the fourth number of the simple group of ten. And they are so named on account of their similarities that they have to the thrones of Emperors, Kings and other Moderators of the earth, where they sit, practise and exercise their judgements. These are first of all elevated and are high over the earth; secondly they are stable and

folio 46 verso

firm, richly adorned and in variegated colours and also always ready to receive their lords and masters. In this way these blessed thrones are not changed by any affection touching things which are under them, but being immobile they are moved in elevation to God, from whom they unceasingly receive the most luminous rays of his judgements and of his equity. By means of these thrones God governs in equity all that he has created in love and charity and by them he distributes gentleness and rigour, mercy and justice. Praise or punishment; these are handed down with the gentleness of oil, and the sharpness of wine. These three orders make the high and first hierarchy, that is to say the sacred principality, which is straightway purged, illuminated and perfected by God,

¹Augustine. *City of God*. Loeb edn. vol. III, book 11:30.

who raptures and elevates them with the penetrating flame of love, so that it cannot descend, inasmuch as it is elevated to the contemplation of the divine goodness and of the glorious humanity of the Messiah, of whom they have full delight, vision and fruition, by means of superabundant glory, which is not hidden or covered by sacraments as are ours, but face to face. And just as each hierarchy strives with all its power to be conformed to God by imitation and communication, the highest hierarchy purges, perfects and illuminates the middle one, which, likewise purged, illuminated and perfected, works and carries out all the above mentioned things on the lower and inferior, and this lower one attempts to do the same for rational souls. Moreover the superior send their influxes of power and virtue upon the inferior, to rule the celestial and elementary worlds, as I shall be telling you soon in speaking of the Composed Numbers. The perfection of this hierarchy is due to the perfect and immediate communication and influx of the uncreated unity, which is the heaven of heavens and the blessed Trinity, to which it adheres above all others, which it raptures and elevates; then afterwards, with all its power it excites them to love, to know and to contemplate the eternal depth of infinite glory, which shines forth from it. O how supremely happy are the holy, excellent, worthy and sacred glorious souls who triumph before the king of glory in the triangle of everlasting triumph and who taste and drink of the most excellent love, wisdom

folio 47 recto

and equity which flow thence by the will of the Father - wisdom from the Son and gentleness from the Holy Spirit. On the contrary most unhappy are the souls who are deprived of the subject and object of true joy, which can join and unite them inseparably to God, who is charity and love. In that love are received the first influxes of God, then those of Wisdom and Knowledge, which belong to the life of contemplation. For the soul deprived of love is worth nothing and, because of this, knowledge and wisdom are unable to dwell there. For this reason it is necessary before all else to be conceived and

incensed with the Seraphic fire of love, by which Isaiah was purged, and of which (so my Hebrew said) your Christ spoke when he said in his gospel, Ignem veni mittere in terra.¹

About Powers, Principalities and Dominations, which make the second hierarchy and triangle of Victory, from which flow three virtuous fountains, which are Force, Temperance and Hope.

Fourth chapter.

The third triangle of Victory, which is united to that of Triumph by the line of silver called Common or Virginal, is made of the cantons of Powers, Principalities and Dominations. And it has the name of Victory for the blessed angels and spirits thereof chase, destroy and confound all the malice and power of the enemies of the heavenly empire. These make the second hierarchy and carry out the sentences and judgements which the paternal will, the Son's power, and the Paraclete's love have decreed and established in their judicial thrones. It follows that the sentence declared is of no avail, if it is not executed and so it is that when the execution itself is countered, even by apostate and diabolical spirits, it is necessary that there are powerful executors and such are these of this second hierarchy, as their very name signifies. Moreover human fragility cannot be triumphant in the continual and mortal battle with the crowd² of these evil spirits, which would have their own way entirely if there was no aid from the good angels. It is necessary moreover to know that all the good spirits are alike and similar in spirituality, immortality, invisibility, indissolubility, and simplicity,

¹Vulgate has Lk. xii 49

Ignem veni mittere in terram, et quid volo nisi ut accendatur?

NASB has Lk. xii 49

I have come to cast fire upon the earth; and how I wish it were already kindled!

Once again Thenaud makes a use of a verse which is at variance with the context. In this case the setting is the divisive effect that the gospel has on earth. So verse 53 "They will be divided, father against son, and son against father; ..."

² Latin *caterva*, a crowd, troop, band of men. *Infernæ* in Albion Tibulus 1,2, 47.

but they are different in type, love, grace, knowledge, virtue, degree and glory, for according to their elevation and perfection in nature, so they have the more excellent grace and glory. Also the superior angels have and contain the perfection of all the inferior angels. The superiors have domination and authority over them without arrogance and without elation and the inferiors obey without disdain, murmur or rebellion. In each of the angels is essence, virtue and operation, but each with their own differences.

Margin has Difference between angels and souls.

Moreover it is necessary for you to know that there is a great difference between angels and souls, bearing in mind that they are all spiritual things. Firstly, angels are never united to bodies, as form is with matter, which the angels do.¹ Secondly angels are so intellectual that they know, understand and discern by mere intellectual regard, but the soul discerns by syllogisms, discourses and with time, so that from premises they come to infer conclusions. So it is that angels come into the knowledge of God and from high and elevated things to the knowledge of low and inferior things, but the soul knows intellectual, invisible and celestial things by means of the visible and inferior. Angels are mutable before they are elected or chosen, but they are so fixed and obstinate after their election, that they cannot depart therefrom nor detest it. And from this comes the obstinacy of the evil spirits, in whom it is not necessary to look for an effective cause, but only a defective cause. In this

¹ A scribal error for *ce que fait lame* 'which the souls do'.

fiere ce que fait l'ange. Secondement l'ange est si intelle.

Folio 47 verso detail.

Not only is the sense of the passage in favour of '*lame*' but Geneva ms. has '*lame*'t as may be seen from the following detail.

matiere' ce' que' fait lame'. Secondement L'ange' est si

Geneva ms. Fr. 167 folio 95 recto detail.

This is a further clear indication that the Geneva ms. was not made from ms. 5061.

second hierarchy are the three fountains of the three infused virtues. For the Powers give forth Force. The Principalities Temperance, and the Dominations Hope. About Powers. In the first canton of the second victorious hierarchy are the Powers, in which shine the power and the force of God; which power is obeyed by the nine heavens of the angels. In the same way the nine mobile heavens and all the worldly machine, which is held in obeisance to him, and which the apostate angels want to repudiate and rebel against, who try to distort and to confound the elements and the elemental creatures and which want to induce humans to rebel by any sort of underhand dealing, as they did against the will of the creator. But the Powers confound them, fight against them and exile them to the ninth circle of the swampy marshes. They give

folio 48 recto

their force to men who hold to their place with the result that after the true victory, which they will have here in conquering the above mentioned adversaries, they may ascend to the triangle of Triumph and from there they may come to the Quadrangle of Alliance and Eternal Peace. These powers hold the number five or the simple group of ten, which is the quaternary increased by the first unity, by which we are to contemplate that just as in the most simple number one and three there is only one charity, one wisdom, one justice, so also there is only one power. About Principalities. The Principalities by which one has knowledge of the eternal monarchy of God, founded in peace, which is without dissension and without tyranny, hold the second canton and make the number six of the simple group of ten. These ones lead us first to humble ourselves, so that we may easily come to it and to the superimperial eternal Principality. Secondly, so that the desires and feelings of sensuality and the domain of our body may be well ruled, just as a good and legitimate prince does for his land, from which he banishes and exiles evil, which he punishes; and in the same way he supports the good by remuneration. For he who is servant of luxury, avarice, tyranny or dissoluteness, he who is befogged with vices and who despoils his land, who has his followers

rise against him is not worthy of being called or named Prince, King, most serene or invincible. If then humans want to come to the everlasting Principalities which make the sixth unity coming down from the first it is necessary then for them to be faithful in service and to give homage to the King of Kings, to offer him six things, that is to say, Pure and Clean Thought, Obedient Will, Mortified Body, Mouth filled with Prayers and Supplications, Contrite and Humble Heart, Raptured and Elevated Heart. And in this way from temporal peace, they come to the enjoyment of the Eternal, after which they will have combated and overcome the Hydra and the serpent with seven heads. About Dominations. In the third angle of the middle hierarchy are the Dominations, which make the seventh unity, by which the blessed Paraclete gives us his seven gifts by which we do seven things for which end we are induced to contemplate the divine glory, the joy of the imperial heaven, the continuous equal

folio 48 verso

and marvellous movement of the nine heavens, the alliance of the four elements, which in quality are markedly contrary, to foresee future things, to recall things of the past and those which have already gone. Also to understand the present. For this reason humans are to despise the body and vile clay and the earth which is made for moles, serpents and beasts. For if they have inordinate love for these things they will be forever enslaved therein but they are to elevate their spirit, which is in the image of God most high, by means of divers supercelestial Domination, which are given to us as Lordships,¹ Principalities,² Reigns³ and Empire⁴ of everlasting glory in which and nowhere else the spirit is satisfied and filled. For all these low things, in which there is only imagination, cannot satisfy and fill us, but only spiritual things, in which there is true good, beauty and true existence.

Margin has Familiar example for knowing that we can be satisfied with

¹*seigneuries.*

²*principautez.*

³*regnes.*

⁴*empires.*

things which are in these lower worlds

Example. If someone has a great thirst and the only means of slaking it is imagination of some good wine or other liquid, then the imagination will increase his thirst and need but if he does drink some good wine his thirst is slaked and if he drinks two or three times he will be the more satisfied. So it is in this regard for all that is down here is good only in the imagination and above is the true good. Some say that some of the members of that hierarchy have their offices like this: the first address the angels by means of their works. The second address the Princes, Majesties and Lords on earth. And the third repress the devils and for this they order the ranks of the middle and low hierarchy in a different manner.

About Virtues, Archangels and Angels, which make the third hierarchy and the Triangle of Virtuous Combat, in which are the sources and fountains of Faith, Perseverance and Obedience.

Fifth Chapter.

The fourth Triangle of Virtuous Combat and chivalrous Battle is composed of the three orders which are made up by the Virtues, Archangels and Angels. This triangle, at its high and superior point, is elevated

folio 49 recto

margin has The Quadrangle of Assurance

so that it is joined and united to that which finishes and terminates the Triangle of Incomprehensible Glory in the shared virginal line which is shared by the Triangles of Triumph and Victory. Thus is founded, built and fortified the inferior Quadrangle of Assurance by the Triangles of Victory and Combat, as is the case for that of Charity composed by the triangles of Glory and Triumph. And in the entire figure there are four triangles, two quadrangles, six points and three lines.

Treatise 3 page 20

Margin has Note that in the whole figure which here below is representative of the angelic world there are only two quadrangles, three lines, four triangles and six points.

These three lines are the fundamentals of the whole spiritual world, which are represented to us by their number; thus all of this world is founded on the superimperial trinity. The highest line, which is gold, signifies to us also the above mentioned glorious Trinity. The lowest, which is black, represents to us the rational souls, which among the number of intellectual creatures are the lowest, though some do have some super excelling features. And one sees that the points of the two triangles based on these lines unite and join them to the third line which is silver and the mean which is called virginal. So then it is evident that in the mathematic and theological figure the union of the two natures divine and human is in the virgin.¹ This point is the exordium of the tree of life and the triumphant sign of the †² seated in the midst of paradise by the virtue of which the good angels have victory in the empire of heaven against the evil ones, against whom your church (so the Hebrew said to me) is fortified, against the damned and rebellious angels, who then make further effort against rational souls, who wish to go to the luminous quadrangles and to the blessed triangles. Thus in order that the rational souls are not submerged in sensuality, then in the swampy mire by the body and vileness in which they

¹*vierge.*
²

la † assis

Folio 49 recto detail enlarged.

Geneva ms. FR. 167 has:-

la † assis

Folio 99 recto detail enlarged.

Treatise 3 page 21

are surrounded, nor defeated by the devils and damned spirits, this lower hierarchy has been ordained for the celestial and divine beneficence, which unceasingly inspires, defends, helps, excites, reawakens and aids us as much as we are able to enter into the quadrangle of assurance. O how happy are the irreproachable knights who under that standard fight so that they can conquer the fort of the quadrangle of assurance, at whose entrance they can say. *Anima nostra sicut passer erepta est de laqueo venantium*¹ in which

folio 49 verso

abides and will be given and delivered the crown of eternal beatitude, the stole of peace and divine charity, together with the empire and reign of immortality. About Virtues. The first canton of the lower hierarchy is given and distributed to the virtues, who hold the number eight in the simplicity of numbers. And I know that among the blessed angels there is no distinction between sexes, like male and female, however inasmuch as the female receives the seed of the male, so also the angels are feminine with regard to the superiors, from whom they receive the divine virtues, which flow forth from the above mentioned six orders to them, not so that they may remain there, but so that they may be distributed with regard to the simple numbers by means of eight to the angels and archangels and as to the composed numbers by seven in the four first virtues, which then distribute them to the four first archangels, so as to communicate it to the first mobile, to the firmament and to the planets so

¹Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermones in festiuitate omnium sanctorum*, Bernardi opera, ed. J. Leclerc and H. M. Rochais, 1968, vol. 5, p. 327-370.

Sermo 2, par. 2, vol. 5, pp. 343, line 9:-

Legimus in Propheta CONVERTERE ANIMA MEA, IN REQUIEM TUAM, QUIA DOMINUS BENEFECIT TIBI, QUIA ERIPUIT ANIMAM MEAM DE MORTE, OCULOS MEOS A LACRIMIS, PEDES MEOS A LAPSU, et in alio Psalmo ANIMA NOSTRA SICUT PASSER EREPTA EST DE LAQUEO VENANTIUM.

See also Bernard of Clairvaux, Commentary in Ruth, codice Clagenfurtensi 13, cap. (ss) 2, lin. 376 and Sermons super Cantica canticorum sermo 52, par. 4, vol. 2, p. 92, l. 9.

Rupertas Tuitiensis, *De sancta trinitate et operibus eius*, CM 22, lib. 25, in librum Psalmorum p. 1398, l. 2365:-

Nempe quasi iam victorum est dixisse Anima nostra sicut passer erepta est de laqueo venantium.

Epistolarium Guiberti, *Epistolæ Guiberti*, epist. 47, l. 791.

This verse had been widely commented upon by other writers such as Tertullian.

as to vivify in the celestial world and then in the elementary world all that is capable of life. And I shall give you some information about this in dividing for you the composed numbers. You will not then adore heavens, stars and planets for their light, influx, movement or virtue, but on account of him, the one who is over the spiritual world, who sends to you, by his virtues, the true and imperceptible light, which makes the heavens more fertile and productive than the sun does the earth and bodies; this celestial light is only the representation of that which has love and charity in its crown, justice and equity in its right hand, and rigour and severity under its feet, and ascends by the virtuous and cumulative number eight by the eight beatitudes to the heights of heaven so that you can come to the profundity of the true and living light. What is more it is appropriate for you to know here that in all the blessed spirits there is double divine, spiritual and luminous virtue which flows from the incomprehensible unity. The first rests and terminates in it, and for this infusion of goodness and glory their mutability is established. The other is transfusible and irradiating by means of which the superiors distribute to the inferiors that which they have received from God, which may be simply by Septenaries, or which may be in compositions by quaternaries,

folio 50 recto

as will be shown to you in the two figures which are on folio¹ For the Seraphins, which make up the canton of Love, send Charity as virtue. The Cherubins which make up the canton of Wisdom, flash and scintillate Prudence.

1

**naires si comme
ou fuellet
mour ennoient**

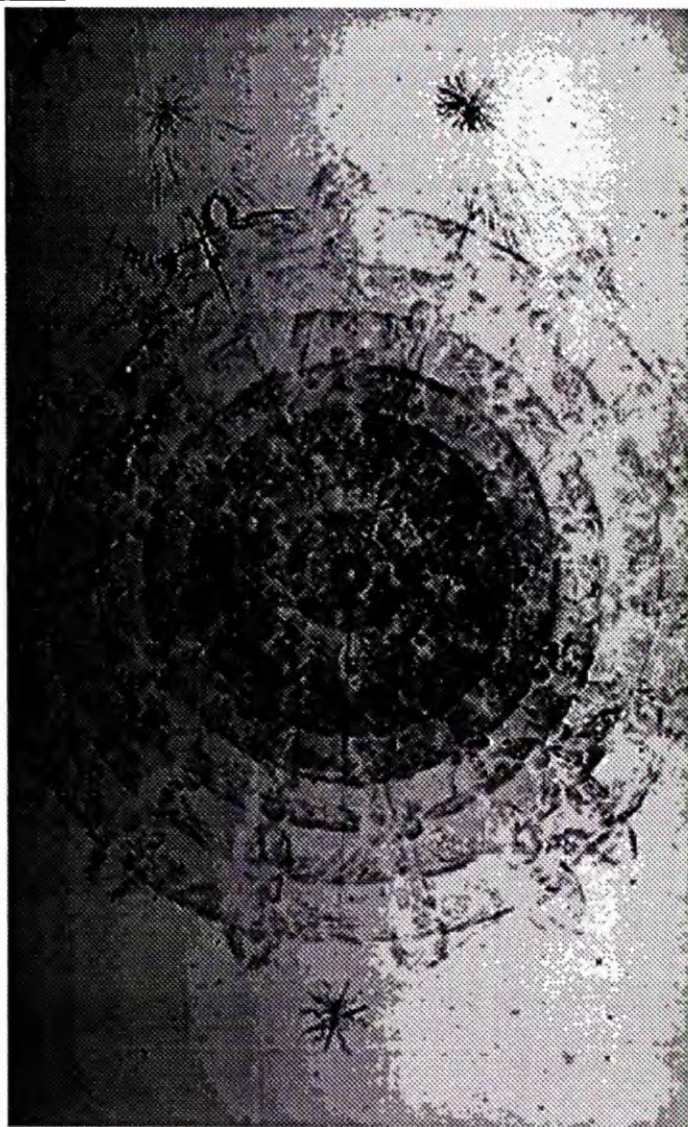
Folio 50 recto detail.

It may be seen from this detail that the folio number has been omitted. Reference should be made to folios 112 verso and 114 verso.

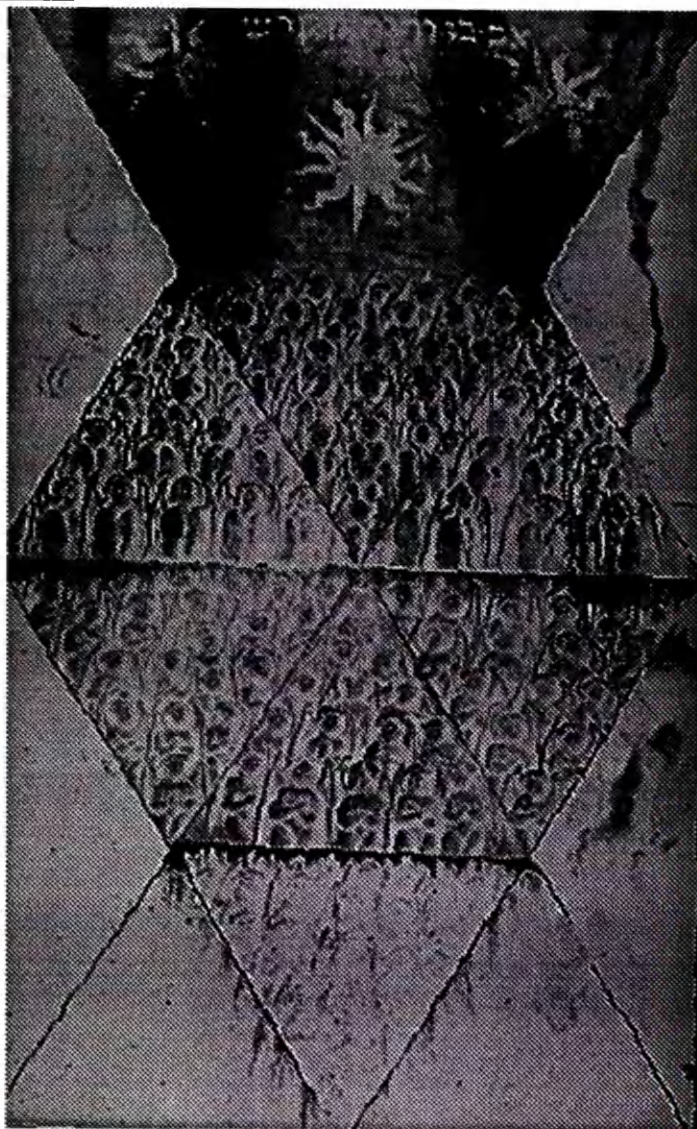
Geneva ms. Fr. folio 99 recto refers the reader to folio 102, where the following images are to be found:-

Treatise 3 page 23

The thrones of Equity send Justice. The Powers send Force. The Principalities send Temperance. The Dominations send Hope. For this reason the blessed angels, who confirm us in faith, the means from which all other virtues are transmitted to archangels and angels, are called angels and in Arithmantic Kabbalah cumulative numbers. About Archangels and angels. The Archangels and Angels make up the second and the third cantons, in which, beside their simple and connatural divine virtue and infusion, which establishes their species and persons, there are two other sorts. The first is their own, by which they induce us to obedience and show us the will, the secrets, the commandments and ordinances of God, which they know. And I know that all the blessed



Folio 102 recto reduced.



Folio 102 verso reduced.

The Hebrew letters at the top are אב בן ורוח הקדש (*Father, Son and Holy Spirit*) as may be seen from the following enhanced details.



Adjusted image.



High brightness, high contrast image.

spirits know them and yet they know more clearly than them for they always keep that knowledge with firm adhesion and immovable conformity to themselves and without revealing them. But the archangels and the angels reveal it to us so that by good obedience we may accomplish it. These are the ministers, custodians, guards, mediators, directors and coadjutors of human fragility, which they address in the contemplative life and in the active life. In the contemplative life, without any intermediary for they are spiritual and the souls also are spiritual and invisibly excite them to do good and to flee evil, to despise the world and to overcome sensuality and oneself. And when the archangels see that their inspirations, illuminations and excitations are effective in men they induce them to persevere. Then by the second transfusible Virtue, which they have received from the angelic Virtues, they confirm them and arm them with Faith, Hope, Temperance, Force, Justice, Prudence and Charity, together with the triumphal sign of T¹ so that notwithstanding the Virtue and the Power of the Princes of Darkness who dedicate themselves in their malice and unity, they will come to the supercelestial city of Jerusalem (which in the figure is called the holy land of the living) crowned with glory and blessing to share the reign with the

folio 50 verso

King of Kings (which is signified by the point and unity infinite and indivisible) from age to age where they will be not only equal with these angels, but many will exceed them in glory and perfection.

Margin has How all of Paradise is illuminated by the true Messiah.

The significance of this image is that ms. 5061 does not have Hebrew characters. Comparison may also be made with BN. ms. Fr. 882 folio 14 recto which has the Latin equivalents.

: de T tiel

Folio 50 recto detail enlarged.

For the angels, Seraphins and Cherubins are illuminated (according to your doctors) by Christ, God and man, not only as to divine nature, but also as to human, as your apostle, who is the trumpet of the Christian church said. Melior angelis effectus qto differencius pre illis nomen hereditavit.¹ And in the same manner some men by means of furious and ecstatic love adhering to him, will be able to exceed the blessedness and the felicity of the angels. From all these considerations it appears that the angels, who are images of God, and who manifest his hidden and occluded light, are in no way unity, but are from simple number and multitude. This multitude (which signifies that they are creatures) gives them double imperfection, for in the first place they

¹Vulgate has Heb. i 4:-

Tanto melior angelis effectus, quanto differentius præ illis nomen hereditavit.

Greek has Heb. i 4:-

ΤΟΣΟΥΤΩ ΚΡΕΙΤΤΩΝ ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΣ ΤΩΝ ΑΓΓΕΛΩΝ ὅσῳ ΔΙΑΦΟΡΩΤΕΡΟΝ ΠΑΡ' Αὐτοῦς ΚΕΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΗΚΕΝ ὄνομα.

NASB has Heb. i 4:-

Having become as much better than the angels, as He has inherited a more excellent name than they.

If Thenaud is assuming that the apostle described as *la trompette* of the Christian church was Paul, then this verse in particular has constructions that are not at all Pauline.

The correlative ΤΟΣΟΥΤΟ - ὅσον is not found anywhere else in Paul's writings.

The second word - κρείττων - although not un-Pauline (see I Co. vii 9, 38; xi 17; Ph. i 23) is a prominent word in the epistle to the Hebrews, occurring also at vi 9; vii 7, 19, 22; viii 6; ix 23; x 34; xi 16, 35, 40; xii 24. κρείττων (or κρείσσω) is the comparative of κρατός = κρατύτερος. Significantly He. i 4 is the first use of κρείττων (or κρείσσω) in the letter, and therefore merits special consideration. The second reason for according it special consideration is that He. i 4 marks the end of the introduction. He. i 5 initiates the discussion of the proper subject of the epistle, with a rhetorical question. This rhetorical question is in two parts. Both parts are from the Old Testament, and both parts are referred to elsewhere in the New Testament. See Ps. ii 7 with He. v 5, and II Sa. vii 14 (I Ch. xvii 13) with Ac. xiii 13. Thenaud has therefore selected a verse of notable significance. The use that he makes of it is equally noteworthy, in that it is distinct from classical Christian exegesis. Discussion of He. i 4 has rightly concentrated on what is meant here by the "name" διαφορώτερον ὄνομα. For instance, F. Delitzsch, in *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, vol. 1, Minneapolis, 1978, pp. 59-60, considers the possibility that the name intended is "son" (υἱός). He concludes that υἱός is not inappropriate, but that it is inadequate, just as he claims that the name Κύριος is inadequate for the ὄνομα τὸ ὑπὲρ πάντων ὄνομα in Ph. ii 9. Classical exegesis, and Thenaud's contemporaries, such as J. Stapulensis, *Epp. S. Pauli cum Commentariis*, Paris, 1512, D. Erasmus, *In Ep. Pauli Ap. ad Hebr. Paraphrasis extrema*, Basle, 1516, concentrate on connecting Jesus with the name more excellent than the angels. J. Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, bk. 1, ch. xiii, employs He. i 3 in his defence of *The Unity of the Divine Essence in Three Persons Taught, in Scripture, from the Foundation of the World*. Thenaud's use of He. i 4 is notably different in that he uses the superiority of Jesus over the angels, not to focus attention on Jesus, but to show that human rational souls can achieve superiority over angels. It is also noteworthy that although much of Thenaud's attention is given to angelic names he makes no use of this verse to establish the ineffable name.

Treatise 3 page 27

do not subsist of themselves, but they have their subsistence from others.

Margin has The luminous unity of God forms the angels without forms so that by it they are subsisting and intellectual.

Secondly they do not understand of themselves, seeing that they are the first intellect and understanding. But the unity and light of the uncreated Creator is communicated to this multitude by essence and by light so that every imperfection is reformed. In these angels there are, beside their essence, the intelligible species, which are like accidental qualities, by which their intellectual properties exceed, penetrate and seek out all things but they are like the eye, which dependent on the nature of light, has need of light for seeing. Also it is necessary for these intelligences to be converted by the love of God which is their light. Once converted thereto they are so fervently, stably and perpetually adherent and conjoined that their whole multitude is the more united therein, into unity, than matter is with form. Seeing and considering that Averroes said *Ex intellectu et intelligibili fit magis unum `q ex materia et forma,*¹ which is to say that the understanding and the thing understood make up one unit more than do matter and form, and what is more angelic understanding, rather than human, functions like this. It is also appropriate for you to contemplate the nine orders of angels, in accordance with the nine cantons, which I have spoken to you about above, or if you prefer

folio 51 recto

to follow your doctors according to the nine spheres as shown in the two figures which you will see below,² so that the principal of the order is like the whole sphere or canton; and the infinite knighthood over which it presides is

¹ *The understanding and the thing capable of being understood form a more perfect unit than do matter and form.* Raimundus Lullus. *Liber Reprobationis aliquorum errorum Auerrois* (op. 164) dist. 1, line 130.

Per istam autem probationem potest catholicus sustinere, quod intellectus magis debet asserere quod est intelligibile, quam sensibile uel imaginabile, cum ipse in causando scientiam sit tamquam forma, et sensus et imaginatio tamquam materia.

² These two images are lacking, though there is one on the verso. As Thenaud is here discoursing on different representations of cosmology by Hebrews and Catholics he no doubt intended to include images of the type which were used for this same subject in ms. Fr. 882 and which are copied below in miniature:-

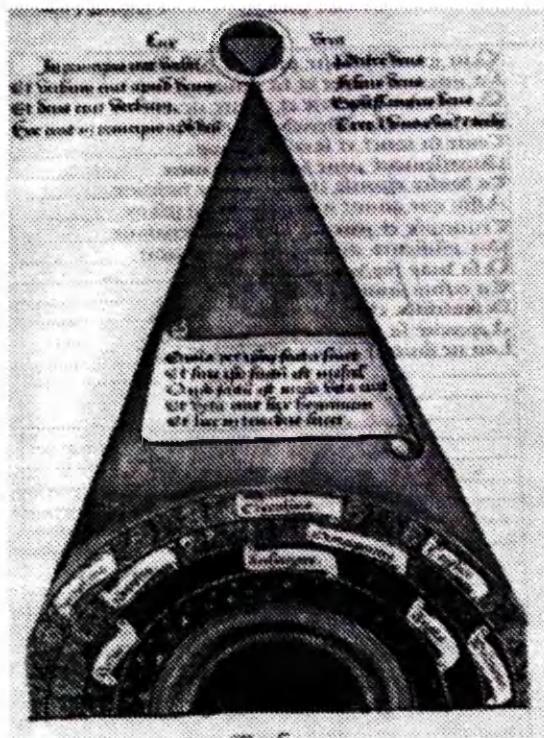
within that sphere, like the stars in the heaven, or like the fish in the sea and the birds in the air, sequestered and taken therefrom; however, there must be taken from this similitude and comparison, all imperfection and any imaginable imperfection. I intend that this contemplation be applied only to the six first orders of the high hierarchy and the middle hierarchy. Then one is to contemplate the low hierarchy being in the imperial heaven

margin has Note some formal difference between the angelic and the imperial heaven; I know that really they are only one.

which I shall describe to you, is neither purely spiritual, nor purely corporeal. All the blessed angels have this prerogative, which they contemplate; first there is the sovereign good by which they move in a stable and immobile manner by love and adhesion.

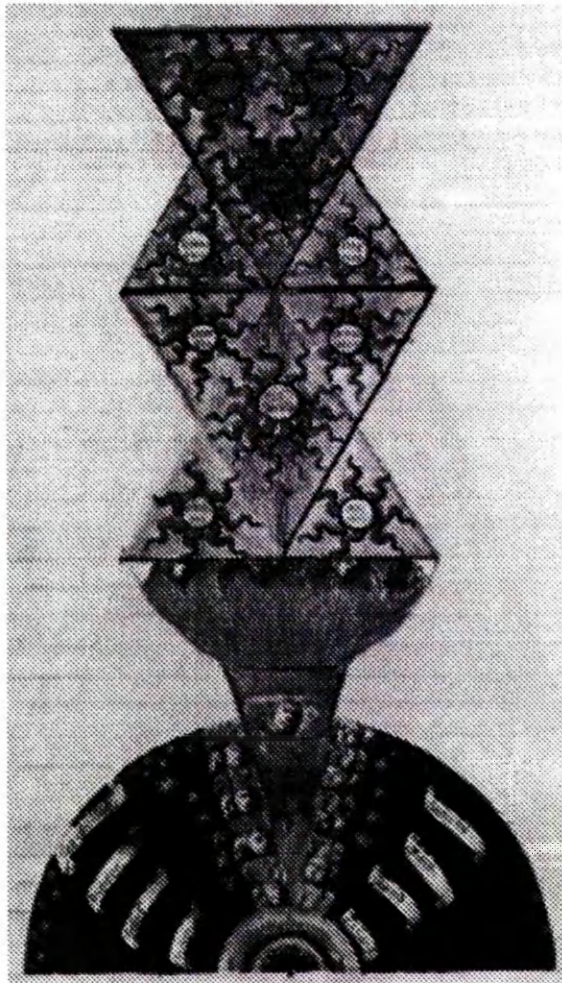
Margin has The Virtues and Operations of the Angels.

Secondly they purge, illuminate and perfect our rational and intellectual souls, that is to say those of the low hierarchy purge and cleanse our souls by means of good inspirations and purgative virtues. Those of the middle hierarchy illumine the souls already purged. Finally those of the high one make productive,



BN ms. Fr. 882 folio 21 verso.

perfect and vivify by means of a burning and gentle stir of love, so that they produce and give birth, not only to the heroic virtues, but also in themselves God, who clearly appears fully formed in them. These things come about without any intermediary. For they are works from the spirit to the spirit, as the apostle mentioned above said, *Omnes sunt administratorii spiritus in ministerium missi propter eos qui capiunt pignus hereditatis eterne.*¹ Thirdly they rule,



BN ms. Fr. 882 folio 22 recto.

¹ Vulgate has Heb. i 14:-

Nonne omnes sunt administratorii spiritus, in ministerium missi propter eos qui hereditatem capient salutis?

Greek has Heb. i 14:-

οὐχὶ πάντες εἰσὶν λειτουργικὰ πνεύματα εἰς διακονίαν ἀποστελλόμενα διὰ τοῖς μέλλουσας κληρονομεῖν σωτηρίαν;

NASB has Heb. i 14:-

Are not all ministering spirits, sent out to render service for the sake of those who will inherit salvation.

Thenaud has chosen a seemingly most apt verse, but further study reveals ground for criticism.

He. i 14 concludes a series of thoughts from the epistle to the Hebrews, which commenced with verse 4. See the note above. These ten verses are concerned with the Treatise 3 page 30

move and govern bodies, by means of common will and agreement; firstly the celestial ones, who are so obedient to their lives, substances, and intelligences, that they never find in them any delay, resistance or hindrance at all; then after that the other elementaries and the elements. For Plato, our doctors, and yours, even Augustine, Gregory and Origen on numbers say that there is no visible creature who is not under obedience and governance of some lively intelligence. But this government and administration is via the heavens for it

folio 51 verso

is necessary to conclude that some thing must mediate between things that are purely spiritual and those that are purely corporeal. By my words you can understand the chain of gold that Homer held in such high repute, which came from the heavens to earth. And the rings of Plato united and assembled by life and virtue of the creator. For the elementary world is governed by the celestial and the celestial by the angelic and all these worlds return to their unity, principal and origin. Everything in this lower world tends to the superior and everything in the superior which contains all the virtue and perfection of the inferior influences it.

relationship between the Son and the angels. The relationship is treated anti-thetically. In verse 6, by use of δέ, the Son is opposed to the angels:-

ὅταν δὲ πάλιν εἰσαγάγῃ τὸν πρωτότοκον εἰς τὴν οἰκουμένην, λέγει,
Καὶ προσκυνησάτωσαν αὐτῷ πάντες ἄγγελοι θεοῦ.

NASB has He. i 6:-

And when He again brings the first-born into the world, He says, "And let all the angels of God worship Him."

In verses 7 to 14 the angels are opposed to the Son, by means of the μέν ... δέ

7 καὶ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς ἀγγέλους λέγει, Ὁ ποιῶν τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ πνεύματα
καὶ τοὺς λειτουργοὺς αὐτοῦ πυρὸς φλόγα,

8 πρὸς δὲ τὸν υἱόν, ...

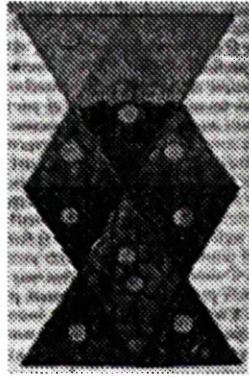
NASB has i 7:-

And of the angels He says, "Who makes His angels winds, and His ministers a flame of fire."

8 But of the Son ...

The first criticism therefore that may be made against Thenaud is that he does not observe the antithetical nature of the section He. i 4 to 14. He uses verses 4 and 14 to highlight the influence of angels on the lower hierarchies. This criticism is supported by study of the nature of the service referred to in verse 14. In verse 14 the *ministering spirits* are λειτουργικὰ πνεύματα. Λειτουργεῖν is the Septuagint word for שָׁרָף, which is used especially for the service of the sanctuary. The angels' service is discharged towards God and has the heirs of salvation for its object. Thenaud may therefore also be criticised for misrepresenting, not the final recipients of spiritual service, but the direction of it as given in this verse.

Treatise 3 page 31



See End Image folio 51 verso

About the Ten heavens and how they are pictured. How by knowledge thereof, even by that of the sun, one can come to know the angelic world.

Sixth chapter.

folio 53 sic recto¹

I have (the Hebrew then told me afresh) proceeded to give you knowledge of the angelic world by means of Ten, wherein is the infinite multitude of holy angels who live beatifically in the unique fountain of everlasting life. I know that they are distinct in three hierarchies, and in nine orders, and thus by means of that number you will have knowledge of that celestial world divided into ten spheres and heavens. The first, and the highest is permanent and stable (which is called the imperial heaven²) in which are the treasures and the fountain of all corporeal light, which descends and flows from the spiritual light, which is the virtue, perfection, power and the influx uniquely conjoined to the inferior heavens. The heaven is the unity of all the bodies. Thus it is that every multitude depends on unity, as from the first fountain as also does the legion on the captains, and the captains on the marshals, all the marshals on the constable, and the constable, with the whole army on the King. So also it

¹Folio 52 not paginated.

²*le ciel imperial.*

is evident that all wills are ruled by one, which is the principal, and all the subaltern and created unities are reduced to the simple sole uncreated unity and all the members to the head. So also that which is imperfect, divided and particular with regard to Virtue, Influx and Light in the nine heavens is quite uniquely entire, perfect and generally in this heaven, so that with regard to the angelic world it can be said to be a cumulative number and related to the celestial unity.

Margin has There are ten heavens, of which the first is the imperial, which contains the perfection of all the others, and is the fountain of light and they are very well described by the prophet Zechariah.

In the figure of these ten heavens the prophets Zechariah, in the fourth chapter of his prophecies, saw a golden candelabra, which had seven branches, and on each one there was a light, upon which lights there was a glowing lamp, and on the lamps there were two olives. By the seven lights are intended the seven planets. By the lamp is intended the star, heaven or the firmament. By the two olives from which the oil (which is the nourishment of the light) flows into the lamp, and from the lamp into the lights, is intended the crystal heaven otherwise called the first mobile, together with that world which I have called Empire. But remember that diverse fountains cannot be derived from one and the same type of water-source or

folio 53 verso

primal source, but the one resembles the other; so it is necessary to conclude that from these two heavens pictured by the two olives, the one is the commencement of light,¹ and this is, according to some authorities, the 'empire'² one whilst the other is that of movement,³ which is the crystalline⁴ one. For many philosophers have said and have concluded that the celestial world does not have effect upon the elementary, except by light and by movement,

¹*lumiere.*

²*l'empireal.*

³*de mouvement.*

⁴*le cristalin.*

but if this were so and the influx of the celestial light ceased, all life and heat would perish, and if movement also ceased, so also would all movement down below so that there would be no heart or lung which could beat or breathe. So it is appropriate for you to know that cold is not at all contrary to this celestial heat, which contains in itself all the elementary virtues by means of its most simple eminence, just as light holds all the colours. Without this heat and movement the peony, or the esinaud, cannot deal with decay, and the hyacinth¹ cannot staunch the flow of blood and rhubarb cannot have effect on those who suffer from choler.

Margin has Every Virtue which is in the elementary world spread abroad here and there is perfectly in each star or planet of heaven and all the virtuous stars and planets are joined to the sovereign heavens to make this perfection of angelic virtues.

The tenth heaven is therefore the source of the lower life and the primal unity of corporeal light. And the ninth receives it by the essence of all its substance and thirdly it comes by means of full participation of the sun by which fourthly it is distributed to all the stars and planets. And for this reason many claim that the virtue, which is spread abroad here and there in the planets and stars is assembled and united in the sun. The eighth heaven is called the firmament, where the fixed stars dwell, where the poets claim the Elysian fields and the abode of the living are found as our David wrote. Credo videre bona domini in terra viuencium² and your evangelist Beati mittes quoniam ipsi possidebunt

¹ From the Greek ὑάκινθος hyacinth for the flower and the gem. In ancient mythology the flower is said to have sprung from the shed blood of the youth Hyacinthus, and the ancients thought they could decipher the word *Ai* or *Aiai* on the petals, as an exclamation of grief. Ovid *Met.* x 215. 217-219 has:-

nec genuisse pudet Sparte Hyacinthon: honorque durat in hoc ævi, celebrandaque more priorum annua prælata redeunt Hyacinthia pompa.

Sparta, too, was proud that Hyacinthus was her son, and even to this day his honour still endures; and still, as the anniversary returns, as did their sires, they celebrate the Hyacinthinia in solemn festival.

Thenaud's relating the ability of the hyacinth to staunch blood is a modification of the original tale. In Latin *hyacinthus*, was also the ancient name of a precious stone of a blue colour, probably the sapphire. The 1609 Douai Bible has Ecclus. xlv 12 *An holie robe of gold and hyacinthe*. Wycliff, 1388, had *iacynt*. Vulgate Ecclus. xlv 12 has *Stolam sanctam auro, et hyacintho, et purpura, opus textile viri sapientis, iudicio et veritate prædita*.

² Vulgate has Ps. xxvi 13:-

Credo videre bona Domini in terra viventium.

terram.¹ These stars make, due to their situation, images and pictures of various animals, which are called the signs of the Zodiac, which are only the painting of the Virtues, which are in the other two preceding heavens, which to our exterior senses cannot be known. Do not be surprised nor dismayed if I call this firmament which is the eighth heaven earth. For the Virtues or Qualities which are imperfectly in the elements are perfectly in the eight heavens, which I have to tell you about concerning these lower qualities which flow from the superior Virtues. There is no movement more perfect than the circular, and no sensitive quality

folio 54 recto

more perfect than light, of which we see two in heaven.

Margin has The elementary world and the four elements which are here below imperfectly are perfectly in heaven.

Moreover you should know that in each part of the celestial world, which is indivisible, incorruptible and unchangeable there is the elementary world, for the least part of it, be it star, planet or some other part, has more virtue, activity and power than all the above mentioned world. For this reason Pythagoras said that in any star there were mountains, valleys, forests, birds, rivers, fish and all the things that are down here. The superior angels have all the perfection of the inferiors. Also as the Pope has full authority over the prelates of the church, the king has full sovereignty over the princes of his kingdom and so the celestial world together with each part thereof has the

¹ Vulgate has Mt. v 4:-

Beati mites, quoniam ipsi possidebunt terram.

Greek has Mt. v 5:-

μακάριοι οἱ πραεῖς, ὅτι αὐτοὶ κληρονομήσουσιν τὴν γῆν.

Leaving aside the question of the transposition of Mt. v 4 and 5 in various sources as not being relevant to this study, the following observations are relevant:-

It is curious that Thenaud's "Hebrew" did not use Ps. xxxvi 11 if he wanted further Old Testament illustration concerning the land of the living and those who inhabited it. Vulgate has Ps. xxxvi 11:-

Mansueti autem hereditabunt terram, et delectabuntur in multitudine pacis.

This is evidence that the "Hebrew" was either well aware of the New Testament, which would support the claim that he was a convert to Christianity, or that Thenaud is putting the words into the mouth of a fictitious "Hebrew".

Treatise 3 page 35

perfect qualities, which are imperfect in the elements. This presupposed I will show you that if we want to consider the imperfection of the earth, that is to say that it is the lowest of the contemptible and obscure elements, the moon will be the celestial body with perfection. Mathematicians support this when they say that the moon is governor of those things that have life, or which prepare matter for life, which is the lowest, most vile and imperfect matter in the universe. Mercury which is variable, inconstant and changeable and which prepares matter by qualities, that is to say by warmth, cold, damp and dryness to receive the form is the celestial water. For this reason the poet Lucan¹ said that Mercury is the moderator and judge of water. Venus, for its temperance which prepares by order, figure, composition, beauty and every quantity the above mentioned matter ready to receive form is the celestial air. The sun is the celestial fire for self evident reasons. On the contrary, if we wish to take and to consider the four elements on account of their perfection, we shall find them in heaven, that is to say, fire in Mars, air in Jupiter, water in Saturn. These three superior planets address and govern form, that is to say that Saturn is the principal producer of that form, Jupiter gives to that form power to vivify. And Mars power to move, to work and also to desire. The firmament which is slow in its movement and variegated with innumerable stars, is again the celestial earth, if it is taken in its dignity and

folio 54 verso

margin has Praise of the earth and how it is a star.

perfection. And I know that the earth, though it may be the last of the elements, is most excellent; so Pythagoras said (following Aristotle in his book *de caelo et mundo*) that the earth is one of the lesser of the stars which are in the universe and he wished to conclude and to infer that if any one was elevate to the place where the stars are, he would see the earth surrounded with clear and shining waters from the sun which reverberate upon it. And not only the rays of the sun, but those of all the lights and the celestial spheres which turn

¹ 39-65. Latin poet born at Cordoba, nephew of Seneca. Author of *Pharsalus*, an epic description of the struggle between Caesar and Pompei.

with marvellous harmony and velocity around it, so that it produces victuals in such great abundance that they are sufficient for all living things. It is around it that Apollo, with his muses, performs his enticing dance. It is the dance that Plato described as the oldest of the goddesses that are under the heavens, that is to say that it is a member of the universe, having a soul which produces more than a thousand diverse things, as may be seen from plants, trees, flowers and fruits; in it are gathered together the odours of the Indies, the spices of Ethiopia, the medicines of the Orient. In it are lakes, rivers, fountains and seas, where one finds fish of all sorts. Also there are places to produce things and to nourish beasts, both wild and domestic, so as to maintain the diverse species of melodious birds. In it there are houses, cities, palaces, temples and buildings, which compare and contrast with heaven; as for beauty there are men, who are wise, prudent, memorable, reasonable, full of reason and counsel; animals who are marked and signed with the light of Almighty God, may dwell there for a while. In its outer being it is sometimes elevated to heaven and other times taken down to the infernal regions. In other places it is flat, united, worked, cultivated, covered with vines, with cereals and with pastures. Within it is full of marble, alabaster, ordinary and precious stones, gold, silver, iron, copper, metal, lead and other metals. All clothing, be it precious or otherwise, for the clothing of humankind, together with all forms of foodstuff, be they delicacies or ordinary, are found therein. And finally Platon said of it in his *Timæus* *Diuini decoris*

folio 55 recto

ratio postulabat talem fieri mundum qui visum patereturet tactum Constabat autem neqz aliquid videri posse absqz ignis beneficio neqz tangi sine solido et solidum nichil esse sine terra. Unde corpus igni et terra frabricator incipiens zc.¹ From these words it appears how the elementary world is in the celestial. But it is necessary to know how this celestial world is governed by the angelic,

¹*Rationality assumed that the world was made in such a way that it is open to sight and depends upon the touch. But nothing can be seen without the help of the fire and nothing can be touched if it is not solid, and nothing is solid if it is not made of earth. Therefore the substance at the beginning was constituted by earth and fire.*

which influences its life and movement. And in this way you will know all the true distinction and union of the three worlds, and you, who are a fourth world will be able, by means of visible light to mount up to the invisible and by the celestial sun to the eternal. The excellence and the spirituality of light. Firstly light between sensible things, is best, clean, pure and moreover elevated. Secondly, it spreads abroad suddenly and in just a moment and instant.

Margin has Five dignities of light

Thirdly it spreads abroad, offers and gives itself so softly and graciously that all creatures derive joy from it when it appears; some have wanted to say the light is the ray of the supercelestial and celestial creatures, just as the heavens, the sun and the stars, which are like the eyes of the angelic world and cannot be restrained from laughing, dancing, harmonizing and delighting on account of the joy which their spiritual intelligences have, is totally glorious and beatific. Fourthly it attracts to itself and then gives out a live, fruitful and active warmth, by means of which all things live, grow and flourish and produce their effects and are conserved according to their season; finally it is not joined, united or mixed for descent or penetration, which it does here below into glass, crystal or any other such thing, but remains in itself without spot. In this manner the divine clarity, truth and good infinitely exceed all created things in which they are distributed and to which they are communicated in attracting them to itself by charity, fervent love and gentleness, without force or violence of any sort. And I know that some philosophers have said that light is the only clean, sudden and full dilation

folio 55 verso

of the celestial bodies here below coming into transparent, clear and coloured bodies. However this definition is not sufficient to explain its quiddity and essence.

Margin has Light can only be defined by negatives.

For this reason others have defined it and described it by means of negatives saying that light is neither body nor quality, passion, perspicuity, transparence,

colour nor the simple image of celestial bodies, so they preferred to define and to make it known more by negatives, than by affirmatives, just as Saint Dennis and other doctors did for God. For just as there is nothing more evident and more widely recognized than that God exists, so also there is nothing so unknown as who he is. What is more light communicates with and gives itself more to things which are far off from matter and things of the earth than to those things that are removed from spiritual ones, for this is the reason why heaven and fire are more light filled than air and water. The earth is never luminous at its centre or concavity; I know that it receives the ardent and warming rays of light for otherwise the metals, precious stones, roots and beasts therein would not be productive, nor would the sparks of fire be found in rocks and sulphurous places; however above the earth in its surface and on its circumference are found colours for the mixing and union of the four elements - these are resisted which is the cause of reflections and mutual and reciprocal reverberations.

Margin has Light and colour

Colour is thick and dense light. Light is a spiritual thing, inasmuch as it is invisible, and as it is separated from matter and colour. And just as the flame is to coal, so is light to the flame. Moreover it is necessary for you to know that I know that light produces warmth; so light and warmth are not of one and the same quality.

Margin has Light and warmth.

For light spreads abroad in an instant and cannot be observed, but warmth does so gradually and over time. Also when light goes forth from air or from metal, the heat remains there for a long time afterwards and thus the light at one point and part of the air forms infinite forms, by which the eye can see infinite sensible sorts. Moreover heat can pass through many substances, such as iron, stone or wood, which light cannot, but light spreads abroad and goes forth more incomparably

folio 56 recto

in such a way that when it finds no resistance or object which prevents its diffusion, then it has great effect by the accumulation of its rays so as to show that it is not at its end nor at the limit of its spaciousness. Light is a spiritual thing operating with the passion on the celestial bodies and has an inseparable effect on the associated emanation. It does not receive fusing, mixing and union with any other, but remains always in its entirety. For if three candles or flames together are used for lighting, the lights from them do not mingle and fuse, but strengthen one another, so that if one of them is taken away, its rays go with it and the first light is the more diminished.

margin has The light of divers candles or flames is not mixed and the one is not confused with the others.

Also three or four candles will make as many shadows of something which is between them and will throw upon the wall opposite three or four rays, which pass through a slit or crack of a table, which is placed between them and a wall and this without confusion of the rays. More of such marvellous things are in the light and the eye and one sees that, as the scripture has ordained, God started the work of creation by light, when it says according to Moses: Fiat lux.¹ The rays united and assembled in a mirror or in a concave phial, can burn something, be it far from that mirror, so that this shows that celestial and luminous bodies wish to produce here below suns and such like lights.

Margin has The power of luminous eyes.

And God who is the true living and life giving light produces infinite intellectual and living lights. The ostrich, by means of the warmth which it casts from its eyes, hatches its eggs. Also the lynx and the wolf send out therefrom venom and dangerous poison. Democritus knew that the eye of a young girl, whom all considered to be a youngster, was her cause of corruption. Light moreover is the universal bond, and thereby celestial and superior things are joined and united by the blood and the humours to the body. It is therefore also necessary for you to know that there are five lights so ordained that one can thereby ascend from the inferior to the most high and superior one.

Margin has There are in the universe five lights so that one can ascend

¹ Vulgate has Ge. i 3:-

Dixitque Deus: Fiat lux. Et facta est lux

from the lowest to the highest

The first and lowest is called the material and corporeal elementary one which we can see with our eyes, which are elementary and this is the fountain of

folio 56 verso

all colours and visible things. The second, which we are barely able to see, is the celestial, which is not in any material fashion as I have told you about in the start of this chapter. The heaven is only a circular, round and spherical light, or a circle of light which is governed, ruled and addressed by the intelligences. This light is abundance of life and virtue spread abroad from the angelic world so that it may be distributed to all bodies. The third is rational without matter, body and quantity and this is the soul. And just as light without restraint, crowd or oppression withdraws to its point of origin, and suddenly goes forth and spreads out without alteration and without extension, so it is with the soul and the body, which it fills and that in its entirety. And just as the rays of light adjust and mingle their warmth with the air and not at all with light, so also the soul gives and distributes to the body life and not intelligence. And like the light which descends from an ample and spacious place passes through a slit or a window and then spreads out into all the house, so also the soul, which is a light dependent on the divine, does this for the body; when separated from it, it is greatly extended and without quantity. So then the soul to the body is like light and darkness, good and evil, life and death, eternity and time, and moon and earth. This should therefore be converted into the everlasting sun, so that it may be illuminated. For just as the light of the stars and of the planets originates from the sun and returns thereto according to the philosophers so also the light of the souls comes from God and from the blessed angels, which hereabove should turn and be directed not simply to this obscure and shadowy world. The fourth light is called angelic and this is without body, quantity, without mutation, dimension and time, which is moreover clearer than the others just described, and is as the light of the sun which exceeds the obscurity and darkness of the earth. This light is living

fountain, clear verity and formal intelligence. And just as the rays of the sun, without movement, and in an instant, go here and there without leaving their sun and carry out their diverse roles and in a variety of colours according to the places where they

folio 57 recto

pass and where they meet so also (but more perfectly) do the blessed angels who govern us, without ever being diverted or separated from God the sun eternal. The fifth and final light from which all others flow and which are only small sparks thereof, is the divine, which is uniquely everywhere, and over all things, which by its goodness gives itself according to their capacity and infinitely more to those things that are made as well as to those that are not made, visible or invisible. This is the life by means of which everything lives. The eye by which all others see. The spirit by which and in which all others breathe and respire. The fountain of existence. This is the infinitely loving, infinitely luminous, infinitely joyous and delectable light, in which and nowhere else is perfect beatitude and felicity, of which David said Domine in lumine tuo videbimus lumen.¹ For just as the sun is to the eyes, so is God to angelic and human spirits. About the sun. And I know that one can know God in all his creatures and works as the sovereign creator and maker, for there is no sensible thing by means of which one can come to know him but means of light for the sun is the lamp, the furnace and the source of all celestial and elementary light, for the following reasons.

Margin has By the knowledge of the sun one comes to the knowledge of God

Firstly just as God is one in essence and three in persons, so also in the sole substance of the sun there are three united and distinct things. That is to say

¹ Vulgate has Ps. xxxv 10:-

Quoniam apud te est fons vitæ; et in lumine tuo videbimus lumen.

NASB has Ps. xxxvi 9:-

For with Thee is the fountain of life; In Thy light we see light.

Hebrew has Ps. xxxvi 10:-

כִּי־עַמְּךָ מִקְדֹּר סִיִּים בְּאוֹרְךָ נִרְאֶה־אֹרֶךְ:

its natural fecundity; the productive cause of trees, plants and other things which cannot be perceived by the eye. Then there is the clarity and the light shown which represents for us the Son who took visible human nature, just as the sun was eclipsed when it came into that nature. Finally there is the warmth which shows us the Holy Spirit. Secondly the ancient poets painted and placed next to the sun (otherwise known as Apollo) nine muses, just as in the angelic heaven there are the nine orders of angels, in whom shine forth firstly the divine glory. Thirdly just as without the sun one cannot see nor know

folio 57 verso

perfectly anything at all, so also without divine truth and illumination all things are vanity and lies. Fourthly just as the son has principally seven effects and operations which are to Lighten, to Warm, to Produce, to Elevate vapours, to Vivify, to Dilate and to Rejoice. We also have the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, which are Wisdom, Understanding, Counsel, Force, Knowledge, Pity, and Fear.¹ And as divine grace, by means of these gifts, rejoices all good spirits, so also the coming of the sun vivifies and rejoices all who seemed dead and lost. Fifthly, the sun always passes through the middle of the Zodiac without deviating to the right or to the left, as the other planets do, and moreover its entry is in Aries and its dwelling in Leo. Aries is the chief of the signs, and rules the head in man. And Leo rules the heart. Sixthly all the Clarity and Virtue of stars and planets comes from the sun, for just as the sun is their unity which contains uniquely all virtues and perfections, so also God is the source of all goodness, truth, perfection and beauty according to the words of one of your apostles Omne donum optiz et omne datum perfectum desursum est descendens a patre luminum.² For this reason some of the ancient philosophers said that the sun was the soul of the world and the throne of

¹See End Note *Sephioroth*.

²Vulgate has Js. i 17:-

Omne datum optimum, et omne donum perfectum, desursum est, descendens a Patre luminum, apud quem non est transmutatio, nec vicissitudinis obumbratio.

NASB has Js. i 17:-

Every good thing bestowed and every perfect gift is from above, coming down from the Father of lights, with whom there is no variation, or shifting shadow.

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justice. Finally just as all the planets which are in accord with the sun by ternary or sextile¹ aspect, which are of friendship and benevolence are most fortunate, and those which regard it from quaternary and opposite aspect are enemies and are of ill fortune. So it is with those who conform to the will of God and with those who resist him. Moreover in the same way there is nothing more opposite to the sun than the darkness of the earth. So also there is nothing more contrary to the divine goodness than the deformity of sin. The sun is like the king of the celestial world, who has his advance guard, for some planets go before him, who thereby have augmented virtue. And he has his rear guard for some follow him. For this reason David said In sole posuit tabernaculum suum.² This celestial world then is like the union of the two other worlds.

¹Sextile aspect of a heavenly body is a separation of sixty degrees or one tenth part of the Zodiac.

Milton, *Paradise Lost*, x 659. *Thir planitarie motions and aspects in Sextile, Square, and Trine, and Opposite.*

²Vulgate has Ps. xviii 5:-

In omnem terram exivit sonus eorum, et in fines orbis terræ verba eorum.

6. In sole posuit tabernaculum suum; et ipse tanquam sponsus procedens de thalamo suo.

NASB has Ps. xix 4:-

Their line has gone out through all the earth, And their utterances to the end of the world.

In them He has placed a tent for the sun,

5 Which is as a bridegroom coming out of his chamber.

Hebrew has Ps. xix 4:-

בְּכָל-הָאָרֶץ וַיֵּצֵא קוֹם וּבִקְצֵה תֵּבֵל מִלִּיהֶם לְשִׁמֶשׁ שֶׁם-אֱהֶל בָּהֶם:

Fourth treatise.

folio 57 (bis) recto¹

Here starts the fourth treatise, which is the practice of the Kabbalah. Definition of the Kabbalah; how the Law was formerly given in three ways. The difference between the Kabbalists and the Talmudists.²

First chapter

After the venerable and very profound Hebrew had spoken of and had finished likening and comparing the light or the sun to the spiritual and angelic world, together with those things that are known and that have appeared to me in this elementary world, he lead me and instructed me in the angelic, of which he told me all the states of the cantons, hierarchies, orders and species. I said thus to him:- Rabbi and master, it is a small thing to know and to have in one's understanding the knowledge of theology, which is holy and moral, if it cannot be practised and put into effect, so that one may be a holy and moral theologian, also so that one may have the aid, vision and propitiation of Almighty God and of his blessed angels, which you have told me of and revealed to me in so many mysteries. For this reason, may it please you to tell me of the practical holy Kabbalah, as you have done for the speculative,³ so that I may draw to

¹The pagination is in error here. This folio should be '58 recto' but it is given as 'fo. lvii' as may be seen from the following detail.

fo. lvi.

²Thenaud has '... *cabalistes et thamuldistes*', as does the table of contents folio K recto.

³Here Thenaud divides the Kabbalah into the two parts of the *practical* and the *speculative*. Pico and Reuchlin also acknowledged this two fold division, but regarded the division to be according to whether the Kabbalah was derived from the *Sephiroth* (practical) or from the *Shemoth* (speculative). C. Wirszubski, *Pico della Mirandola's Encounter with Jewish Mysticism*, Harvard, in association with The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1989, ch. 12 'Mysticism and Magic' considers the connection between the practical and the contemplative aspects of Kabbalah. His conclusion was that contemplative activity was practical Kabbalah.

This division between the contemplative and the practical was accentuated later in the sixteenth century in France. As Lange points out the typical Florentine well-balanced presentation of the two types of Kabbalah was not wholeheartedly followed by the Frenchman Lefèvre Treatise 4 page 1

myself the glorious spirits, or so that I may be lifted up to them, so that in all my necessary activities, or in my spiritual pleasures I may delight therein. And he replied to me. The difficulty, the labour and the burning desire which are required for coming to our science, constrain and force me to reveal to you that which has hitherto been missing and hidden not only to those who are not in any way of our law, but to the masters and to the people. This is the secret of our Kabbalah, which is as much as saying 'reception', which can be defined thus: Kabbalah is the knowledge¹ and understanding² of God together with the substances separated from the spiritual world and from its secrets.³ This cannot be grasped or known by external sense,⁴ nor by experience, reason,

d'Étaples in his 1494 commentary on Ficino's translation of Poimander. This trend was continued in the sixteenth century by Lefèvre's follower Symphorien Champier, who sought to distance himself from what appeared to be medieval magical practices. Similarly 1550 saw the publication of the *Clavicula Salomonis* a Jewish pseudosolomonic work, together with Agrippa von Nettesheim's *in duos tomos concinne digesta Opera*, or *Ars notoria* Lyon. In contrast to the Florentines, von Nettesheim was concerned to achieve practical results. Other possible divisions recognized by Reuchlin were threefold (folio 64 recto *Sed Rabi Ioseph Bar Abraham Salematinus & Cabalistarum multo maxima pars sequunt Salomonem regem*) and fivefold (folio 64 recto

Alii uero quinque Cabalæ partes exhibuerunt ut Rab Hamai in libro Speculationis quas ita nominat

תיקון וצירוף ומאמר ומכלל וחשבון

i. Rectitudo & combinatio & oratio & sententia & supputatio.)

¹science.

²cognoissance.

³J. Reuchlin in *De Verbo Mirifico*, sig. a 8 verso, has:-

Capnion: concedam ingeniosis uiris in actionibus cautionem: circumspectionem: providentiam. In studiis: sagacitatem: sollertiam. In consyderatione rerum omnium docilitatem: artem: intelligentiam: opinionem. At vero de quibuslibet sensibilibus constantem, puram et infallibilem scientiam homini negavero, nisi non humana disciplina, sed divina traditione iugiter ab uno, et item ab altero fuerit recepta, quam nos hebræi Cabalam appellamus, id est receptionem.

Thenaud follows this same line of reasoning, which is based on the claim that genuine knowledge can only be derived from the divine realm. The divinity is concerned with humankind, and heeds prayer. Capnion (Reuchlin) refutes the notion that real knowledge may be obtained through the contemplation of natural things. Thenaud follows Reuchlin in denying that law and moral philosophy may be taken as a sound basis, for they are dependent on the custom and will of man. Similarly, metaphysics, which is concerned with states and forms, deals with matters which lie outside of human experience, nature and comprehension.

Thenaud's folio 64 verso to folio 67 verso infra reflect this belief.

Second treatise Practice of the Kabbalah - Third chapter - *How the Kabbalah surpasses in dignity, holiness and perfection all other sciences, so that in comparison to it they are not worthy of being called sciences* follows the argument of Reuchlin's *de verbo mirifico* sig. a 3 verso to b 3 recto.

⁴Thenaud follows J. Reuchlin, *De Arte Cabalistica*, folio 7 recto, which has:-

Treatise 4 page 2

demonstration, syllogism, study or by any other reasonable or human way, but by faith alone, by celestial revelation and illumination, which moves free will¹ to believe he who is inspired and to know

folio 57 (bis) verso²

the above mentioned secrets by the holy and written law of God, as well as by the figures, names, numbers, symbols and other ways, which have been divinely and supercelestially given and revealed to the fathers, patriarchs, prophets and doctors of the Hebrews about the above mentioned law. Another definition. Kabbalah is diuine reuelacionis ad salutiferam dei et formarum separatarum contemplacionem tradite symbolica receptio.³ And so that these definitions are not too obscure for you, it is appropriate for you to know that all nations, languages, sects, peoples and congregations have some agreements,

This is a good opportunity to discuss the matters that were worrying you that you wanted to talk about, now that I have warned you that Kabbalah cannot be discovered by the senses, (nec sensum rudi) nor by the domineering of clever logical arguments, (nec imperiosis logici artificii argumentis esse quærendam) that its basis in fact lies in the third region of understanding, a place where cogent judgment, the burden of evidence, and syllogistic exposition hold no sway—not even reason rules there. This knowledge is nobler; where the light of the mind falls upon the intellect, and moves our free will to believe. What is perceived by means of the senses is science, and is determined by reasoning, but what the mind influences we put higher than science: such things are more real than rational discourse. I have persevered with this a little to stop you from thinking that divine matters are subject to the finding of weak humanity and to the so-called rules of logic.

¹le liberal arbitre.

²See the first footnote to this treatise.

³J. Reuchlin, *De Arte Cabalistica*, folio 6 verso.

dicuntur. Est enim Cabala diuine reuelationis, ad salutiferam dei & formarum separatarum contemplationem tradita, symbolica receptio, quam qui celestis forniuntur afflatu, recte nomine Cabalici dicuntur, eorum uero discipulos cognomento Cabalæos appellabimus, & qui alioquin eos imitari conantur Cabalistæ nominandi sunt. Perinde atque circa editos illorum ser-

... Kabbalah is a matter of divine revelation handed down to further the contemplation of the distinct Forms and of God, contemplation bringing salvation; Kabbalah is the receiving of this through symbols. Those who are given this by the breath of heaven are known as Kabbalics (Cabalici) ; their pupils we will call Kabbalæans (Cabalæos) ; and those who attempt the imitation of these are properly called Kabbalists (Cabalistæ)). ...

Treatise 4 page 3

devices, terms, forms of jargon or symbols, patents or secrets by which they make themselves understood, are recognised and are in accord, which ways are unknown or unrecognised by others who are not of their sect or congregation. Example. The Egyptians formerly had two sorts of letters; some were holy and were for the priests along with the sages; the others were for the common people, who could see the holy ones, but without understanding them. Another example. At the present time princes and men of high standing have certain characters by which they can safely reveal their secrets in letters, which they send one to another, and which cannot be known except by good and highly expert decryptographers, or by those to whom their secret has been passed. In our case God gave the law to Moses, in which there is made mention of the creation of the world, of Adam and of his company, of the terrestrial Paradise, of the tree of life of Noah and the Flood, of his children, of the division of languages, of the election, sanctity, promises and devotion of the patriarchs, together with many other matters. But it was so written by the self same Moses, that, beside containing the sense of history, it teaches, and instructs the sages, who are servants of God and who are devoted to the knowledge of God, of angels, of spirits, and of the secrets of nature, so that in profound contemplation of the above mentioned law, one finds all that knowledge and beatitude which can be known for the present state, which will be the way, the light and the assurance for the future. The above mentioned law was given to Moses

margin has The law has been given in three ways,

folio 58 recto

Firstly, in fire as it is written: De dextera eius ignea lex.¹ For above the great

¹ Vulgate has Dt. xxxiii 2:-

Et ait: Dominus de Sinai venit, et de Seir ortus est nobis; apparuit de monte Pharan, et cum eo sanctorum millia. In dextera ejus ignea lex.

NASB has Dt. xxxiii 2:-

And he said,

"The LORD came from Sinai,

And dawned on them from Seir;

He shone forth from Mount Paran,

Treatise 4 page 4

clear and luminous fire, which was fully stretched out on Mount Sinai like a heaven it was written with strange fire with letters scattered here and there. And each one could be joined, united and assembled with those letters so that different sentences were formed according to divine inspiration and grace.¹ Secondly it was given in spirit to this Moses, who knew how to understand

And He came from the midst of ten thousand holy ones;

At His right hand there was flashing lightning for them."

¹This early acknowledgement of the primacy of Hebrew is modified as Thénau develops this work. In folio 60 verso/ 61 recto the primacy of Hebrew letters is maintained, with the Greek, Latin, Egyptian and Arabic letters being regarded as mere human inventions:-

Les lettres grecques latines degipte ou darabie ont este inuencions dhombres ou de femmes si comme des phenices de Cadmus de Ysis oy de Nycostrate mais les lettres hebraïques (esquelles est

folio 61 recto

contenu et comprins celluy langage dont dieu et ses anges ont parle a Adam a Noe Abraham Moyse a tous les patriarches prophetes et saints des la creacion du monde et qui plus est par lequel il crea diuisa et orna la machine mondiale et dont noz peres ont use sont si tressainctes quelles doibuent estre adorees et les dictionns noms et oracions sainctes composees par icelles ne doibuent mye estre transmuees en aultre langue affin quelle ne perdent leurs puissances et diuines vertuz qui leur sont adioinctes

...

At the end of folio 62 recto Thénau introduces the notion of the antiquity of Greek and Latin albeit corrupted:-

Il ne fault point doncques chercher antiquite es lettres grecques ou latines lesquelles quant seroient plus antiques que leurs docteurs ne disent si ont elles este tant souuent changees variees et adulteres ...

Thénau's revealed his own belief, which was in favour of the antiquity of the Latin language, in Treatise 5 folio 100 verso, as follows with translation:-

Auecques ce ie vey toutes les lettres de notre alphabet latin dispersees ca et la en mointz lieux lesquelles unyes ioinctes et assemblees en toutes faczons faisoient diuerses figures aussi me rendoyent meintes sentences si theologalles speculatifues et profondes que aultres nulles sont trouuees telles en la profonde serbonne parisienne

... With this I saw all the letters of our Latin alphabet, scattered here and there, in many places, which were united, joined, and assembled in all sorts of ways, making different figures. Moreover they presented me with many sentences, that were so theological, speculative and profound that no others like them can be found in the depths of the Paris Sorbonne. ...

Thénau reinforced his claim in that same Treatise 5 at folio 103 recto declaring that the Latin scriptures were not only as antique as Hebrew or Greek, but that they bore greater spiritual possibilities:-

escriptures latines qui sont autant antiques que les hebraïques ou grecques est autant et plus de mistere ques susdictes

... Latin scriptures, which are as ancient as the Hebrew or Greek ones, and more full of mystery than the others.

Treatise 4 page 5

above all others on account of the most excellent and singular election, familiarity and word, which he had with God, so that he came to the forty-ninth gate of intelligence, beyond which there is only the fiftieth reserved to the lord Messiah. Thirdly that law was given partly in writing, and partly in word, and thus it was communicated to a plain and barbarous people. But Moses did not give the spiritual sense and the interpretation of it except to seventy-two, whom he chose according to the commandment of God, whom he taught each one from father to son without committing it to writing out of fear that it might be too widely divulged. Thus the school and the tradition of the Kabbalah continued up to the time of Zorobabel and Ezra, who by the will and command of the great king Cyrus came from Babylon in Persia with numerous Jews and Hebrews to rebuild Jerusalem. This Ezra was well aware that the great treasure of the Kabbalah could not long be preserved in its entirety in so many exiles and dispersions which he foresaw coming without being written down. For this reason he commanded seventy-two sages of his time to describe what they knew by revelation, or by the tradition of their forebears, and this they did.

Margin has Pope Sixtus had some volumes of the Kabbalah translated.

By them were composed sixty volumes, of which Pope Sixtus IV by name had only three translated into Latin to the great advantage of the church, and would have done likewise to the others which were at hand if he had not been prevented by death. Yet the larger part of them has been lost, just as have numerous books alleged in the Bible, of which we have only the name. Moses alleges the book

folio 58 verso

of the battles of God¹. Joshua that of Jashar.² The book of Chronicles alleges those of Nathan,³ of Gad,⁴ of Shemaiah,⁵ of Abdo,⁶ Ahijah,⁷ and of Jehu.⁸ In

¹ Nu. xxi 14.

² Jo. x 13.

³ I Chr. xxix 29.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ II Chr. xii 15.

⁶ Probably Iddo II Chr. xiii 22.

⁷ II Chr. ix 29.

Maccabees are alleged those of the Sparcaites; also the books of Enoch and Abraham are alleged; these all have been lost, and so have many of the books of the Kabbalah. So then Ezra restricted the school of the Kabbalah to those who were worthy in his estimation of the command for he said. *Exactis quadraginta diebus locutus est altissimus dicens. Priora que scripsisti in palapone legant digni et indigni Nouissimos autem septuaginta conseruabis ut tradas eos sapientibus de populo tuo in hiis est vena intellectus et sapiè fons et sciè flumè et ita feci.*¹

Margin has Ezra put the Kabbalah into writing first.

After Ezra Simeon occupied his chair and school, and he was followed by Antigonus under whom there were the heresiarchs Zadok and Bethus. Joseph, son of Parahiah, followed Antigonus. He was followed, in the time of the Maccabees by Jesus of Nazareth, not your Christian one. After him was Nythay. Then Simeon the Just. Then Gamaliel, master of your apostle and your first martyr. Finally and in conclusion at this time this Kabbalah has been written in the Latin language by the illustrious doctors Paulus Ricius, Jean Pic and Reuchlin. It is appropriate moreover for you to know that the doctrine and school of the Hebrews is separated and divided into two sects, that is to say the Kabbalists and the Talmudists,

Margin has The difference between the Kabbalists and the Talmudists

who are different just as the contemplative life is different from the active life. The Talmudists are the Pharisees, scribes and doctors of the Law, seated on the chair of Moses, who preach to the people according to the intention of the writer of the letter of the law, and how they should live, also as to what to do, what is to be untouched, together with the six hundred and thirteen²

⁸II Chr. xx 34.

¹ *When forty days had elapsed, the Highest One spoke saying: Let worthy and unworthy men alike read the first things that I have written in the Chronicles. But you shall keep the seventy latest writings so that you may hand them down to the wise ones of your people. In these is the vein of intellect and the source of wisdom and river of knowledge. And thus I have made it.*

²Here Thénau does not make mention of the use of Gematria by which the value 613 is also derived from the addition of the value of the letters of חכמה 'wisdom'. The value 613 is derived in the following manner from the summation of the value of each of the characters spelled out:-

ח = Heth = ח'י'ת = 400 + 10 + 8 = 418

folio 59 recto

כ = KPh = כף = 80 + 20 = 100
מ = MM = מם = 40 + 40 = 80
ה = HY = ה' = 10 + 5 = 15

$$\lambda = 3$$

doctores vestri ႁႃႏႃ႕ appellant.

Treatise 4 page 8

Canaanites, from Babylon where they were for seventy years, from Persia where they were for fifty-four and from the Greeks, where they were for one hundred and thirty years. Also they await the Messiah to deliver them from the captivity of the Romans, where they are and have been now for one thousand four hundred years. But the Kabbalists adopt the view that redemption and buying back is to be achieved by the Messiah spiritually, that is to say that he will deliver human nature from original guilt, so that he will satisfy, by his immaculate and innocent body, divine justice. Also they say that he will come in all humility, obedience, labour, fastings, prayers, together with love for God and charity to God and charity towards human nature so that he may win, by his passion and his voluntary death (not by means of parades, junketings, glorifying ways and triumphal marches) the battle against the princes of darkness and show the way by which one comes to the city of glory, where is found the tree of everlasting life. The holy prophet Isaiah, in his fifty-third chapter has written of this victorious and triumphant battle of this redemption which is never subject to vanity or change. It starts- *Quis credidit auditui nostro et brachium domini cui reuelatum est*¹ and finishes *Et ipse peccata multorum tulit et pro transgressoribus rogauit*² which shows that the Messiah whose generation could not be predicted by the hand of the one by whom the will of God was shown and done; that one was to be humiliated and whipped for the sin of the people, and on him all our offences and transgressions will be put; that one will be the man full of sadness, full of infirmities and miseries; that one will be

¹ Vulgate has Is. liii 1:-

Quia credidit auditui nostro? Et brachium Domini cui revelatum est?

NASB has Is. liii 1:-

Who has believed our message?

And to whom has the arm of the LORD been revealed?

²Vulgate has Is. liii 12:-

Ideo disperiam ei plurimos, et fortium dividet spolia, pro eo quod tradidit in mortem animam suam, et cum sceleratis reputatus est, et ipse peccata multorum tulit, et pro transgressoribus rogavit.

NASB has Is. liii 12:-

Therefore I will allot Him a portion with the great,

And He will divide the booty with the strong;

Because He poured out Himself to death,

And was numbered with the transgressors;

Yet He Himself bore the sin of many,

And interceded for the transgressors.

esteemed brave, full of audacity and sin and justly punished by God, and he will be killed with the criminals

folio 59 verso

like a lamb. But after that he will be gloriously resuscitated,¹ triumphing over death, the devil and sin. Then says that he will lift high the standard of the cross and of the faith to which are gathered all faithful people, who will be saved by his doctrine and law, which are his weapons, as it is written: Et spū laborum eius interficiet impium.² Isaiah also says that his life will be the mirror and example of all of salvation, and that his doctrine will be the delicious nourishment of the elect, according to Jonathan son of Osiel³ in his exposition of this word of the prophet. Haurietis aquas cum gaudio de fontibz saluatoris⁴ has translated as recipietis doctrinam nouam in gaudio ab electis iusti.⁵ Another difference. The Talmudists exposit the first chapter of Genesis in which there is mention of the creation of heaven and earth and of all the universe literally. For by the heaven they mean all which is above the moon and form. By the earth they mean all that is under heaven and matter. So then they exposit the text God created in the beginning the heaven and the earth, that is to say matter and form, which he united, divided and put together (so that the parts

¹ressusertera.

² Vulgate has Is. xi 4:-

Sed iudicabit in iustitia pauperes, et arguet in æquitate pro mansuetis terræ; et percutiet terram virga oris sui, et spiritu laborum suorum interficiet impium.

NASB has Is. xi 4:-

But with righteousness He will judge the poor,
And decide with fairness for the afflicted of the earth;
And He will strike the earth with the rod of His mouth,
And with the breath of His lips He will slay the wicked.

³ Jonathan Chaldaeus ben Uzziel, Pseudo-Jonathan. The Aramaic translation of the Prophets (the Targumim) is attributed to him in the early centuries AD. He is described as Jonathan son of Uziel by Reuchlin in *De Arte Cabalistica* folio 18 recto which is Thenaud's source for this quotation. It is also to be noted that Reuchlin includes the Aramaic which is copied below. It is to be noted that although the first word ותקבלון employs the root קבל from which *Kabbalah* is derived no use is made of this point.

⁴ Vulgate has Is. xii 3:-

Haurietis aquas in gaudio de fontibus saluatoris;

NASB has Is. xii 3:-

Therefore you will joyously draw water from the springs of salvation.

⁵ You will learn a new teaching, in joy, from the chosen of the just.

of the universe may be made with good harmony and proportion) in nine words which he spoke. The first was fiat lux.¹ The second fiat firmamentum.² The third Congregentur aque.³ The fourth Germinet terra⁴. The fifth fiant luminaria.⁵ The sixth Producant aque reptile.⁶ The seventh producat terra.⁷ The eighth faciamus hominem ad ymaginem zc.⁸ The ninth Ecce dedi vobis oīz herbam.⁹ Finally the prophet concludes the accomplishment and perfection of this universe when he says Igitur perfecti sunt celi et terra zc.¹⁰ That is to say thus was accomplished and perfected the heaven and the earth, with all things of which the universe is ornamented. But the Kabbalists mean by the heaven the ideal, mental, invisible world and all sovereign things where the blessed angels, spirits and saints are in everlasting glory. And by the earth they mean the material, sensible, visible and corporeal world and all the lower things. Consider also the first letter, which is beth

¹ Vulgate has Ge. i 3:-

Dixitque Deus: fiat lux. Et facta est lux.

² Vulgate Ge. i 6.

³ Dixit vero Deus: Congregentur aquæ quæ sub cælo sunt, in locum unum, et appareat arida. Et factum est ita.

⁴ Vulgate Ge. i 11:-

Et ait: Germinet terra herbam viventem et facientem semen, et lignumpomiferum faciens fructum juxta genus suum, cujus semen in semetipso sit super terram. Et factum est ita.

⁵ Vulgate Ge. i 14:-

Dixit autem Deus: Fiant luminaria in firmamento cæli, et dividant diem ac noctem, et sint in signa et tempora, et dies et annos,

15 Ut luceant in firmamento cæli, et illuminent terram. Et factum est ita.

⁶ Vulgate Ge. i 20:-

Dixit etiam Deus: Producant aquæ reptile animæ viventis, et volatile super terram sub firmamento cæli.

⁷ Vulgate Ge. i 24:-

Dixit quoque Deus: Producat terra animam viventem in genere suo, jumenta et reptilia, et bestias terræ secundum species suas. Factumque est ita.

⁸ Vulgate Ge. i 26:-

Et ait: Faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram; et præsit piscibus maris, et volatilibus cæli, et bestiis, universæque terræ, omnique reptili quod movetur in terra.

⁹ Vulgate Ge. i 29:-

Dixitque Deus: Ecce dedi vobis omnem herbam afferentem semen super terram, et universa ligna quæ habent in semetipsis sementem generis sui, ut sint vobis in escam.

30 Et cunctis animantibus terræ, omnique volucris cæli, et universis quæ moventur in terra, et in quibus est anima vivens, ut habeant ad vescendum. Et factum est ita.

¹⁰ Vulgate has Ge. ii 1:-

igitur perfecti sunt cæli et terra et omnis ornatus eorum.

NASB has Ge. ii 1:-

Thus the heavens and the earth were completed, and all their hosts.

which signifies two in arithmetic, as I have already told you. They say that Moses had intended and wanted to signify two worlds. These Kabbalists have two paradises - one is terrestrial and the other celestial. The first is of merit; the other is of remuneration. They have two hells, which they call Arka.¹ One is in this world, which is temporal, where there are the souls and the bodies which are tormented and punished for a period of time. The other is everlasting and invisible, where there are the gates of death, of rage, of hopelessness, captivity, pain, pits of horror, as well as stench and all these things are without end.² Also they have two lives and refer all things to the highest spiritual ones. It is right for you all the same to know that the Talmud which we have today was spoiled and corrupted to the extent that it has no

margin has About the Talmud of the Jews

relevance to the first. This corruption was introduced to destroy your Christian

¹J. Reuchlin, *De Arte Cabalistica*, folio 18 recto.

Nomen es comune inditum est אַרְקָא. i. Arka, hic est tartareæ poenæ locus, ...

The name common (to both Gehennas) is Arka. Here are the pains of hell.

² Compare *ibid.*,

hendit. Sicut Cabalista ille in Horto nucis uolumine secundo de septē ha-
bitaculis inferorum, tractat his uer. bis. שְׁנֵי מִיָּנִי גֵּיְהֵנָם הֵן
עֲלִיּוֹן וְתַתְּמוֹן אַחֵר לְגֵּיְהֵנָה בְּעוֹלָם הַזֶּה אַחֵר
לְגֵּיְהֵנָה בְּעוֹלָם הַבָּא אַחֵר זֶה וְהַמָּקוֹם הַכּוֹלֵל
כָּל אֵילָנוֹ הוּא הַמָּקוֹם אֲרָקָא כִּי בּוֹ הֵם גֵּיְהֵנָם
וְשַׁעַר מוֹת וְצִלְמוֹת וּבֵּאֵר שֶׁהֵם וְטִיט חֵיוֹן
וְאֲבֵרוֹ וְשִׁאֵל. i. Dux species Gehenā sunt, superior & inferior, una
ad corpus in mundo isto, una ad aīam in mūdo uenturo post istū, & locus
comphendens omnia hæc, est uocatus Arka, qm̄ in eo sunt, Gehenam, &
portæ mortis, & umbra mortis, & puteus interitus, & lutum fœcis, & per-
ditio, & fouea, hucusq; Ioseph Castiliensis. Iam hæc uinacula, hic carcer, he

Here are the Kabbalist's comments on the seven dwelling places below, in the second volume of *The Nut Garden*. There are two kinds of Gehenna, the upper and the lower. One is for the body in this world. The other is for the soul in the world to come after this one. The place in which all these are contained is called Arka. In it are: Gehenna, "the gates of death", "the shadow of death," "the well of decay," dregs and dirt, destruction and the pit (Sheol)." Thus Joseph of Castile. These chains, this jail, ...

Treatise 4 page 12

faith and law, as well as to vituperate, to blaspheme and to detest your Christ, who, they say, did his miracles not only on account of his sanctity of life, sonship from God, or for his excellence, but by the virtue of the name of God, which he had stolen from the temple in the following manner. Solomon had written and had engraved the four letter name of God in a most rich and precious stone which was in the top of the interior of his temple, and which was the most glorious and excellent of the seventy-two names of God. Thus everyone could read, adore and regard it in that temple, but it was impossible to carry it out written or memorised, for Solomon had placed at the doors of the temple two marvellous lions in marble, who by magic art knew if the above mentioned name was carried out; they roared and cried out so marvellously, and so loudly, that he who had wanted to memorise it, would tremble and faint through fear, so that it would be forgotten. And if it was found upon him, he and those with him would be publicly and painfully excommunicated and punished. The name itself, without being regarded, would be carried back into the temple, and burnt there on the altar of the odours. So according to their account, your Christ who stayed a long time day and night in

folio 60 verso

contemplation of the above mentioned name in the temple so as to carry it out with him, and fearing that he might forget it, found a way of doing so by using a blank card similar to those upon which one writes the law, and fitting thereto, to write thereon the self same name and after he had written on it, he opened the skin of his thigh with a knife and subtly cutting into it he placed and shut up the card therein, and then left with some others. And I know that the lions did cry out and roared in a most frightening manner so that he was apprehended, examined and searched, but that name was not found on him anywhere. And thus by the virtue of the name, he did miracles and taught his apostles and disciples.¹

¹See the extensive treatment of this in the Introduction pp. 136 ff. supra.

The excellence of the Hebrew language.

Second chapter

When I heard the Hebrew speak saying that the Kabbalah was only the subtle interpretation of the law or the spiritual sense of it, I knew that that was what our God and true Messiah, our apostles (particularly Saint Paul) and all our doctors had preached. Also he told me that the holy name of Kabbalah had been brought into use by the Count of Mirandola, seeing that those who nowadays are called 'cabalistes'¹ were formerly called 'Mekablistes'.² I requested him that, if it pleased him, he would instruct me in the Kabbalah, informing me of all its parts, for at that time there was no subject that I wanted more to know about. He responded to me: It is impossible for you to achieve your desire,

1

cabulistes

Folio 60 verso detail.

2

Mekablistes

Folio 60 verso detail.

Here Thenaud attributes to Pico the introduction of the '*this holy name of Kabbalah*' (*'cestuy saint nom de Cabale*) . Reuchlin, *De Arte Cabalistica*, folio 14 recto, declares that Pico was responsible for the introduction into Latin of the terms 'Kabbalists' (*Cabalistæ*) and 'Kabbalics' (*Cabalici*) and that these terms were unknown before him (*ante quem nomen eorum Romanæ linguæ incognitum erat*).

quibus toto studio innituntur Mekablim hebraice, ac nostra ætate & latinis, autore Ioanne Pico Mirandulano Comite, ante quem nomen eorum Romanæ linguæ incognitum erat Cabalistæ aut Cabalici dicuntur,

Q

These terms are not consistently applied by Reuchlin and they are not developed by Thenaud.

Treatise 4 page 14

because of your lack of the Hebrew language. All languages and letters are without eloquence,¹ mute, poor, and stammering, except Hebrew, which is fruitful, productive, rich and full of all the secrets which there are in geometry, arithmetic, physic or mathematic. The Kabbalists, in reading one thing intend another. Greek, Latin, Egyptian or Arabic letters are the inventions of men or women, such as the Phoenicians, Cadmos,² Isis,³ or Nicostratus, but the Hebrew letters in which

folio 61 recto

are contained and comprised the language, which God and his angels used to speak to Adam, to Noah, Abraham, Moses and to all the patriarchs, prophets and saints from the creation of the world and what is more by which he created, devised and adorned the world machine and which our fathers have used, are so very holy that they are to be adored and the sayings, names and holy prayers composed with it are not to be changed into another language, lest they lose their powers and divine virtues, which are associated with them. For just as the soul, which is the perfection of man, departs if the body is useless, decapitated or divided, so also the divine accord⁴ which is upon these letters, by which scriptures and words have their virtues, disappears if these letters are translated into another language. For this reason the very ancient philosopher and theologian Zoroaster refused to translate into another language barbarous and unknown words. Origen also said in *Contra Celsum* that the Hebrew sacred names have a secret and marvellous virtue, so that they are not to be translated, and Jamblich *Si ea noia ex hoiz pacto commutare commentoq`z posita essent nihil interesset alia pro aliis commutare*. For this reason we have some words and sayings which have remained entirely untranslated without being translated from Hebrew into Greek, or into Latin, such as Hosanna, which we are to pronounce Hoschiana, which has remained

¹ Latin *elinguis* without a tongue. With *mutus* see Liv. 10,19.

² Cadmos was the legendary founder of Thebes. He was credited with the introduction of the Phoenician alphabet in Greece.

³ Isis, Egyptian goddess, who personified her country.

⁴ Latin *pactio* contract, bargain, agreeing.

so on account of the sacred name of God Na, which is in that saying.

Margin has Many holy sayings have remained in their original condition without being translated into another language

So also when your Christ healed the deaf mute who was brought to him he used one of the most powerful names of God which is Ephata, which has remained without being translated, on account of its virtue. I know that you are used to pronouncing it Hiphathah, which is to say Adaperire.¹ When he resuscitated the daughter of the prince of the synagogue he said Thabitikumi² which is to say See, and Arise, which you other people pronounce Thabita in saying (and very badly so too as unlearned people) that that was the name of the girl who was resuscitated. When he wanted to give up the spirit in following and adhering to the psalter which he had started in the garden, where he was

¹ Vulgate has Mk. vii 34:-

Et suspiciens in cælum, ingemuit, et ait illi: Ephphetha, quod est adaperire.

NASB has Mk. vii 34:-

And looking up to heaven with a deep sigh, He said to him, "Ephpha tha!" that is, "Be opened!"

Greek has Mk. vi 34:-

7.34 καὶ ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐστέναξεν καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ, Εφφαθα, ὃ ἐστίν, Διανοίχθητι.

It is to be noted that the middle vowel differs in Greek and Latin. The whole Latin tradition has e. The following sources also support Εφφεθα :-

London Sinaiticus corrector, Cambridge Bezae, and most Sahidic mss.. According to the critical apparatus in the BFBS *H KAINH ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ*, London, 1979, Washington Freerianus "differs only insignificantly from the witnesses which it accompanies."

² Vulgate has Mk. v 41:-

Et tenens manum puellæ, ait illi: Talitha, cumi; quod est interpretatum: Puella (tibi dico), surge.

NASB has Mk. v 41:-

And taking the child by the hand, He said to her, "Talitha kumi!" (which translated means, "Little girl, I say to you, arise!")

Greek has Mk. v 41:-

καὶ κρατήσας τῆς χειρὸς τοῦ παιδίου λέγει αὐτῇ, Ταλιθα κουμ, ὃ ἐστίν μεθερμηνευόμενον Τὸ κοράσιον, σοὶ λέγω, ἔγειρε.

Ταλιθα κουμ is in London Sinaiticus, and Rome Vaticanus. *Ταλιθα κουμι* is in London Alexandrinus, Tiflis, most miniscules 13 and, most significantly here, in Stephanus. Paris Claromontanus has *Ραββι θαβιτα κουμι*. Washington Freerianus has *Ταββιθα*

Thenaud has *Thabitikumi* and *Thabita*, as may be seen below:-

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arrested, he went to the twenty-second psalm which he started with a loud voice Eli Eli lamahasabathani¹ which

folio 61 verso

is deus deus meus respice in me,² which phrase has stayed in its entirety.

qui est a dire Adaperire. Quant il ressuscita la fille
du prince de la synagogue il dist. Thabitikumi qui est
a dire regarde et te lieue que vous aultres prononcez
Thabita en disant et tresnal comme gens ignares q

folio 61 recto. The scribe amended the spelling of *kumi*

The Geneva ms. Fr. 167 also has *Thabitikumi* and *Thabita*, as may be seen below:-

la synagogue il dist. Thabitikumi. Qui est a dire. Re
garde. & te lieue. Que vous aultres prononcez Thabi
ta. en disant (& tresnal comme gens ignares) q estoit

1

Eli Eli lamahasabathani

Folio 61 recto detail.

²Vulgate has Ps. xxi 2:-

Deus, Deus meus, respice in me; quare me dereliquisti? Longe a salute mea verba delictorum meorum.

NASB has Ps. xxi 1:-

My God, my God, why hast Thou forsaken me?

Far from my deliverance are the words of my groaning.

The allusion is to words of Jesus at his death.

Vulgate has Mk. xv 34:-

Et hora nona exclamavit Jesus voce magna, dicens: Eloi, Eloi, lamma sabachthani? quod est interpretatum: Deus meus, Deus meus, ut quid dereliquisti me?

NASB has Mk. xv 34:-

And at the ninth hour Jesus cried out with a loud voice, "Eloi, Eloi, Lama Sabachthani?" which is translated "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?"

Thenaud follows the Psalm. The gospel accounts in Mk. xv 34 and Mt. xxvii 46 do not have the *respice in me* phrase.

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Then he gave up the spirit, saying this verse of the thirtieth psalm: In te domine speravi non confundar in eternum. Amen .. Which was his oath by which he affirmed his words; this also has remained in its entirety. So then it is evident that many Hebrew sayings have remained in Latin books without being translated, which you call barbarous and unfounded. For the divine words, and those which inspired the first parents to use them were simple, pure, fruitful, without adulteration of colouring, rhetoric, twists, obscurities, and without perplexing labyrinthian ways. For this reason Moses, who excused himself with God from not going to Pharaoh, said he was tongue tied and barbarous. Plato, in his book called *Cratylus*, said *Omnia diuina nomina vel aditus primum vel ab antiquitate cuius initium aut facile scitur vel a barbaris prodita sunt*. That is to say All the divine and sacred names have been imposed by the gods, or else have come to our understanding from such antiquity and passage of time, that there is no memory whence they came from the barbarians. And it is certain that the Hebrew language and scripture has these three excellent features.

Margin has The Hebrew language was given by God; secondly is more ancient than any other; thirdly those who formerly had the use of it were called barbarians

In the first place it was given by Almighty God (and certainly not by idols, or evil spirits) to the first parents when they were still innocent.¹ God is moved towards and delights in those pure and elevated spirits who come to him and who seek him by fervent religion, humble worship and in pure devotion; then he transforms himself into such people by a secret virtue and by an unknown property; also he transforms them into himself, by means of the warmth and the charity of his love. Of these two things, one is known and the other is not. Example. The warmth of the stomach and nutritive virtue digest meat, whence the purity is carried into the different members. This conversion is not done by warmth at all; otherwise fire, which is warmer than the stomach, or the heart, would digest meats better than the stomach, but that is done by a secret virtue joined to the self same warmth. In this regard a celestial grace

¹ Thenaud in his 1508 *Margarite* British Library ms. add. 13969 had considered that the original language was Phrygian. See Introduction p. 42 supra.

or divine virtue, which is unknown to us, together with our ardent devotion, which we know not at all, make that transformation from humanity into divinity, so that man is above himself. Also God has communicated to men letters and language, which we can use, and which we can hear used, and which we can see and can read to which he has adjoined some unknown power and virtue, by his singular grace, which we know through experience, when we express ourselves devoutly according to the rules and canons, which have been given to us and which are known to us, as the prophet said Dominus uniuersi decreuit et quis poterit infirmare.¹ Secondly the Hebrew language has been given to some from such great antiquity that it is next to eternity. For if one regards all laws, scriptures and histories, one cannot find one that is prior to Moses'. For it was three hundred and ten years before the destruction of Troy **margin has Moses is the most ancient historian, theologian, chronicler and author of legal books**

At that time when Troy was destroyed, Abeson judged Israel, Agamemnon ruled in Argia, Ptolemy subtly² in Egypt, and Teutamius in Assyria. So it is that the Greeks have written nothing before that destruction for Homer and Hesiod came a long time after that, a short time before which there was Orpheus. Together with all the ancient historians, such as Eupolemus, Strabo, Polemon, Appion, Hellanicus, Philocorus, Castor, Thalys, Alexander, Polyhistor, and Diodorus bear witness that Moses is the most ancient, divine, virtuous, moral and sacred doctor who ever was, and who reformed the Hebrew letters which his predecessors had used and into which he united and enclosed, by the wish, commandment and inspiration of God, many things. It is not in any way necessary to look for greater antiquity in Greek or Latin letters when their own

¹Vulgate has Is. xiv 27a:-

Dominus enim exercituum decrevit et quis poterit infirmare?

NASB has Is. xiv 27a:-

For the LORD of hosts has planned, and who can frustrate it?

² Latin *vafer* sly, cunning, crafty, artful, subtle. *vafra et fallaciosa argumenta*. Aulus Gellius *gramm.* 7,3, 34.

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doctors say that they have been so often changed, varied and adulterated that they have become quite puerile. This is why Jamblich said *Greci a natura nouarum rerum studio si sunt ac precipites usqz quaqz feruntur instar nauis saburra carentis nullam habentes stabilitatem*. Also an Egyptian priest said to Solon *O Solon Solon Greci semper pueri estis nec est quicp egrecia senex quia*

folio 62 verso

iuenis semper animis in quo nulla est ex vetustatis commemoracione prisca oppimio nulla tempore cana disciplina.¹ Thirdly Hebrew letters have come from those which were called barbarous by all the world, that is to say those of the Jews, called and named such by the Romans, Egyptians, Assyrians and other nations, for they remained always in their first form and simplicity. And I know that David called those of Egypt barbarous, when he said *In exitu israel de egipto domus iacob de populo barbaro*.² It was in order to reply to the charge of drunkenness that they gave the name of barbarian which they hated. So it is not appropriate for you to look for holy and sacred things which the blessed angels have communicated to men in curious, ornamented, allactive

¹ *O Solon, Solon, you Greeks are always the children, nor is there anything old from Greece, because the soul/mind is always a youth in which there is no esteem of any former memory of old age, no discipline from hoary time.*

This is a notable abridgement of Reuchlin, *De Arte Cabalistica*, folio 23 recto which has *'Likewise in Plato's Timaeus, it seems that an old Egyptian 'barbarian' once said to Solon: "O Solon, Solon, you Greeks are still boys. You have no ancient beliefs, none of your learning has gone grey with age."*

² Vulgate has Ps. cxiii 2:-

In exitu Israel de Aegypto domus Jacob de populo barbaro,

NASB has Ps. cxiv 1:-

When Israel went forth from Egypt, The house of Jacob from a people of strange language, Hebrew has Ps. cxiv 1:-

בְּצֵאת יִשְׂרָאֵל מִמִּצְרַיִם בֵּית יַעֲקֹב מֵעַם לֵעֹז:

The participle לֵעֹז from לָעַז is not found elsewhere in the Old Testament.

LXX has Ps. cxiii 1:-

Αλληλουια.

Ἐν ἐξόδῳ Ἰσραὴλ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου,
οἴκου Ἰακωβ ἐκ λαοῦ βαρβάρου

לָעַז however is well attested.

or adulterated words, but in simple scriptures, which are the Hebrew scriptures. And if any miraculous operation was formerly carried out by the priests of Egypt, or by the sages of Chaldea or Assyria, that was by the virtue of the Hebrew names which they used and which they incorporated into their language, which they came to know of through the nearness and closeness of the countries. Well does Hermes say they had certain figures, names and characters, which the devils and evil spirits, whom they adored, had taught them and instructed them in them, which they used so as to enchant and to deceive them and their adherents. In conclusion

margin has Conclusion

and as an epilogue, I repeat that there is neither scripture nor word before those of the Hebrews, which God and his blessed angels used to make Himself known to the holy fathers, patriarchs and prophets. Also there is no virtuous scripture or word or such in which the divine power cooperates and works except these afore mentioned. For I know that God, who is the first cause, who can thereby do all things, without secondaries, nevertheless he does work in many instances by secondaries, even by words and scriptures, just as a workman does with an instrument. For God joins and unites himself to the reasonable and elevated spirit; then this reasonable spirit is the source and primal source of the word which flows from the tongue, so that

folio 63 recto

the word is broadcast, just as the stream is with regard to the fountain, so as to water the pastures and gardens. Then that word is conserved and guarded in letters and in scripture. The words therefore mediate between the spirit and the body, between things spiritual and corporeal, between God and the creatures about whom Jamblich wrote thus: *Du sermonem barbarum aprobauerunt tan`q sacris maxime congruentur presertim quia antiquior primusqz extitit iste modus loquendi. Et `qm primi nomina diuinitus acceperunt eaq` cum propria lingua miscuerunt tan`q cum familiari consentanea qz illis voce contemperantes ita nobis seruanda perpetuo tradiderunt nosqz ita ipsam tradicionis regulam rite*

deinceps conseruare debemus.¹ When the venerable Hebrew had thus praised his letters and applauded his language, I wanted to question him as to how in praising his own so much he could avoid

margin has Question

casting aspersions on the others. So I said to him, Master, we read that the great theologian and priest of Egypt, Orpheus, disciple of the High Pontiff Hermes, was with the Argonauts, and he calmed, by certain words, a horrible storm which was threatening their lives. We can read in Homer of the transformations of Circe, in Virgil those of Protheus, in Lucian those of the women of Thessaly, in Cicero the marvellous dead of Actius, Nanius before Tarquin, in Philostratus the sudden

margin has Many wonderful things

translation of Apollonius of Smyrna in Ephesus and how he resuscitated a girl in Rome, purely by reciting a song in her ear. It is written of Medea Verba que ter dicit placidos facienda sonnos Que mare turbatum `q flumina concita sistunt Quid enim non cariam possunt.² Also in Ovid another person claimed and vaunted himself capable of marvels, when she said: Concussa qz sisto Stancai concussio cantu freta nubila pello Nubila qz induco ventos et cariem fauces Diua qz saxa sua conulsa qz robora terra Et filuas moneo iubeo qz contremiscere montes Et mugire solum manes qz exire sepulchris Te quoqz luna traho.³ From this it seems to me that in all languages there can be miracles, as for

folio 63 verso

¹ The gods favoured the tongue of the barbarians as greatly suitable for sacred things, especially because that way of speaking was established first and more anciently. And since the first peoples received names divinely and mixed them with their own tongue, as if tempering them with sound familiar and proper to them, thus they handed down these things to be kept by us for ever and we ought thereafter rightly to conserve that very rule of tradition.

² She utters the gentle-sounding words three times, which cause the tumultuous sea and the roused rivers to stand still. Why can they not do the same for Caria?

³ Ovid Metamorphoses VII 200 to 207:-

I lay the swollen, and stir up the calm seas by my spell; I drive the clouds and bring on the clouds; the winds I dispel and summon; I break the jaws of serpents with my incantations; living rocks and oaks I root up from their own soil; I move the forests, I bid the mountains shake, the earth to rumble and the ghosts to come forth from their tombs. And you also O, moon, I draw forth from the sky.

your own and which are as holy and as sacred as the Hebrew. And he replied to me: A thing can be called holy or sacred in two ways. Firstly:

margin has Two of sacralisation.

Because it is given and dedicated by the prince or by some other person to God, or else to the public good. For this the jurisconsul Ulpian said that the thing dedicated by the prince or by his authority, is holy and sacred, and all that is taken from and withdrawn from the peculiar possession of men to the public good is holy. So also said Virgil of Helemis, priest of Apollo. Exorat pacem diuù vitasqz resoluit sacrati capites. And in the eighth of the Æneid At cesar triplici muctus romana triumpho Mema diis italis votum immortale sacrabat. Secondly a thing is said to be holy because it is dedicated or made sacred by the presence and divine virtue which elevates it and accepts it. So it is that all things in which God dwells and lives are said to be sacred and holy. He alone is holy, sacred and good in essence; creatures are so inasmuch as God inhabits them. So also the angels and the saints who are in paradise where God dwells and resides fully are holy, more than those who are in this world. The angels are so inasmuch as their names symbolise with those of God. The contrary applies to the creatures who are separated from God, cursed and abandoned by him; these are called the profane one, that is to say procul a phano¹ et religione, that is to say far off from God and from religion. Of this process of sanctifying Ovid said in the twelfth book of Metamorphoses Festa dies aderat qua cigni victor achiles Palladia mactate placabat sanguine vacce Cuius ut imposuit prosecta calentibus aris Et diis acceptus penetrauit in ethera nidor Sacra tulere suam pars est data cetera mensis.² This presupposes I reply to you, that if you take sanctification and holiness in the first sense, there is no nation, language or sect which has been without some sanctification and holiness, that is to say in the sense of something dedicated and reserved for God. And this sanctification is done by men, and in no way by God, so that

¹ Latin *fanum* a place dedicated to some deity by forms of consecration. From the verb *fano* to dedicate, or consecrate. Varr. L.L. 6, § 54.

²Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, Xii, 150-154.

... there came a festal day when Cygnus' conqueror, Achilles, was sacrificing to Pallas with the blood of a slain heifer. When now the entrails had been placed upon the blazing altars and the odour which the gods love had ascended to the skies, the holy beings received their share and the rest was set upon the tables.

if by their words, characters or figures something is done which goes beyond

folio 64 recto

the power of nature, this is not a miracle, but an enchantment and an illusion, if God does not do it by his singular grace, in as far as it is produced not at all by the presence and assistance of God, but by evil spirits or devils which are evoked by such words. But if sanctification and holiness are taken in the second sense, I say to you that there is no language, word or scripture except those of the Hebrews, each and every part of which God revealed to his friends, and which he himself wrote, invented and gave to his servants, and by which he was pleased to work miracles. For to him alone this belongs, (as our prophet said. Qui facit mirabilia magna solus¹), and not at all to mages, astrologers, philosophers, workers of enchantments and of invocations, spirits or devils. It is therefore he alone who does miracles, not in any way out of force, necessity, rigour, or violence, but so that we may know his goodness and power and so that we may come by that knowledge to make our confession to him, to give to him his magnificence, glory, honour, adoration, service and religion, which is why it was also said Qui facit mirabilia solus q`m in eternum misericordia eius.² So then those who make books, rules and treatises so as to do miracles are covered with confusion

margin has God alone does miracles

for this belongs to God alone, or to the one who is fervently joined and united to him, and he whom he uses as his true instrument is the one who can disseminate doctrine and knowledge of incantations and visions, but not miracles. Moses and Aaron could not enter into the holy and glorious promised land, but died in the desert (which was a marvel of a punishment for them) for

¹ Vulgate has Ps. cxxxv 4:-

Qui facit mirabilia magna solus, quoniam in æternum misericordia ejus.

NASB has Ps. cxxxvi 4:-

To Him who alone does great wonders,

For His loving kindness is everlasting;

²In addition to the foregoing note see also Prosper Aquitanus, *Expositio Psalmorum*, C-CL, Cl. 0524, psalmus 135, line 33, P Callens, 1972, p. 3-211.

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they had presumed upon their own virtues or merits, without giving the glory to the name of God for drawing water from the rock to give water to the people parched and thirsty who were in the desert of Sin. This is an example to all the good and false servants of God, to whom he grants his graces and gifts, and who should give and accord everything to his glory, and none to themselves, as David did in saying: Non nobis domine non nobis sed nomini tuo da gloriam.¹

folio 64 verso

Second treatise Practice of the Kabbalah

Third chapter

How the Kabbalah surpasses in dignity, holiness and perfection all other sciences, so that in comparison to it they are not worthy of being called sciences.

When the Hebrew had responded to my last question and when he had finished praising Hebrew letters, words and scriptures without which one cannot have the Kabbalah, I asked him if that Kabbalah was a science, for I was tired with my life, which I had spent and passed for such a long time without a knowledge of Greek, Hebrew and barbarian letters, which today are so common and familiar to the young people of Paris and other universities. Also I was ashamed and overawed that I could be reproached, as formerly Tyndareus reproached Orestes as Euripedes records: Diuas barbare cum sis vetulus inter barbaros. And he replied to me: Know that there is no knowledge, or understanding of physic, metaphysics, ethics, canon or civil law, which can have the name of science. But that can only be attributed to the Kabbalah.

¹ Vulgate has Ps. cxviii i(bis) or 9:-

NON NOBIS, DOMINE, NON NOBIS; sed nomini tuo da gloriam,

NASB has Ps. cxv 1:-

Not to us, O Lord, not to us, But to Thy name give glory
Because of Thy loving kindness, because of Thy truth.

Firstly I shall show you the case of physic, for an understanding of which not only the ancient philosophers, such as Hermes, Tales, Milesius, Anaximander, Anaximenes, Heraclitus, Anaxagoras, Archelaus, Pythagoras, Plato, Hippocrates, Galen and all their disciples passed their life, labour and study, but at the present time all those who grow old at the same tasks, is not a science at all. For the above mentioned Aristotle, head of the school of the Peripatetics, which was more flourishing than all other schools, said after his predecessors, that science concerns immutable and invariable things and these cannot be any thing else, but all natural things, and those that are subject to time are subject to change, variation, alteration or corruption, from which it follows that these cannot be science. Every day new types are brought

folio 65 recto

into being and others are corrupted; this is how it is with individuals of these species, so that Africa is no more the productive source of divers and new monsters than nature, which is in more continual and impetuous movement than the potter's wheel as it turns, for it has no chance to see two moments of time continuously before it. To know then the causes of earthquakes, the raising of mountains, the hollowing of valleys, the hardening of stones, the ebb and the flow of the seas, the eclipsing of the sun and of the moon, the virtues of stones, the ardour of fountains, the diversity of effects, is to know nothing for causes and reasons vary and change day by day, together with their effects. For this reason it was Solomon, or according to some it was Isaiah in Ecclesiastes, who said: Quid est quod fuit id quod erit. Generacio preterit generacio aduenit.¹ So it is that day follows day, hour follows hour,

¹Vulgate has Ec. i 9:-

Quid est quod fuit? Ipsum quod futurum est. Quid est quod factum est? Ipsum quod faciendum est.

NASB has Ec. i 9:-

That which has been is that which will be,
And that which has been done is that which will be done.
So, there is nothing new under the sun.

Vulgate has Ec. i 4:-

Generatio præterit, et generatio aduenit; terra autem in æternam stat.

upstream waters follow those that are lower, also novelties are like children who chase parents and those who went before them. The household of the emperor, or of the king, is he himself, his wife, father, mother, children, dependents, relatives, domestics, chamberlains, administrators, squires, pages, prelates, chaplains, marshals, captains, men-at-arms, heralds, post boys, furriers and all the other officers over all of whom death rules, so that in less than a hundred years any such a house is no longer the one that it was. And many others have taken their places. From the beasts litter, from litter grass, from grass pastures, which are the productive and multiplicative causes of beasts. The world is therefore called the world on account of its beauty, sumptuousity and ornamentation, which is not just variation, change and mutation. Consider then that whereas science concerns immutable and necessary things, all natural things are variable and contingent. I say that physics or natural things cannot be a true subject for science. This was known by the compositor of Ecclesiastes when he said. Intellexi q`

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oiz operum dei nullam possit homo inuenire rationem eorum que fiunt sub sole Et `q to plus laborauerit ad querendum tanto minus ineuniat eciam si dixerit sapiens se nosse non poterit reperire.¹ Another reason. Physical and natural science is knowledge of the elements, and the causes of natural things. But just as all the philosophers have held opposite opinions in the past

NASB has Ec. i 4:-

A generation goes and a generation comes,
But the earth remains forever.

Thenaud's conflation of these texts, and more significantly the omission of those parts that refer to the permanency of the earth, illustrate the selective manner in which he uses scripture in the light of his presuppositions.

¹ Vulgate has Ec. viii 17:-

Et intellexi quod omnium operum Dei nullam possit homo inuenire rationem eorum quæ fiunt sub sole; et quanto plus laboraverit ad quærendum, tanto minus inueniat; etiam si dixerit sapiens se nosse, non poterit reperire.

NASB has Ec. viii 17:-

And I saw every work of God, I concluded that man cannot discover the work which has been done under the sun. Even though man should seek laboriously, he will not discover; and though the wise man should say. "I know," he cannot discover.

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about the determination of these principles, so also do they to this day. For one of them says that water is the first principal, another says fire, another says air, another infinity, another numbers, another dissension, another love, and thus there have been as many opinions as there have been philosophers, from which it follows that there is no fixed science but only opinion when one is concerned with natural and physical things. For this reason Socrates said that these lower base things are seen not known, and that it is necessary to ask the gods about eternal and essential things, by which means the person who is otherwise ignorant comes to all perfect and consummate science. The external senses which rejoice in the possession of their objects, that is to say for the eye colour, for the ear sounds, for the mouth taste, for the nose odours, touch for soft things, these can never arrive at the true substance and nature of their objects, but displace them into fantasy (*fantasie*) and fantasy addresses and returns that knowledge (*cognoissance*) to reason (*raison*), which seeks the truth with a burning desire. But reason cannot find it, if the spirit does not accord it its light, which is in no way within the spirit, as for a fountain and its prime source, but it is necessary for it to flow from angelic intelligences, who derive it from the depths of the fountain of intelligence, which is divine. Isaiah spoke on the subject of these philosophers in the city of Babylon who desire to know and who are all ignorant: Sapiencia tua et sciencia ea ipsa decepit te saluent te astrologi et auruspices celorum a quibus veniant tibi quecunq` futura sunt Defecisti in multitudine consiliorum tuorum unusquisqz in via sua

folio 66 recto

errauit.¹

¹Vulgate has Is. xlvii 10:-

Et fiduciam habuisti in malitia tua, et dixisti: Non est qui videat me. Sapientia tua et scientia tua hæc decepit te. Et dixisti in corde tuo: ego sum, et præter me non est altera.

verse 13:-

Defecisti in multitudine consiliorum tuorum. Stent, et saluent te, augures cæli, qui contemplabantur sidera, et supputabant menses, ut ex eis annuntiarent ventura tibi!

verse 15:-

Sic facta sunt tibi in quibuscumque laboraveras: negotiatores tui ab adolescentia tua, unusquisque in via sua erraverunt; non est qui salvet te.

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Margin has Metaphysics is no science

Others say that science is above physics and nature, and they call it metaphysics; these are they who look for the entities and for naked species, and they go above the heavens in the search for poetic fictions, for the immortality of the gods who live there luxuriously. But when they have assiduously laboured, studied and worked, they recognise they only have a fantasy (*fantasie*) and a dream (*songe*) for all their time of study. For, as Aristotle said, all science and knowledge comes from sense (*sens*) and from demonstration (*demonstracion*). But the things that are totally separated and distant from

NASB has Is. xlvii 10:-

And you felt secure in your wickedness and said, "No one sees me,"
Your wisdom and your knowledge, they have deluded you;
For you have said in your heart,
"I am, and there is no one besides me."

verse 13:-

You are wearied with your many counsels;
Let now the astrologers,
Those who prophesy by the stars,
Those who predict by the new moons,
Stand up and save you from what will come upon you.

verse 15:-

So have those become to you with whom you have laboured,
Who have trafficked with you from your youth;
Each has wandered in his own way.
There is none to save you.

It may be seen that Thenaud has selected and has arranged parts of these verses in the order 10, 13b, 13a, and 15. His rendering is therefore as follows:-

Your wisdom and your knowledge, they have deluded you;
Let now the astrologers,
Those who follow the auspices of the heavens,
Save you from what will come upon you.
You are wearied with your many counsels;
Each has wandered in his own way.

This chapter xlvii is a declaration of judgment on Babylon. The ensuing chapter is a declaration of judgment on the house of Jacob.

The effect of Thenaud's selection and rearrangement is to further his purpose of showing that ethics is not science. It is also noteworthy that Thenaud did not see the condemnation of (Babylonian) astrology as pertaining to himself. His final work, the *Généalogie de la très sacrée majesté du Roy très chrestien*, musée Condé de Chantilly, ms. 420 (712), 1533, contains carefully prepared horoscopes for Francis and for his family. It is bound with the title *HOROSCOPE SUR / LA NAISS DES ROIS*. It is entitled *Le / Genealogic / de / la / tressa // cree / Maieste / du / Roy / tres // Chrestien*. The first horoscope, folio i recto, gives *La disposicion du ciel au iour et heure q fut cocepu le roy tres xrien nre dictateur et vray Auguste qui fut 21 decembre feste saint Thomas dix heures avant midi Lan mil quatre ces quatre vingt et treze*

This is a clear indication that Thenaud maintained his high regard for royalty and for astrology throughout his life.

Treatise 4 page 29

bodies and from matter, cannot fall within the senses, nor be subject to demonstration, by which they are not in any way subject to science. For this reason Epicurus said Pars horum maxiam fallit propter inopinatus animi quos addimus ipsi pro visis ut que non sunt sensibus visa Nam nihil egregus est q' res cernere apertas.

Margin has Ethics is no science

And so also others believe that there is no true science except for morals, and because of this they are able to act, to work and to know the virtues, the culmination of their mediocrity, so that they may not be seduced nor mistaken by excesses and failures; so they worked at ethics, politics, economics, so that they may know how to administer and to govern private and public affairs and also how to moderate and to restrain the passions and moods, as much internal as external; at this they work without ceasing, alleging that there is no other science, but this. So Aristotle said, We seek virtue not just to know it, but to live well and this good living is more learned through exercise, practice and experience than by speculating for we are induced to do this by example of good people, by promises and by praiseworthy merits of parents and masters, by fear of pain of justice, which punishes the evil; also by nature, which inclines us thereto, as well as not depraving and corrupting one from living virtuously. Moreover, virtues of themselves, cannot be science, bearing in mind its variation, for that which is virtue to one is a vice to another. Also manners vary according to differences

folio 66 verso

of climates. Others will only have the will of man as science, which is more variable and changeable than any other thing mentioned above and

margin has True science is not in law.

from this there flows forth their understanding according to which their natural meat is infallible truth and these are the jurists, who allege many laws, titles or rubrics, to which they are also accustomed and accommodated, just as apothecaries are with the names of their drugs and other experts are with

their tools; they want to be really wise and worthy of being crowned by Apollo.¹ Their position is often false, deceitful and against all known truth,

¹ Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, Apollo as god of the healing art, I, 521, 566; II, 618; X, 189, as god of music and especially the lyre, I, 519; VI, 384; X, 108; XI, 155 ff., as god of the bow, X, 108.

In Thenaud's 1518, 1519 *Triumphes de Vertuz*, dedicated to Justice and Temperance, BN ms. Fr. 144 folio B, there is a representation of the manuscript being presented to Louise de Savoie by Jean Thenaud.



The lower left corner has a panel which carries the inscription *DIVE LATHONE APOLLINIS ET DYANE MATRI VIRTUTUM FONTI PERHEMPNI - TO THE DIVINE LATHONE MOTHER OF APOLLO AND DIANA, PERENNIAL SOURCE OF VIRTUES.*

There are five fountains in the picture which water the garden and the French fleur-de-lys. Salamanders and ermines, emblems of the royal family, are to be seen in the garden.

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which is therefore to be guarded, observed and executed, and which only has for support human will, which is described by these two authorities; Error ius facit; that is to say Common error makes law; and res iudicata pro veritate accipitur; that is to say The sentence is always taken as the truth. Vulpianus, who was once one of the most eminent jurists tells how an unknown and barbarian serf, called Philippus, was by fortuitous and adventurous chance elected Prefect of Rome, which office he enjoyed for some time. Then later various people tried to undo, revoke and to annul his position, which the senate did not wish to do, bearing in mind the office and not just the person. So then it is that which pleases prince and people which is law and canon to them. Therefore the Emperor Julian said Cum ipsa leges nulla alia ex causa nos teneant q" q iudicio populi recepte sunt et populus lege regia omne imperium et potestatem in regem contulit liquido apparet oi`z iuris prudenciam ex voluntate ho`iz sola pendere que si est suffragatrix bonorum et malor subiugatrix bona res dicitur et publica et priuata. It appears then that this science founded on the will of princes which is often the scourge and the torment of the people, and for the exercise of which covetous and avaricious men and well-heeled tyrants torment their spirits, tongue and hand, day and night, not to mention their ears; these people are full of grief, pains, tears and evil rumours while the science is as

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servile and mechanical (I know that at the present time it is highly valued in esteem and honour) as are the servile trades which only have for their end gain, utility and profit. If then in human laws, in ethics, metaphysics, in physics, or in natural things which are the exercise of all the schools, there is

Louise de Savoie is seated centrally; a sceptre is in her right hand and rays of light emanate from the left hand. Louise's fountain bears her coat of arms, and provides water to the four corners, which are occupied, clockwise, by the Dauphin, (born 28 February 1518), Marguerite (shown facing Prudence in accordance with part one of BN ms. Fr. 443), Claude (shown facing Temperance), and top left Francis shown facing Force who holds a tower and a sword. It is to be noted that Francis is shown with the closed crown associated with the Emperor. This speculation on the part of Thénault that Francis would become Emperor was also asserted in the text, where he is referred to as "*archiroy des François, dictateur des monarches, et prochain empereur*". See A-M. Lecoq, *op. cit.*, p. 338 and the Introduction Treatise 4 page 32

no science, but only opinion, it is necessary to conclude that the true science is in things that are known by faith, which are revealed to us from God, from the angels and from the spiritual world, which is only the kabbalistic faith (*la Cabale foy*) which then is the wisdom of stable, invariable, immutable and everlasting things, separated from all corruption, variation and destruction, which flows from the spirit by which all others aspire to that which is reasonable, high, pure, clear and clean; this surmounts every science. For it makes one to see and to regard the one in whom the science lives as in a generous and eternal mirror of divinity by which one sees and knows, not in any way by opinion, reason, sophism or by syllogism, but in certainty and without doubt, all things, which have been, which are and which shall be visible, or invisible, eternal or temporal, more truly than the external senses or internal spirits can lead one to know. It is just as I have often told you - all things are more perfectly in God than they are in themselves. And so that you may the better know the excellence of the Kabbalah, know that fire is suited to the sky, as to its form, to the air as to heat, to water as to moisture, to earth as to cold, and the earth to fire as to dryness. Also just as God symbolises and has some participation with angels due to immortality, so do angels with men by understanding, man with beasts by exterior senses, and beasts with trees by growth. Moreover men differ from angels by the succession of knowledge and from beasts by reason. Men differ from one another in faith, just as the sages differ from madmen, the understanding from the ignorant. Man therefore is in the midst of the universe which joins him to God and to the angels by faith, so also by this Kabbalah there is knowledge

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of God. He is the habitation of everlasting truth and is nigh to attaining the divine majesty as David said *Minuisti eum paulominus ab angelis.*¹ In God is

supra.

¹Vulgate has:-

Ps. viii 6:-

Minuisti eum paulo minus ab angelis; gloria et honore coronasti eum:

NASB has Ps. viii 5:-

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sovereign love. In man is justice, sovereign hope, but faith and the holy Kabbalah joins and unites the one with the other, that is to say God to spirit; the spirit joins itself to reason, reason to fantasy, and fantasy to the external senses, and consequently all of man is joined and united to God, inasmuch as he can be called godly. So then it remains to be concluded that there is no true science, except the Kabbalah, which makes its disciple happy and makes him a sovereign doctor in a moment for it satisfies to the full the understanding as is clear from Adam, Moses and Solomon, and if it is necessary to give examples from the poets, the instance is well known of Hesiod, who saw the dance of the muses on mount Helicon; of Demodocus whom Homer spoke of in Timaeus, of whom Plato spoke in his book called *Jon de furore poëtico*, and in Minos of Crete, who philosophised with God on Mount Ida. But to return to holy scripture - we read that the spirit of prophesy, together with the spirit of science and wisdom was given to the seventy princes whom Moses had chosen from the people. Also Bezalel¹ and Oholiab² had mechanical sciences

Yet Thou hast made him a little lower than God (or the angels) And dost crown him with glory and majesty!

Hebrew has Ps. viii 6:-

וְתַחֲסֶרְהוּ מִעַם מַלְאָכִים וְכְבוֹד וְהָדָר תַּעֲטֶרְהוּ:

LXX has Ps. viii 6:-

ἡλάττωσας αὐτὸν βραχύ τι παρ' ἀγγέλους,
δόξῃ καὶ τιμῇ ἐστεφάνωσας αὐτόν·

The same verse is in Heb. ii 7. Thénau's contemporary Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples believed that the Letter to the Hebrews was Pauline and was originally in Hebrew. The form available to him, the Greek, was the work of a translator, an *interpretes Pauli*, who was unduly reliant on the LXX. (The LXX also translates מַלְאָכִים as ἄγγελοι in Pss. xcvi 7, and cxxxviii 1.) Lefèvre d'Étaples concluded that the translation meaning *angels* was false, and reflected this undue reliance on the LXX.

Elsewhere in the New Testament - Mt. xxi 16, I Co. xv 27 - Ps. viii is treated Christologically. F. Delitzsch, *Epistle to the Hebrews*, vol. I, p. 104 concedes that this Psalm has less of a Messianic appearance than almost any other.

The Targums have מַלְאָכִים for מַלְאָכִים.

The translation as *angels* (against Lefèvre d'Étaples) may therefore be upheld. The angels are pure spiritual beings, which are regarded as begotten of God - בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים. (Jb. i 6; ii 1; xxxviii 7; Ge. vi 2,4). These pure images of the divine essence make up the immediate retinue of the Divine Being. Thénau is therefore to be preferred to Lefèvre d'Étaples for his understanding of the meaning of the verse.

¹ NASB has Ex. xxxi 2:-

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by inspiration from God, so that they made the tabernacle and all the things associated with it. This is what Ovid said *Est deus in nobis sunt et commercia celi Sedibus ethereis spiritus ille venit.*¹ Work therefore to be kabbalistic, and to have the requisite manners and conditions.

Chapter 4

How one is to prepare oneself, so as to be sufficient for the Kabbalah, and for the practice of it, by purification of life, by faith and by elevation of spirit.

Whoever wants to be able to practice, to experience and to live in the holy Kabbalah must have three things, which are Purity of Life, Sincerity of Faith and Elevation of Spirit. All other human sciences

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can be known and comprehended by people who are avaricious, voluptuous, superb, together with those who follow their passions. But one needs to come to this faith by attention, devotion, pity, religion, reverence and humility. For this the royal prophet gives felicity and beatitude to the one who leaves all human, low and worldly thoughts, for thinking day and night on the law of God, not just on that which was written down by Moses, which is as common and vulgar amongst the Hebrews as Titus Livius² or Sallustius³ are amongst the Latins, but on that which the true good and elevated spirit can comprehend

See, I have called by name Bezalel, the son of Uri, the son of Hur, of the tribe of Judah.

3. And I have filled him with the Spirit of God in wisdom, in understanding, in knowledge, and in all kind of craftsmanship,

² Ex. xxxi 6.

¹ P. Ovidius Naso, *Ars Amatoria*, book 3, verse 549:

Vatibus Aoniis faciles estote, puellae:

Numen inest illis, Pieridesque favent.

Est deus in nobis, et sunt commercia caeli:

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Sedibus aetheriis spiritus ille venit.

² Titus Livius, historian, died AD 17.

concerning the letter, when it is ravished above itself; for this one is not to cease thinking on it day and night. Those sciences called the natural ones are known and are experienced by the eyes and hands. But the divine ones call for understanding and for spirits purged and delivered from all vices, adorned with virtues, which are liberated and agile, so they may fly above thrones and seraphins, without hindrance from things that are of the senses, as did the evil Antisthenes¹ who according to the writings of Ammonius, said that he well knew that such was of man, but not at all of humanity, and who desired that it was only a fiction and invention of the spirit. First, to come to purity of life it is necessary to wash oneself often through penitence, in tears and in contrition, following the example of the sages of India, who were under Bardanes who unclothed themselves, and totally nude when they wanted to philosophise, except for their heads, around which they would put a ring of fine material, to that the precious drops of amber, myrrh, mastic and other odours which they had put there did not fall off, bathed themselves in a fountain very like the one that was called Dirce in Greece, until midday when they clothed themselves with fine clothing and with mitres. Finally they came together in the form of a round or circular dance, with rings and batons in their hands; after this they did and said marvels. This same thing was done according to Apollonius, by the Gymnosophists of Ethiopia, who washed customarily themselves

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three times a day and twice in the night, and every day they washed their robes claiming that this bodily purity was most profitable and beneficial for the spiritual. For this reason Hesiod recommended washing oneself before praying to Jupiter, saying *Nemo sub aurora ausit ioui fundere vina illotis manibus sed et immortalibus ullis Nonsic exaudire volunt spernuntqz precatus*. In another place the same poet wrote. *Praeus ubi fluuium manibus non lotis obiuit huic*

³ Sallustius Crispus, historian, died BC 35.

¹ Thénau follows J. Reuchlin, *De Arte Cabalistica*, folio 41 verso, 42 recto where there is a warning by Philolaus against going along with unthinking guides (*cum rudibus philosophatris*) who are only concerned with that which the eye can see. Ammonius, son of Hermes, is quoted as the authority who cites Antisthenes who wrongly considered that humanity, as Treatise 4 page 36

dii succensent tribuentes inde dolores. Telemachus washed himself in the river before making his request to Pallas. For this reason our prophet Isaiah said to all his people. *Lavamini mundi estote.*¹ Also in front of our synagogues, your churches and Saracens' mosques there are always baths filled with water, to wash or sprinkle oneself, which shows that purity and honesty, spiritual and bodily are required before entering into the houses, the sciences and the secrets of God. Secondly, faith is necessary to the Kabbalist, as has been said above; he must give up all authorities, opinions, experiences and worldly letters, and is only to believe, seeing that all things which are impossible to art and nature are possible to the one who believes. Also faith which stems from divine revelation is above all philosophy, and it is more certain than that which one sees by interior and exterior senses. So thereby one knows everything that cannot be known, one sees that which cannot be seen, and one comprehends the incomprehensible. By faith the proud dukes and captains of our law formerly overcame

margin has The power and virtue of faith.

their adversaries, as did Moses who overcame Amalech, Og, Sihon and many other legions; also by it he divided the Red Sea; he brought manna down; he changed the bitter waters and he extracted great fountains from hard rocks; Joshua by faith made the sun and the moon stop; he divided the river Jordan, so that the children of Israel might pass over dry-footed in the midst of it. The he overcame thirty-one kings, whose

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lands and lordships he took, and which he divided and shared among the children of Israel. Samson, by the virtue of faith on many occasions defeated Philistines and other enemies of the children of Israel with glorious victories.

opposed to man, was nothing but a fiction. (*Unde putabat humanitatem nihil rerum esse nisi cogitationis figmentum*).

¹ Vulgate has Is. i 16:-

Lavamini, mundi estote; auferte malum cogitationum vestrarum ab oculis meis; quiescite agere perverse,

NASB has Is. i 16:-

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And all that which has been done aforetime that is marvellous and beyond nature, such as the barren giving birth, sight being restored to the blind, the dead being resuscitated, thunder, fire and wind being controlled, lions and wild beasts being domesticated, people walking safely on water, as if on land, the conversion of burning furnaces into gentle redness, people being transported in an instant from one place to another at a great distance, to exist at one moment in many places, to live for a long time without drinking and without eating, to be familiar with God and with his angels, as well as all the other things which we read of in Holy Scripture which were done, and which are to be attributed to faith, so that your apostle (said the Hebrew) has written. Sancti per fidem vicerunt regna operati sunt iusticiam adepti sunt repromissiones Obturauerunt ora leonum et extinxerunt impetum ignis conualuerunt de infirmitate fortes facti sunt in bello etc.¹ Every true miracle, be it great, small or average, is the work of the glorious God, whose name is blessed from age to age, or is the work of a delegate from him alone, and of whose miraculous work we know neither reason nor cause, for it is not at all within the power of angels, spirits, souls or men to produce them or to do them. But just as every item of faith is the word of God, which is revealed to us, so also every miracle is the work of God, which is done for us and shown to us so that and with the result that we recognise him our more than sovereign Lord and God in most humble adoration. But faith joined to purity of life makes us sufficient and fit delegates to do miracles. It is therefore appropriate for you to believe that there is only one God, who is more than all in all and everywhere the conservative, productive and efficient cause of all things, visible and invisible, who proves and who administers over everything which belongs to him, as Nausicaa

Wash yourselves, make yourselves clean; remove the evil of your deeds from My sight. Cease to do evil,

¹Vulgate has Heb. xi 33:-

Qui per fidem vicerunt regna, operati sunt iustitiam, adepti sunt repromissiones, obturaverunt ora leonum;

34 Exstinxerunt impetum ignis, effugerunt aciem gladii, convaluerunt de infirmitate, fortes facti sunt in bello, castra verterunt exterorum;

NASB has Heb. xi 33:-

who by faith conquered kingdoms, performed acts of righteousness, obtained promises, shut the mouths of lions,

34 quenched the power of fire, escaped the edge of the sword, from weakness were
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daughter of Alcinus said to his host Jupiter. Ipse viris cuncta dispensare
superne sine probis seu

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peruersis seu cuiqz fauet rem. It is better that one should have recourse to
such a one so that one may be purified so as to approach him. For this comes
from him and from no other mediator, for one never has recourse to streams
when one can have the fountain for oneself. All the same under him are the
sacred and most luminous angelic intelligences, by the mystery of which he
dispenses, rules and governs all mysteries, which are like portions of the
sovereign goodness and truth, knowing better what is necessary for us than
we do, so that we should implore and request their help, essence, counsel,
patronage, doctrine, comfort, exhortation and benevolence, as if from our
neighbours, fellow citizens, friends and directors. Also we owe them praise,
honour, grace, thanks and should accord faith in their word, authority and
doctrine, without enquiry, cause or reason. For as Lactantius said, Veritas et
archanum summi dei qui fecit omnia non potest propria ratione aut intelligencia
haberi. Thirdly, the Kabbalist should elevate his spirit so that from body and
matter he may mount to forms, and from the lower forms he may ascend to
the middle ones, and from there to the highest, then finally to that which is the
omniform and unformed form of all things, which has divers names. For in
Genesis it is called type or idea when it says Producat terra animam viuientem
ad speciem suam.¹ In Theology it is called eternal life and in Philosophy
transcendent entity. In its love it is to be transformed. But so that it may seek
by means of pure love to ascend thereto all creatures should and are induced
to ascend without ceasing to the high and sovereign things from which they
have their perfection and being, also the forms which give them perfection

made strong, became mighty in war, put foreign armies to flight.

¹ Vulgate has Ge. i 24:-

Dixit quoque Deus: Producat terra animam viventem in genere suo, jumenta et reptilia, et
bestias terræ secundum species suas. Factumque est ita.

NASB has Ge. i 24:-

Then God said, "Let the earth bring forth living creatures after their kind: cattle and
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descend without ceasing to them. This is evident primarily in creatures which only have being, such as terrestrial things, for one sees the mountains lifting themselves from the land, waves and the swell move over the seas and rivers, the winds, hidden places and concavities of lands or waters expel them violently so that they rise up;

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about the element of fire - its ascension is a commonplace of experience, and it is said of it in the book of Judges *Ascendit ignis de petra*.¹ The most noble part of gold or of metal rises to the top of the melt up to the point of sublimation; also just the same are all things clear, pure, worthy and precious, as also on the contrary, all things vile, tainted and superfluous descend. As for vegetable matter, one see from experience that grains, seeds and roots placed under the ground to grow and to multiply, do not cease from going upwards until they are perfect, from which one can say and conclude that man is an holy animal, temple of the divinity, honourable, admirable and for whose service other things have been made in accordance with the desire which is natural to him, to ascend without ceasing and to know from the elementary world the celestial, from the celestial the angelic, and from the angelic the divine; also he is to ascend from external sensuality to the interior, from the interior to reason, from reason to intelligence, and from there finally to the divine light, which will transform itself into him. For this end, which is to ascend, man alone has his face and his head turned to heaven, and below which are the arms which are to be raised to pray and to desire God for part of the time, and for other parts of time are to be used for labouring and for toiling. Finally and at the lowest point are the feet, adhering to the earth, which remind him that he is among

creeping things and beasts of the earth after their kind"; and it was so.

¹ Vulgate has Ju. vi 21:-

Extendit angelus Domini summitatem virgæ quam tenebat in manu, et tetigit carnes et panes azymos; ascenditque ignis de petra, et carnes azymosque panes consumpsit; angelus autem Domini evanuit ex oculis ejus.

NASB has Ju. vi 21:-

Then the angel of the LORD put out the end of the staff that was in his hand and touched the meat and the unleavened bread; and fire sprang up from the rock and consumed the
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the animals.¹ But his end is for him to ascend to the contemplation of supercelestial and divine sciences, which cannot be conquered by syllogism, demonstration and logic, but only by supercelestial revelation and gracious irradiation, to which few people come for many reasons. First, on account of the imbecility and fragility of human nature, with which one is borne, as it is written in Job. Pullus onagri homo nascitur.² Secondly due to the bad doctrine in which one is instructed and taught from birth for it is common for children to be instructed in fables, fallacies, sophisms, mechanical and lucrative sciences in which they are lauded

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and crowned before they know and taste what it is to understand. Thirdly on account of the heat, ardour, desires, pretences, secular negotiations and worldly and carnal desires, to which one is subject and which one cannot effectively and totally resist as one should. For the person who wishes to Kabbalize must put out of mind father, mother, wife, children, brothers, sisters, parents, gold, silver, one's life and oneself, just as your evangelist says.³ Fourthly, on account of the height, the depth and the impenetrable light of the self same Kabbalah, which amazes and blinds all human spirits, for there is no sense or reason that may grasp it, unless it be singularly elevated and predestined by God, as is evident from the example of the children of Israel, who could not hear the law from the divine mouth, nor see the flaming fire in which God was revealed to them, but they said to Moses Loquere tu nobis et audiemus non loquatur nobis deus,⁴ which is to say, Speak to us and we shall do as you say, and the

meat and the unleavened bread. Then the angel of the LORD vanished from his sight.

¹Reference should be made to the image on folio 36 verso supra and the comments thereon.

²Vulgate has Jb. xi 12:-

Vir vanus in superbiam erigitur, et tanquam pullum onagri se liberum natum putat.

NASB has Jb. xi 12:-

And an idiot will become intelligent when the foal of a wild donkey is born a man.

³Mt xix 29, Mk. x 29 and Lk. xiv 26.

⁴Vulgate has Ex. xx 19:-

Dicentes Moysi: Loquere tu nobis, et audiemus; non loquatur nobis Dominus, ne forte moriamur.

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fact that God did not speak at all was a sign that in all that holy multitude there was no true and consummate Kabbalist except for Moses, in whom there was no idol, element, phantasm or such like corporeal or human feature which could prevent him from coming to God. For this reason Solomon said long ago *Alta profunditas: quis inueniet eam*.¹ Also very few people know Hebrew letters and sciences, which are divine and revealed, in which is the genius of the kabbalistic art.

Chapter Fifth

How Hebrew letters signify four things. First numbers. Secondly all creatures and every creature which are in the world. Thirdly any particular thing according to their first grammatical meaning. And fourthly many other things according to the will.

Before dividing the kabbalistic science by which the Holy Law given by God to Moses and to the children of Israel, is arranged, it is appropriate first of all take note of Hebrew letters, which one can call

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elements, that is to say elements (*hilemens*) or primary matter of syllables, sayings and sentences, which are numbered to twenty-two, to which one adds

NASB has Ex. xx 19:-

Then they said to Moses, "Speak to us yourself and we will listen; but let not God speak to us, lest we die."

¹ Vulgate has Ec. vii 25:-

Multo magis quam erat. Et alta profunditas! Quis inveniet eam?

NASB has Ec. vii 24:-

What has been is remote and exceedingly mysterious. Who can discover it?

Other references are:-

Salimbene de Adam - *Cronica* page 215 line 1.

Petrus Abaelardus *Theologica Christiana* book 2 line 1267; book 3, chapter 37, line 456.

Iohannes de Forda, *Super extremam partem Cantici canticorum sermones cxx* CM 17, sermon 17 line 16.

Jerome, *Comm. in Ezechiel*, Cl. 0587, book 13, chapter 43, line 774.

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five, which are only different in written form, and which are only used at the end of words.¹ But it is appropriate to read these letters as well as the Scriptures of the Hebrews in the opposite direction going from the right to the left, as follows²

Jerome, *Comm. in Ecclesiastes*, Cl. 0583, chapter 7, verse 24, line 354.

¹Thenaud appears unaware of exceptions to this rule, which concern the letter (Mêm)

מ and its final form ם.

Is. ix 6 has the final form in the opening word למרבה

Hebrew Is. ix 6 has variations on למרבה :-

למרבה [למרבה] [למרבה] המשנה ולשלוש איין קין
על כסא דוד ועל ממלכתו
להקין אתה ולסעדה
במשפט ובצדקה מעתה ועד עולם
קנאת יהוה צבאות תעשה זאת: ם

NASB has Is. ix 7:-

There will be no end to the increase of His government or of peace, On the throne of David and over his kingdom, To establish it and to uphold it with justice and righteousness, From then on and forevermore. The zeal of the LORD of hosts will accomplish this.

Some authorities saw no significance of this use of the closed (Mêm) ם. For instance P. Martinus, *Grammaticæ Hebræ libri duo*, Paris, M luennem, 1567, derided the Kabbala and said with respect to the open and closed Mem "it is therefore ridiculous to seek mysteries where there are only faults by copyists." See *De abbrevuaturis hebraicis* Basle, 1613 in the dedicatory epistle.

Eli Levita claimed that the reading should be למרבה

In *b. Sanhedrin* 94a Bar-Kappara says that God planned that Hezekiah should be the Messiah, and Sennacherib should be Gog and Magog. Hezekiah was not found to be worthy of this, and therefore the Mêm of *l'marbeh* was closed.

The alternative occurs in Neh. ii 13 where the open Mêm occurs in some versions. המ

Heb. has Ne. ii 13:-

ואצאה בשער הגיא לילה ואל פני עין התנין ואל שער האשפת
ואהי שבר בחומת ירושלם אשר המפרוצים [הם] ו [הם] [פרוצים]
ושעריה אכלו באש:

The Midrash comments "The broken walls of Jerusalem will be closed in the day of salvation, and the government which has been closed up to the time of the King Messiah will be opened then."

Thenaud was unaware of such refinements.

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Theth/Theth/Sadai/Vafhe/Daleth/Gimel/Beth/Alep
 U F I J H G A B N
 Sadik/Phe/Am/Samach/Num/Men/Lameth/Caph/Iox
 Y S Y D B V L K
 Sadik/Phe/Num/Men/Caph/Chaph/Schun/tes/kup
 Y N I D J H W R Q

These twenty-seven letters divided into three nines by which first, all things are, and every thing is numbered. For every number is made up of simple numbers, of tens and of hundreds, so then the nine first letters from Aleph up to Theth signify 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. The second group from Iod up to the first Zadik signifies ten, twenty, thirty, forty, fifty, sixty, seventy, eighty, ninety. The third group, which are from Kuph up to the second Zadik, signify one hundred, two hundred, three hundred, four hundred, five hundred, six hundred, seven hundred, eight hundred, nine hundred. For a thousand they understand all that can be numbered, beyond which there is only infinity. And for this when they want to say that a thing is infinite, they say that it exceeds a thousand, as it is written, Bonum michi lex oris tui super milia auri et argenti¹ and again. Mile anni ante oculos tuos tanq^u dies hesterna que preterit.² However when they want to number beyond a thousand they write their alphabet in large size letters, so that the first nine letters are worth nine hundred thousands,

²Comparison with the Geneva ms. Fr. 167 is instructive. It shows that the level of knowledge of the significance of Hebrew letters and manner in which cryptographic use could be made of them was either unknown to Thénaut in 1521 or was not revealed in ms. 5061. The Geneva ms. Fr. 167 folio 144 recto follows ms. 5061 closely up to the listing of the Hebrew alphabet. The Geneva ms then has an extensive section inserted which is given in translation at Endnote 'Geneva ms. Fr. 167 Insertion Divine Characters'.

¹ Vulgate has Ps. cxviii 72:-

Bonum mihi lex oris tui, super millia auri et argenti.

NASB has Ps. cxvix 72:-

The law of Thy mouth is better to me than thousands of gold and silver pieces.

² Vulgate has Ps. lxxxix 4:-

Quoniam mille anni ante oculos tuos tanquam dies hesterna quæ præterit, Et custodia in nocte;

NASB has Ps. xc 4:-

For a thousand years in Thy sight are like yesterday when it passes by, Or as a watch in Treatise 4 page 44

the second nine millions, and the third nine hundred millions. After this they wrote their alphabet in red, and the first nine is worth nine milienards (sic), (each milienard (sic) is worth ten hundred millions), the second is worth ninety milienards and the third

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nine hundred milienards. If they wish to count further they write their alphabet in azure or in the colour of their choice, and according to the colour, gold or silver, they impose numbers, so that they can count innumerable things.¹ And just as the checkerboard has sixty-four parts, by multiplying each point by half they say one, two, four, eight, sixteen, thirty-two, sixty-four, and so on; I know that the poet Dante said that God created all things within the numbers of the checkerboard, except the angels, who are without such number. For they are innumerable, and infinite.

Margin has Exposition of the first letter of the Law of Moses which is Beth.

And as the law starts with a large Beth, which signifies two thousand for the Kabbalists (who claim authority from the companions of Elijah) they say that there were two thousand years before the giving of the Law, when people lived by the law of nature, and that the time of the written law was to endure two thousand years, after which would come two thousand years for the law of grace and of Messiah. And thus the world was not to last more than six thousand years according to their computation, as signified in the first six days in which God created and ornamented the world as it is written in the first chapter of Genesis. And if that scripture concerning each single day is Kabbalized properly one finds that which has happened and that which is to happen in

the night.

¹Thenaud follows Reuchlin in part. The departure occurs at the representation of numbers in excess of ten thousand, as may be seen from *De Arte Cabalistica*, folio 70 recto where "big yod," is used for ten-thousand but after that, instead of changing the size, some authorities are said to mark the tops of the letter. After this they do not use letters but words. (*Deinceps non figuris utuntur, sed verbis.*)

(רבו רבותים) "A multitude of multitudes" meaning a "thousand thousands," "two-thousand thousands" and so on. Reuchlin states that the Kabbalists wholeheartedly adopted
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each thousand years of the duration of the world. So it is evident from the fourth day and thousand in which the sun and the moon were created and which signify the Messiah who is to illuminate the whole world by his faith and doctrine; also his church which is signified by the moon. For this reason you other Christians say that your Christ came into the world three thousand five hundred and eight years after the creation according to our computation and for this reason today is one thousand five hundred and twenty-one from his birth, whence it follows that the world will only last nine hundred and forty-one years.¹ And in this millennium there will be the marvellous conjunction²

margin has How long this world will last

together with that flood which is to be feared in the year which you others call one thousand five hundred and twenty-four.³ After those six days, six thousand years,⁴ will come the seventh

folio 72 recto

day, blessed of God, which is the Sabbath of such great blessedness, glory and felicity, that there is no man who may comprehend it, so that you gospel this alphabetical numerical mode.

¹ The Geneva ms. Fr. 167, known to be a later copy made in 1536, has the same numbers.

Thenaud's full response to the conjunction of 1524 was his *Troys résolutions et sentences, c'est assavoir de l'astrologue, du poète, et du théologue, sur les grandes conjunctions, moyennes et petites qui se font ou signe de pisces. L'an mil vcc iiiie*, Vienna ms 2645, 1520.

² *Iunio*.

³ Arabic astrology was responsible for the prognostications that there would be a great flood in 1524. L. Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, New York, 1941. ch. 11, The Conjunction of 1524.

For observations on Thenaud's *Troys résolutions et sentences, c'est assavoir de l'astrologue, du poète, et du théologue, sur les grandes conjunctions, moyennes et petites qui se font ou signe de pisces. L'an mil v^o xxiii^e*, see Endnote *Troys résolutions et sentences*, *infra*.

Thenaud was aware of the astrological contributions of oriental authorities. See his *Généaltic de la très sacrée majestée du Roy très chrestien*, 1533, musée Condé de Chantilly, ms. 420 (712).

For instance folio 9 recto has '*Ptholomee et haly dient ... Aussi Abraham iuif / Omer / et aultres astrologues ...*'

⁴ Irenæus, *Against Heretics*, V, 28, 2-3. Lactantius, *Divine Institutes*, VII, 14.

Thenaud does not touch upon a consequential theme, which was the effect attributed to the dispensation of Christ. These sources claimed an "extra" thousand years, said to have been prefigured in the Old Testament when Joshua (=Jesus) had caused the sun and the moon to stand still for the space of a whole day. Jo. x 13; Rabanus Maurus, P.L. 108, 1045; Augustine, P.L. 35; 2175-76.

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says *Diem illam nemo nouit*.¹ The words of the above mentioned colleagues of Elijah, according to the Count of Mirandola, are *Dixerūt discipuli helie sex mille annorū mundus. Duo mille inane. Duo mille lex Duo mille anni messie*² So you can see how the Kabbalists were arrested by the first letter of the Bible and by the number which it signifies.

Margin has The alphabet of the Hebrews signifies all the universe

Secondly the other letters of that alphabet signify all and every thing which is in the universe.³ The nine first ones signify the nine order of the angels, which are in the intellectual world, that is to say Aleph the Seraphins, Beth the Cherubins, Gimel the thrones, Daleth the Powers, He the Principalities, Vau the Dominations, Sdain the Virtues, Cheth the Archangels and Theth the angels. The second nine signify heavens which make the celestial world. Iod signifies the first mobile, which is unity and the fountain of all movement. Caph the sky, star, otherwise known as the firmament. Lameth Saturn, Mem Jupiter, Num Mars, Samach the Sun, Ayin Venus, Phe Mercury, and Zade the Moon. Then the four first letters of the third nine, which make up the consummation of the twenty-two letters of the alphabet, signify the four elements. And the five other corresponding to two characters signify everything which is mixed and composed of the four elements, which things have been created by

¹ Vulgate has Mt. xxiv 36:-

De die autem illa et hora nemo scit, neque angeli cælorum, nisi solus Pater.

NASB has Mt. xxiv 36:-

But of that day and hour no one knows, not even the angels of heaven, nor the Son, but the Father alone.

Vulgate has Mk. xiii 32:-

De die autem illo vel hora nemo scit, neque angeli in cælo, neque Filius, nisi Pater.

NASB has Mk. xiii 32:-

But of that day or hour no one knows, not even the angels in heaven, nor the Son, but the Father alone.

Thenaud omits mention of the hour, which does not assist his exegesis. More importantly the treatment which Thenaud gives this eschatologically intended passage illustrates his lack of interest in eschatology. The second coming of Christ is the subject of these two passages.

²The disciples of Elijah say that this world is for six thousand years - two thousand without the law - two thousand with the law - two thousand for the Messiah.

³Thenaud's cosmology differs here from that used by Reuchlin, *De Arte Cabalistica*, folio 70 verso ff. which gives first a cosmology related to the 27 letters of the Hebrew alphabet, including the final forms, and then the variant views of the alphabet attributed to Recanati, Rabbis Amorai, Jacob Cohen and Rahumai.

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God as Isaiah said *Creavis celos et extendens eos formans terram et ea que germinant ex ea dans flatum populo qui est super eam et spiritum calcantantibus eam*.¹ Thirdly these letters signify certain things according to their first grammatical institution for Aleph means way or instruction, Beth house, Gimel retribution, Daleph door or entry, He behold, Vaf crooked hook, Sdain arms, Cheth fear, Theth descent, Iod confession of praise, Caph palm of the hand, Lameth doctrine, Mem water, Num sonship, Samach placing, Ayin eye, Phe mouth, Zade sides, Kuf revolution,

folio 72 verso

or circuit Rees poverty, suffering or heritage. Sin teeth. Thaph or thau sign.² Others say that the above mentioned twenty-two letters signify these twenty-two sayings in applying to the first saying the first letter, to the second saying the second letter, and so on for the other sayings which are Country, Life, Peace,

¹ Vulgate has Is. xlii 5:-

Hæc dixit Dominus Deus, creans cælos, et extendens eos; firmans terram et quæ germinat ex ea; dans flatum populo qui est super eam, et spiritum calcantinus eam.

NASB has Is. xlii 5:-

Thus says God the Lord, who created the heavens and stretched them out, who spread out the earth and its offspring, who gives breath to the people in it, and spirit to those who walk in it.

²Thenaud follows *De Arte Cabalistica*, folio 69 recto, verso.

So, on the original position of the letters, they show that Aleph is the Way or Rule (Jb. xxxiii "I will teach," i.e. "I shall instruct you in wisdom"); beth is the house (Ps. xxiii: "I shall live in the house of the Lord"; Gimel is retribution (Psalm cxvi: "Because the Lord has given you retribution"); daled is a door or entrance (Ge. xix: "And they were near to break the door"); he is Behold (Ge. xlvii: "Behold, your seed"); Vav is a bent hook (Ex. xxvi: "Their hooks will be golden"); Zain is weapons (3 Ki. xxii: "And they washed their weapons in accordance with the word of the Lord"); Heth is terror (Jb. vii: "You will frighten me through dreams"); Teth is a slipping down, by transposition with Thet (Pr. iv: "Do not slip down to right or left"); yod is a confession of praise (Ge. xlix: "Your brothers will praise you"; Kaph is the palm of a hand (Ec.: "Better is a handful of quietude"); lamed is teaching (Ps. cxliii: "Teach me to do your will"); Mem is water (Is. lv: "All you who are thirsty come to the waters"); nun is sonship (Is. xiv: "Son and posterity"); Samakh is placing (Dt. xxxiv: "Because Moses placed his hands on him"); Ain is eye (Ex. xxi: "Eye for eye"); Pe is mouth (Ex. 4: "Who gave man a mouth"; Sade is sides (Ex. xxv: "Six reeds will come out of its sides"); Quph is a turning or circuit (Ex. xxxiv: "With the time of the year returning," i.e. "with the circuit of the year"); Resh is neediness (Pr. 10: "The fear of the poor is their neediness," or, according to others, "their inheritance"); shin is tooth (Jb. 4: "And the teeth of dogs are worn down"); thau is a sign (Ez. ix: "The signs of thau on the foreheads of men").

M and S. Goodman, *op. cit.*, p. 315.

Wisdom, Sight, Hearing, Smell, Speech, Infusion, Rest, Riches, Negotiation, Waters, Conduits, Spirit, Laughter, Seed, Suspicion, Sleep, Grace, Fire and Power.¹ Fourthly the above mentioned letters signify other things according to the good pleasure of doctors, rabbis and masters. For some of them by Aleph and Beth united together mean Prudence, by Gimel and Daleth Retribution. By these four letters²

¹Thenaud follows Reuchlin *De Arte Cabalistica* folio 71 recto which is derived from Rabbi Jacob Cohen's פירוש השם הקדוש *Explanation of the Holy Name*. Reuchlin has, *seriatim, aura, uita, pax, sapientia, uisus, auditus, odoratus, locutio, infusio, cubatio, opes, negocium, aquæ, meatus, spiritus, risus, semen, suspicio, sopor, gratia, ignis, potestas*.

² Geneva ms. Fr. 167 has folio 150 recto:-

*...le'entendoient prudence: Par Gimel
Par ces quatre lettres א ב ג ד
sic tu in fortibus tetragrame: Je lay
Ichauch mys sur les lettres ou dessous*

Here Thenaud uses Reuchlin incorrectly. Whereas Reuchlin made reference to the five letters Aleph, Beth, Gimel, Daleth and Mem (see folio 70 recto given below here) after he had considered the four letters Mem, Caph, Beth and Yod (see folio 68 verso given below here) from which Judas Macchabee derived his name, Thenaud writes about Aleph, Beth, Gimel and Daleth, and then proceeds to write of the four letter origin of Judas Macchabee's name.

De Arte Cabalistica folio 70 recto has:-

*Tertiam nunc speciem substantiæ literarum breuissime
recenseamus, quæ ad aliquas magistrorum nostrorum intentiones referunt, ut
aleph beth illis significat prudentiam, et gimel daleth remunerationem pauperum,
et mem. i. Meamar uidelicet sermonem aptum & sermonem occultum, & sic de
aliis, quæ paulo inferius recitabimus Thalmudicis in usu frequentiora.*

Let us now briefly consider the third aspect of the substance of letters, when they are put to our teachers' particular uses. According to this, AB signifies prudence, GD signifies the reward of the poor, and M, meaning "saying," signifies open and secret speech. Similarly with the other examples that we will go over soon below, although these are more commonly used by Talmudists.

De Arte Cabalistica folio 68 verso has:-

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videntur prudentia per Ginel et Salet
 Dar ces quatre lettres? ד ד ד ד ils en
 Quis sicut ut tu in fortibus tetragramm
 Douze caractères lesquels mis sur les
 sous celles suivantes lesquelles

they mean Quis sicut ut tu in fortibus tetragrame.¹ I leave out the twelve
 characters which are put above the letters or under them; these serve as
 vowels. For they are to be attributed

& respōdit
 Judas Machabē in isto signo p̄sentiā esse dei oīpōtētis ineffabilis. Ostē
 ditq; illa yba Moysi Exod. xv. dicētis **יְהוָה** **מִי כְמוֹךָ** **בְּאֵלִים** **יְהוָה**
 i. Quis sic ut tu in fortib; tetragrāmāte. Hi nāq; quatuor characteres hæc
 uerba designāt tanq̄ eorū initia, ubi loq; significare nomē tetragrāmāton
 plane dephēdit, ac esse reuera **מְכַבְּדֵי** diuini noīs loq; literarū p̄ aqua
 litatē numeri memorabile symbolū. Eo cōmoti q̄ erāt de Iude exercitu ite
 rū pugnātes prostrauerūt nō min⁹ triginta quinq; millia ut scripta indicāt,
 p̄sentiā dei mirifice delectati & patria uoce oīpōtentē dñm tetragrāmātō
 b̄ndicētes.

And Judas the Macchabee replied that in that sign is the presence of the
 omnipotent, ineffable God. He pointed them to the words of Moses in Exodus 15,
 where he says: "Who is like you among the mighty, YHVH?" These four letters
 indicate these words like initials. Here yod clearly signifies openly the Name of the
 Tetragrammaton, while MKBY is in fact a memorable symbol of the divine name of 72
 letters, because of their numerical equivalence. Excited by this information, the men
 of Judas' army fought again and slew not fewer than thirty-five-thousand, as Scripture
 shows. They were wonderfully pleased that the presence of God was with them and
 blessed the omnipotent Lord of the Tetragram with their ancestral words.

¹ Vulgate has Ex. xv 11:-

Quis similis tui in fortibus, Domine? Quis similis tui, magnificus in sanctitate, terribilis
 atque laudabilis, faciens mirabilia?

NASB has Ex. xv 11:-

Who is like Thee among the gods, O LORD?

Who is like Thee, majestic in holiness?

Awesome in praises, working wonders?

The following variations in the Latin versions are to be noted.

J. Reuchlin *De Verbo Mirifico*, Basle, 1494, page 96 sig. g4 verso has:-

'... quia in eius nominis characteribus includerent diuinus Moysi uersiculus iste: Quis
 similis tui in fortibus Tetragramme. ...'

Thenaud shows some variations in the word order. The Geneva ms. Fr. 167 has a gap
 where ms. 5061 has *ut*, as may be seen from these images:-

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margin has The livery and the sign of the knights of Judas Maccabees to the scribe Ezra after the transmigration from Babylon together with the new doctors.¹ If therefore in each one of the letters there are so many mysteries, secrets and interpretations, it is appropriate to examine more fully the sayings, perfect orations and into the books which the saints, patriarchs and prophets have received from the hand of God.

The excellence of holy scripture which is a book of all doctrines. A plate of every foodstuff. A tree of every fruit. And a mine of every metal, and how it can be Kabbalized according to the true art.

*ble'entendoient prudence: Par Gincel
Par ces quatre lettres 7 3 3 D
sicut tu in fortibus tetragrame! Le lay
lesquelz mys sur les lettres ou desou*

Gen. ms. Fr. 167 folio 150 recto.

*voient prudence par Gincel et Dalet
Par ces quatre lettres 7 3 3 D ils ont
Quis sicut ut tu in fortibus tetragrame
dixse caractheres lesquelz mys sur les
doubz icelles seruent de voelles Car ils*

Ms. 5061 folio 72 verso

It is to be noted that whereas ms. 5061 has " ... sicut ut tu in fortibus ... ", the Geneva ms. has

" ...sicut tu in fortibus ... ", though there is a space as may be seen from the frame supra.

See also Ps. cxii 5, and Rupertus Tuitiensis *De sancte trinitate et operibus eius*.

¹Thenaud adopts Reuchlin's belief given in *De Arte Cabalistica* folio 65 recto which has:-

...Nondum enim erat scripturæ distinctio per puncta & accentus q̄ ab annis Ezre primum coepit. ...

...There were not yet the distinguishing points and accents in writing which first began in Ezra's time. ...

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Chapter six.

Just as human understanding is more elevated, perfect, live, active and excellent when the excellent sciences and doctrines are understood in the briefest of time without pain and labour, so also the angels are more elevated and glorious, who know and who understand God better than the lower and less numerous intelligible species, forms or notions, or than any other things which emanate from him.

folio 73 recto

Also of the Scriptures, those are the most perfect which in brevity of volumes, terms, sentences, contain in truth all and every one of the divine, angelic, human, elementary, natural and mechanical things, as do the Holy Scriptures, which are marvellous rivers, in which lambs may walk without danger; but I know that elephants may hardly pass through them swimming. For this reason Holy Scripture is firstly a book of all doctrines. The schoolmasters read divers books to their scholars, according to the diversity of their knowledge, age and spirit. But God Almighty has composed one book alone for all spirits and intellects, which is so perfect and so accomplished that even the most well informed man, if he lived for a thousand years and did not cease from study of it from his earliest years until the time of his death, still he would be profiting from it. The book is perfect, so when the letters are pronounced and taken together from the left to the right it contains the whole of grammar. If, on the contrary, rhetoric is taught, so from the length of the page one takes the first letter of every line, and the second letters of the lines, and so on with the others, these contain logic. The syllables and the sayings, diversely punctuated teach the four sciences of mathematics. So transposed letters expose not only theology, but what is more they give the spirit of prophecy, and so derived from them one can give a thousand good responses and interpretations which are true for all questions whatever they may be; moreover the book will be more marvellous and indicative of the perfection of the worker. But such is

that of Holy Scripture (very exquisite work of God) which can never be known in full without that most singular grace which David asked for when he said *Revela oculos meos et considerabo mirabilia de lege tua*¹ and again *Da michi intellectum et scrutabor mirabilia de lege tua*² which is to say, O sire, God, illumine my eyes, and give me understanding so that I seek, see and consider the wonderful things which are enclosed in the scripture of thy law. Also Moses said in the fourth chapter of Deuteronomy

folio 73 verso

*hec est sapiencia nostra et intellectus coram omnibus populus sapiens uniuersi precepta hec dicant En populus sapiens et intelligens*³ that is to say This is our wisdom and understanding before all nations, so that all those who hear the commandments of God exposed say Look here is a wise and intelligent people. All the things mentioned above would in no way have been required of David, nor so highly praised by Moses if the law and the scriptures were as common and vulgar as Plato, Tituslivy, Homer, Virgil, the Code or the Digest of the Greeks and the Latins. But the innumerable glosses, homilies, sermons and volumes which have been made and composed in exposition by more than four thousand doctors show that this is a book of all sciences and

¹Vulgate has Ps. cxviii 18:-

Revela oculos meos; et considerabo mirabilia de lege tua.

NASB has Ps. cxvix 18:-

Open my eyes, that I may behold
Wonderful things from Thy law.

²Vulgate has Ps. cxviii 34:-

Da mihi intellectum, et scrutabor legem tuam, et custodiam illam in tote corde meo.

NASB has Ps. cxvix 34:-

Give me understanding, that I may observe Thy law,
And keep it with all my heart.

³Vulgate has Dt. iv 6:-

Et observabitis et implebitis opere; hæc est enim vestra sapientia et intellectus coram populis, ut audientes universa præcepta hæc, dicant: En populus sapiens et intelligens, gens magna.

NASB has Dt. iv 6:-

So keep and do them, for that is your wisdom and your understanding in the sight of the peoples who will hear all these statutes and say, "Surely this great nation is a wise and understanding people."

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doctrines made by the sovereign workman. Example. In the first chapter and in the first sentence of the book of Genesis, which is *In principio creavit deus celum et terram* the count of Mirandola has found by transposition of the Hebrew letters, *Pater in filio et per filium principium et finem sive quietem creavit Caput ignem et fundamentum magni hominis federe bono* that is to say The Father by the Son and in the Son, who is the principle, end and the commencement of all things, has created the head, the fire and the fundament of great man by good alliance. By the head, in which there is the seat of reason and of animal powers, he intends the angelic world. By fire, the celestial world and by the fundament mentioned above he intends the elementary world and by the alliance he intends the union of the three worlds. In one hundred and fifty psalms of David all sciences, natural, mathematical and theological are comprised, beyond which others add holy magic, meaning that thereby one finds completion and end to all of ones desires. If one says three times a day devotedly this psalm *Exaltabo te deus meus rex*.¹ One will finally also have the grace of God and eternal felicity, as the Hebrews recite, as was alleged by Marcel Ficin in a letter which he sent to Ange Policien, this psalm *Domine in virtute tua letabitur rex*.² Prosper, cause to flourish and to triumph in

¹ Vulgate has Ps. cxliv 1:-

Laudatio ipsi David.

Exaltabo te, Deus meus rex; et benedicam nomini tuo in seculum, et in seculum seculi.

NASB has Ps. cxlv 1:-

I will extol Thee, my God, O King; And I will bless Thy name forever and ever.

See End note *Pseaulmes troys*.

² Vulgate has Ps. xx 2:-

Domine, in virtute tua lætabitur rex, et super salutare tuum exultabit vehementer.

NASB has Ps. xxi 1:-

O LORD, in Thy strength the king will be glad,
And in Thy salvation how greatly he will rejoice!

Reuchlin, *De Verbo Mirifico*, folio 64 recto uses this same verse, but the context is quite different. Reuchlin uses it as an illustration of how Hebrew letters may be transposed. Kabbalists are said to refer the verse to the Messiah משיח which is a transposition of ישמח. A letter was reputed to be able to stand for any other letter, and this was denoted by the placing of a mark over the letter employed. In this way it was thought that every musical, arithmetical and geometrical proportion may be completed. (*ut omnis tandem proportio compleant arithmetica geometrica & musica.*)

Treatise 4 page 54

peace and joy the

folio 74 recto

kings. Deus iudicium tuum regi da. Procure good life and felicity for the children of the kings. Conserua me domine. Is effective in keeping one in the grace of God. Miserere mei deus is to obtain the remission of ones sins Audite celi que loquor. To appease tempests Deus laudem. To confound ones enemies. This verse Remitte michi priusqu is to heal plagues. Others are for staunching blood. Others for arresting wild beasts and birds, others for getting the help that one wants from God and from angels. In brief there is no day nor year for which true prognostication may not be found and made by the verses of the Psalter, and by the letters of it, which I regard as rather superstitious. So then it appears that the Holy Scripture is a book of all doctrines, which in declaring that which has been done in the literal sense, announces in the moral sense or by transposition of it, all things which are to come, and what one should do. Secondly, Holy Scripture is like a plate of all varieties of meats, from which the sovereign king, who has all sorts of spirits at his banquet, has placed there all sorts of meats, that is to say for men of low estate, for merchants and burgers, for religious, for priests, for kings, emperors and Popes, for all nations. But the principal is to know how to handle and to conduct oneself to live thereon spiritually in all its delights. For the one who chews thereon perfectly, so that the contemplation goes beyond the word, scripture and shell, such a one finds very sweet delight. For this reason it says in the thirteenth chapter of Proverbs *Multi cibi in noualibus patrum*¹ This meat is spiritual and one is to

Verba causa , illud psalmi xxi. Domine in uirtute tua laetabitur rex, intelligimus Cabalistiche de Messiha dicentes Domine tetragrammate in uirtute tua Messiha rex,

Take as example. Ps. 21: "O Lord, in your strength the king will be glad," is understood by Kabbalists as referring to the Messiah: "O Lord, Tetragrammaton, in your strength the king Messiah. . ."

See also Rupertus Tuitiensis *de sancte trinitate et operibus eius*, and *Commentaria in Canticum canticorum* , book 4, page 98, line 489:-

Nam ego sum ille rex de quo dicebat domine in virtute tua lætabitur rex et super salutare tuum exsultabit uehementer.

¹ Vulgate has Pr. xiii 23:-

Multi cibi in novalibus patrum; at aliis congregantur absque iudicio.

take it spiritually. Thirdly, holy scripture is like a mine of all metals and riches in which one finds gold and silver, lead, iron, copper and tin, sulphur and poison, diamonds, emeralds and turquoises, sapphires, chrysolites and hyacinths, of which it is written in the seventh of Wisdom¹. Infinitus est thesaurus hominibus, and in the second of Proverbs si quesieris eam quasi pecuniam et quasi thesaurum effoderis illam.² The Catholic doctors bring out from it gold and silver, those who are dead

folio 74 verso

to the world and live only to God bring out from it precious stones, the common people take from it lead and tin, and heretics derive from it deathly poisons. Fourthly it is a tree of all fruits, which Daniel contemplated and in which all the birds of the heavens and all the beasts of the land fed according to the food appropriate to their nature, so that those who could not achieve immortality on account of our first parents in the terrestrial paradise and the fruit of the tree of life, may be made immortal. And so it is that there is no scripture revealed to mankind in which there is living spirituality, except the Holy Scripture, which is our Bible, that is the law contained in the first five books.

Division of the Kabbalah.

NASB has Pr. xiii 23:-

Abundant food is on the fallow ground of the poor, But it is swept away by injustice.

Thenaud only quotes the opening part of the verse. This part, on its own, is highly convenient to his intent. It is to be noted however that the whole chapter (like the surrounding ones) derive their force from chiasmus. Every verse of the chapter contrasts the first phrase with the second phrase.

¹ Vulgate has *Liber Sapientiæ* vii 14:-

infinitus enim thesaurus est hominibus; quo qui usi sunt participes facti sunt amicitiae Dei, propter disciplinæ dona commendati.

² Vulgate has Pr. ii 4:-

Si quæseris eam quasi pecuniam, et sicut thesauros effoderis illam;

NASB has Pr. ii 4:-

If you seek for her as silver,

And search for her as for hidden treasures;

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Chapter Seventh.

Solomon divided the Kabbalah into three parts, according to the three things that God employed in the construction of the world, which are Number, Weight and Measure,¹ so he said *Certe scripsi tibi tripliciter consulto et esententia ut notificare tibi multitudinem eloquiorum*² (that is to say) For sure I have written

¹ "... we must not despise the science of numbers, which, in many passages of Holy Scripture, is found to be of eminent service to the careful interpreter. Neither has it been without reason numbered among God's praises, "thou hast ordered all things in number, and measure and weight."

Augustine, *City of God*, XI, 30; Dods tr. I, 475.

See also *Wisdom*, XI, 20; Origen, *De Principiis*, II, 9.

² Vulgate has Pr. xxii 20:-

Ecce descripsi eam tripliciter, in cogitationibus et scientia

LXX has Pr. xxii 20:-

καὶ σὺ δὲ ἀπόγραψαι αὐτὰ σεαυτῷ τρισσῶς εἰς βουλήν
καὶ γνώσιν ἐπὶ τὸ πλάτος τῆς καρδίας σου.

Hebrew has Pr. xxii 20:-

הֲלֹא כָתַבְתִּי לְךָ שְׁלִשִּׁים [שְׁלִישִׁים] בְּמוֹעֲצוֹת וְדַעַת:

NASB has Pr. xxii 20:-

Have I not written to you excellent (previous) things
Of counsels and knowledge

The Venerable Bede, *In proverbia Salomonis*, book III, Cl. 1352, lib. 2, chapter 22, line 170 has *Ecce descripsi eam tibi tripliciter in cogitationibus et scientia ut ostenderem tibi firmitatem et eloquia veritatis*.

Whereas the LXX has the second person singular σὺ, the Vulgate and the Hebrew have the first person singular. The Vulgate and the Hebrew are to be preferred on account of the sense of the passage and the syntax.

NASB is defective in ignoring the notion of *threefold*, tripliciter, τρισσῶς. Reliance has not been placed on the *Kerî* which has שְׁלִישִׁים for *three times*, but on the written text which has שְׁלֹשִׁים for the adverb meaning *three days ago*, or specifically *the day before yesterday*. The Authorised version is equally questionable with *Have I not written to thee excellent things in counsels and knowledge*, ...

F. Delitzsch, *op. cit.*, p. 97, comments on this Proverb that *In the period of David we meet with the word שְׁלִישִׁים as the name of the heroes (the Gibbôrîm) who stood nearest the king. The shalish-men form the élite troops that stood highest in rank, at whose head stood two triads of heroes, - Jashobeam at the head of the shalish-men generally; Abishai at the head of the second trias; who held an honourable place among the shalish-men, but yet reached not to that first trias, II Sam. xxiii 8 ff. (= I Chr. xi 11 ff.)*

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the law through mature and grave deliberation in three manners so that you may know the way by which you will easily come to the doctrines of truth. Others divide it into two parts, which are Sephiroth,¹ that is to say Numbers, and Shemoth, which is to say names, as with the speculative and the practical. Others divide it into five parts, which are Rectitude, Combination, Permutation, Equipollence and Numeration and I shall follow this definition in this chapter.² Rectitude is when one joins the first letters of a saying or of a page, so that one then finds there a true sentence or other hidden things; so also many put their names in the first letters of rondos, ballads and poems. Others put the alphabet at the start of the line, or of the saying. Examples: the hymn A solis ortu cardine, and the Lamentations of Jeremiah³

folio 75 recto

As in the following oration Arbore benoist celestial Delectable et fructiferant
Glorieux haut imperial Katholique luciferant Mirre net odoriferant Plus que

The conclusion to be drawn is that Thenaud was justified in using this Proverb to accord a place of honour to the means of revelation.

¹See Endnote Sephiroth, and End Image folio 109 verso.

²Thenaud makes use of Reuchlin *De Arte Cabalistica* folio 64 recto which discusses whether the Kabbalah is to be considered under two, three or five heads. Reuchlin acknowledges Pico (*The Nine Hundred Conclusions*) for a twofold division, Solomon with Rabbi Joseph bar Abraham of Salema and most other Kabbalists (*Sed Rabbi Joseph Bar Abraham Salematinus & Cabalistarum multo maxima pars sequunt Salmonem regem ...*) for a threefold division and Rabbi Hamai (*On Speculation*) for a fivefold division. Thenaud adopts the fivefold division which Reuchlin gave as

תיקון וצירוף ומאמר ומכלל וחשבון
Rectitudo & combinatio & oratio
& sententia & supputatio.

תיקון וצירוף ומאמר ומכלל וחשבון

Rectitudo & combinatio & oratio & sententia & supputatio.

³ The Lamentations of Jeremiah are in five chapters. Chapters i, ii, iv and v all have 22 verses. The first letter of each verse accords with the Hebrew alphabet. Chapter iii has 66 verses; the first three verses start with the first letter, the second three with the second letter, and so on.

rosier superable Tendre vierge xristiferant Yris zelee comfortable.¹ Secondly there is Combination which is done in many ways, for one often joins and couples letters, then one takes one for the other, as when one takes A for B, and B for A. Thus combined your letters are ab / cd / ef / gh / ik / lm / no / pq / rs / tu / xy / z con/ and if you wish to write Viue le roy la royne et monsieur le daulphin² you would write as follows Tktf / mf / snx / mb / snxof / fu / Inorkfts / mf / cbtmqgko / On other occasions one letter which is at the end of the word serves for the beginning of another. Example fleu . r . edolent . t . v . ierge . e . s . eraine . D . u . ra . y . . esu . s . acre . e . pouse . De . s . anctiffee s . ouueraine. Pierr . e . lucent . t . ro . p . recieuse. Nardu . s . oue . f . ontayn . e . ureuse . ffran . c . eu . r . oya . l . un . e . clairsie. Me . r . edondan . a . t . re . s . sauoureuse Deuotemen . t . o . n . o . m . ercie.³ On other occasions combinations are made of syllables and letters, for variations in punctuation give changes to the sense, and what is written in Latin, can be read in French, and what is written in French can be read in German. Thus there was the epitaph of the Duke of Burgundy, killed at Nancy, which starts Andrea per duces consors au ferre nephandus. which can be read Andre a perdu ses consors .etc.. And this is what was written on the defeat of Ludovic Sforza⁴

Arbre benoist celestial
 Delectable et fructiferant Glorieux hault imperial
 Catholique luciferant Myrrre net odoriferant Plus
 que rosier superable Tendre vierge xpistiferant Yris
 zelee comfortable

Folio 75 recto detail.

²Francis first son was also called *François*. He was born in 1518 but died in 1536. Thenaud dedicated to him the *Triomphe de Justice*. The second son was Henri (II) born 1519 died 1559.

³ These sayings are used by Thenaud to glorify the *tender Christ bearing virgin* ... with imagery related to sight and smell.

Tree blessed celestial delectable and fruitful glorious high imperial catholic light-bearing Myrrh pure odoriferous more than roses superable tender virgin Christ-bearing Iris zealous

Flower redolent virgin serene of true Jesus sacred wife of sanctified sovereign Stone shining too precious nard sweet fountain happy frank joy royal moon clarifies mother superabundant very sweet devotedly thy name thank.

⁴ Ludovic Sforza, Duke of Milan, who had concluded a pact with the Turks, which enabled the French to regard campaigns against Milan as a crusade. The following image
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Ora perduces consors terres gens et posses syon Ludouic qui fui de milana germanie ...which may also be read Or a perdu ses consors terre gens et possessions Ludouic qui a fuy de milan a germanie.¹ Thirdly there is Permutation, which is done when one unites all the letters of a sentence so that without addition and without diminution one finds another perfect sentence. Examples.

shows Francis, on the left, taking the sign of the cross before his decisive victory at the battle of Marignan, 1515. Note the dark face accorded to Sforza *le More*. The other members of the enemy are Swiss infantry, and Cardinal Sion.



BN ms. Fr. 2088. Folio 9 verso

¹Thenaud's protector, François Demoulins, wrote *De Saturne roy antique* BN ms. Fr. 1358 to comment on the interplay of Fortune and Time, with reference to the manner in which François Ier, as the young Duc de Valois, had endured the uncertainty of being heir apparent, but one whose succession was subject to the monarch, Louis XII, not producing an heir. The closing dialogue of ms. 1358 is between Fortune and Time. The same motif is given in the opening illustration, reproduced below reduced, which includes mention of Ludovica Sforza. The illustration has two central figures. One is old man *Tempus*, with a clock on his head, a wooden leg, and Saturn's scythe. He turns the wheel of *Fortunas*. He is accompanied by the hag *Grosse Verole*. The figure on the right is given as *Sardannapale* the traditional enemy of Prudence, and the essence of a feminine prince; hence the spinning equipment. At the base, on the left is a pile of bodies - a monk, a bishop, a cardinal, and "le général Briçonnet"; at the lowest point of the wheel is Ludovic. A particularly noteworthy aspect of the imagery and value of this work is that Demoulins' follower, Thenaud, saw fit to take the matter further with his own similarly intentioned work *de science poetique* BN ms. Fr. 2081.

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In these words which follow francoys par F¹ la grace de dieu roy de france is contained par leage dor dicy a C roys durera en Fance In Claude royne de france filhe et mere de roys is contained Celeste iardrin fleur feconde du roy amee in this motet Loyse mere du roy is contained O mirouer

folio 75 verso

de lyess² In this is contained Marguarite sister of the King - vray ima.g.tresor de vr. Otherwise. G. vray tresor de marie. Also the symbol of your profession together with the first letter of your name are contained in this saying Adueniat.³



BN ms. Fr. 1358 folio 1 verso.

Diminucion lon y trouue vne aultre parfaite sentēce
Exemple en ces motz qui sensuyuent ~~francoys~~ par
F la grace de dieu roy de france est cōteuu
par leage de dieu a C roys durera en France
En Claude royne la grace de dieu roy de france est cōteuu

A scribal correction is apparent to the word francoys. The second mention of France is to be noted.

For comments on the imagery of the letter F see the note Monogramme 'F'.

²O Mirror of joy (liesse).

³Geneva ms. Fr. 167 folio 154 recto has:-

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n nom propre & toutes celles
 en ce motet. *fi* adueniat Par au
 pt quil serue de: f. & I. ou en

Ms. 5061 folio 75 verso has:-

et toutes celles
 motet *fi* aduenia
 pt quil serue de

Thenaud makes anagrams of ADVENIAT - AUDIT NE? and AN VIDET? The first A of

f et J

ADVENIAT is divided into F and ?.

The form of that first A in the *motet* ADVENIAT shown above is also an F for François followed by *le symbole de ta profession*. The symbols that are possible are the fleur-de-lys, the tongues of flame and the cross. Thenaud was by no means unaware of the symbology of fire; see his numerous references to the Seraphin. On the other hand he associated the arms of France primarily with the fleur-de-lys (Geneva ms. Fr. 167 folio 146), and he uses the same imagery in connection with Francis, not only in the non-Kabbalistic works, but in the Kabbalistic ms. Fr. 882.

Thenaud does not specify the symbol. There are good grounds for relating the fleur-de-lys to the flames. See *supra* in the comments to Folio A recto of the connection between the salamander and flames. See also End Note Monogramme 'F'. On occasions the salamander was omitted and only the flames shown. See BN. ms. Fr. 5213. The frontispiece shows the order of St Michael, the closed crown, three fleur-de-lys, numerous letters F, and the flames. Treatise 4 page 62

Otherwise permutation can occur when a whole metre or sentence can be read forwards or backwards with or without change of sense. Example of the first is A mesure madame ruse ma There are the metres which are said to have been composed by an evil spirit like the one which carried the Bishop of Besançon to Rome signa te signa temere me tangis et angis : roma tibi subito motibus ibit amor. An example of when there is change of sense is in these metres

margin has Diverse ways of reading and writing

which, when read forwards teaches the way of paradise, but which when read backwards teaches the way to hell. Tu tibi despicias nec pompam dilige nullum Spemito nec laudis sibi tibi percupidus Tu bona diligito nec odito prospera cela Turpia nec fratris tu probra nudifices Cor tibi mollifica nec bellum diligito rixas despice nec motus sit tibi percupidus Da tua nec propria teneas sed munera largo fundito tu gazas nec bona concomules Sollicitus bene sis nec sompnum dilige vita occia nec teneat te pigra molicies Delicias fuge nec facies te dulcia sperne pocula nec carnem repleat ingluuies Mundiciam pete nec macules te lubrica mundi despice nec vanis subiaceat tua mens. Moreover there is permutation in the scriptures when it is laid out in a checkerboard pattern, when one can read in all directions and find perfect sentences up and down and across. Fourthly in the Kabbalah there is equipollence¹ when one letter is worth a syllable or saying. So the jurists sign ff . C . c . l . §.² Example if I want to write what follows briefly Tant ay ie occupe ma ieunesse en paresse laschete que perdre en doy ioye liesse les cieulx et felicite I write Tant A . J . O . Q . P . ma . ieu . s En par . s . / L . H . T . Que perdre en D I . L . J . S . / L

A-M. Lecoq, *op. cit.*, p. 460 comments '... Ce semis de flammes évoque évidemment le semis de fleurs de lys. Le rapprochement était d'ailleurs possible entre les fleurs d'or héraldiques et les étincelles flamboyantes. ...' The third possibility is that the symbol referred to, which is called that of *ta profession*, is however most likely to be the cross.

Advenio Latin to reach or to arrive. *Audio* to hear. *An* (only one use in Vulgate at I Sam. xii 3 in the sense of *or*) *Video* to see.

¹Here Thénau follows Reuchlin's description of Notarikon. *De arte Cabalistica*, folio 68 recto gives Notarikon as the second part of the Kabbalah, which is passed on from one Kabbalist to another. Single letters *literæ singulares* not combined into syllables *sine coagmentis syllabarum* stand for various words *certa uerba designent*. The similarity of Thénau's description to Reuchlin's is evident from Reuchlin's attributing the use of Notarikon to actuaries and notaries *quem admodum notariis & actuariis*, whilst Thénau's rather briefer mention is to *les iuristes* folio 76 verso.

²

folio 76 recto

Fifthly there is Numeration² which is to say when one joins all the letters which signify numbers so as to arrive at a knowledge of a truth, which one wishes to disguise. Thus those who predict that the most felicitous and happy reign of our most serene Augustus and King was to commence in the year One thousand five hundred and fifteen were also to grant him the title Franciscus francorum M.d.v.x. for the four final letters are the symbols of the above

f.f.c.c.l.f.

Folio 75 verso detail.

A.J.D.O.p.m.a.i.c.u.s. En pte. s./L.h.T.
Que pndre en. D/ G.L.J.S./ L.S.X.f.L.p.cr.T.c.c.

Folio 75 verso detail.

²Reuchlin *De arte Cabalistica*, folio 67 verso, covers this aspect as the second method of the first part of the Kabbalah which he gives as due to גימטריא, numerical measurement, *numerorum commensurationem*. It is undoubted that Thenaud follows him closely for Reuchlin has folios 67 verso and 68 recto as follows:-

Now I have decided, as we begin the second section of the first part, to show you an example of the first part to help you to understand the matter more clearly and to retain it the more firmly in your memory. It is said of Isaac and Rebecca in Genesis 25: "And conceived Rebecca his wife." In this phrase we are helped to divine what it was that Rebecca conceived. The text says: "Rebecca conceived ASH Th V." Consider, learned gentlemen, what this ASHTh V is. By the second method of the first part of Kabbalah, through Gematria or numerical measurement, you will find that ASHTh V signifies, through numerical equivalence, AshVQSh, which means "fire and straw." Each phrase has letters that add up to 707. So "Rebecca conceived fire and straw," thereby proving the sacred words that Obadiah bears out when he says: "And the house of Jacob will be fire and the house of Esau straw." It is similar when we hear that a law has been passed in wisdom (HKMH). Let us see what is that wisdom which is relevant to the passing of law. There are edicts, interdicts, orders and prohibitions. But the symbol is HKMH, which is wisdom in all the commands of God, for when you pronounce the four letters of that word, with the letters all written out in full—Heth, Kaph, Mem, He—you get from them the number 613, which is the number of the commands of God, which our sages call Tharyag.

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mentioned numbers.¹ But because the letters of the Hebrews and the Holy Scriptures are more fruitful than any others, they are Kabbalized in all sorts of ways, so that thereby one finds every spiritual interpretation, allegories, moral expositions, instructions and sacred mysteries, which are hidden under its surface. Example. It is said of Isaac in Genesis chapter twenty-five that his wife Rebecca conceived (without saying what) but by transmutation of letters one finds that this was fire and stubble by which are signified Jacob and Esau, as it is written in Obadiah Et erit domus iacob ignis et domus Esau stipula.² Another example. It is written that the law was revealed in wisdom; if the Hebrew letters, which make up and compose the word for Wisdom, are kabbalized, by number, they come to six hundred and thirteen which is the sum total of the commandments of the law of Moses.³

¹ Geneva ms. Fr. 167 folio 155 recto has inserted:-

Ainsi plusieurs curieux edificateurs font de pnt ung motet en leurs edifices par lequel en ioignant les lettres signifiantes nombre lon congnoist lexorde & commencement de ledifice.

² Vulgate has Ob, 18-

Et erit domus Jacob ignis, et domus Joseph flamma, et domus Esau stipula; et succendentur in eis, et devorabunt eos, et non erunt reliquiae domus Esau, quia Dominus locutus est. Thenaud follows Reuchlin closely, (*De Arte Cabalistica*, folio 67 verso), but Thenaud omits the origin of the transposition. This is that the numerical sum (707) of the characters of *his wife אשתו* is the same as the numerical sum of the characters of *fire and stubble*

אש וקש.

³ Reuchlin in *de arte Cabalistica*, folio 67 verso and 68 recto, makes it clear that the total of 613 is reached by full pronunciation of the four letters of the word חכמה wisdom.

ה' = ה' ; מ' = מ' ; כ' = כ' ; ח' = ח'

' = 10; ה' = 5;

ם = 40; מ' = 40;

ף = 80; כ' = 20;

ת = 400; ' = 10; ה' = 8;

folio 67 verso last phrase has:-

Symbolum autem est חכמה Id est Sapientia omnium mandatorum dei, cum enim quatuor illius uocabuli elementa de propriis scripturis pronunciaueritis, ...

(But the symbol is חכמה, which is wisdom in all the commands of God, for when you pronounce the four letters of that word, with the letters all written out in full - ...)

It is noteworthy that Thenaud adopts these two instances of Gematria directly from Reuchlin's *de arte Cabalistica*, and in the same order. He omits Reuchlin's closing remarks concerning *Tharyag*. Reuchlin states that the number 613 is the number of the commands of God, which sages call *Tharyag*. Thenaud may well have been unaware that the numerical value of *Tharyag* תרי"ג was also 613.

ג = 3; ' = 10; ר = 200; ת = 400

Of the three names of God which signify his incomprehensible essence.

Chapter 8

I know that all of Holy Scripture may be so read, understood and interpreted that by it one comes to a knowledge of all revealed truths; however God is not present in them by his grace and power in all their words and sentences as he is in the sacraments; yet that same grace is only infallibly linked to his names, by which he had been pleased to give himself to be known to human imbecility and fragility, for he wants them to be adored, venerated and pronounced with elevation of spirit and purity of conscience. For there is nothing that so gives knowledge

folio 76 verso

of the truth of a matter than its proper name (as Plato said) nor which can better represent it. As an instance of which note that when the names of Kings are publicly used in the court of the sovereign one does them great reverence and for good reason greater adoration and reverence is due to the names of God. However just as the thoughts and desires of man are only known to him, if he does not say and reveal them, (excepting God and the angels) in just the same manner God cannot be known in his essence, except to himself and to

The following image shows that Reuchlin wrote *vostri* when speaking of the doctors.

LIBER TERTIVS

LXVIII

חַיִּית בַּת מֶסֶחַי cōflabitur ex eis numerus seſcentorū & tredecim
mandatorū dei q̄ doctores vōſtri חַרְיָג appellāt. Ad ſummum in hoc
genere ſpeculationis primo legis characteres elementa & literas in cōſul

(Line 2 folio lxviii recto)

M and S Goodman, *On the art of the Kabbalah*, p. 311, have *our sages*. This suits the sense of the passage, because it is Simon the Hebrew who is speaking, but does not follow the text.

Thenaud's omission of the *Tharyag* aspect probably indicates that he did not fully appreciate Reuchlin's point.

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those whom he wants to know him by the light of glory or faith.

Margin has names can be given to unknown things

I say to you that it is not in the power of human spirits, or of angels, to impose proper names on the divine essence, which cannot be known. But those which themselves are imposed and which are revealed to us are to be noted, remembered, cherished and adored, for to these he has adjoined his virtue and his grace. Also it has pleased him that we should be able to do miracles, and so we are to use them as good workman uses his tools. For, as I have said to you earlier, the angels and the saints, of themselves, cannot do any miracles at all, for God has reserved to himself that glory. And if such had been done, it was by the wish and commandment of God and by the power of his names which he has revealed. For this reason, God said to Moses, I am sending my angel who will go before you, and will guard you in the way, and he will also bring you to the holy place, which I have prepared for you; you will honour him and will do what he commands you. Do not despise him in any way at all, for he will not forgive you if you sin. And know that my name is in his. Some say that this angel was Gabriel, others say that it was Metraton. So that you may understand the matter well, I will lead you to know all the Arithmancy, which exposes the names of the angels as well as the Theomancy which deals with the names of God. But your ignorance of Hebrew letters causes me to leave out many things which I dare not reveal for fear that you might profane these holy names by adding to them or by diminishing them from their original institution.

Margin has The first sin was that of a lie by Eve

For the words of God are to be guarded in their entirety, which our first parent, Eve, did not do when

folio 77 recto

she said to the serpent God had forbidden us to eat and to touch the fruit of that tree, lest per adventure we die. Yet the commandment was given to Adam not to her; also touching was not forbidden to them; moreover God had

not used that saying Per adventure,¹ and for this she was grievously punished, for she added these words; It is written in your book of Revelations Qui addiderit ad nec addet sibi dominus plagas.²

Margin has Three sorts of divine names.

I wish then to conclude that the proper names of God, which he has revealed to us, are to be cherished and are to be observed in a holy way, and these are of three sorts. Some signify his essence, others his operations and others are imposed by man, according to the divers affections, wishes and devotions which they have from God. In order to get an understanding of the first it is necessary for you to know that by the divine essence I mean God permanent in his profound and mysterious³ silence, subsisting in himself, sequestered from all his creatures, hidden and closed in his inaccessible light, who does not communicate himself to his creatures at all. And considered in this way there are three names which are attributed to him. The first in Hebrew is Hu; in Greek Tanton; in Latin Idemipsum; in the vulgar luymesmes.⁴ Of this name

¹peraventure.

²Vulgate has Re. xxii 18:-

Contestor enim omni audienti verba prophetiæ libri hujus: si quis apposuerit ad hæc, apponet Deus super illum plagas scriptas in libro isto.

NASB has Re. xxii 18:-

I testify to everyone who hears the words of the prophecy of this book: if anyone adds to them, God shall add to him the plagues which are written in this book;

³caligineux.

⁴

Le premier en hebreu
cest Hu. En grec Tanton. En latin Idemipsum. En bul
gaire luymesmes. Du quel nom il est escript en ysaie

Folio 77 recto detail.

The Geneva ms. Fr. 167 folio 156 verso has exactly the same:-

Le premier en
hebreu cest. Hu. En grec Tanton. En latin Idem
ipsum. En bulgaire Luymesmes. Duquel nom il est

it is written in Isaiah Ego dominus hu est nomen meum gloriam meam alteri non dabo,¹ that is to say I LORD my name is myself.² For I know that God is

Clearly Thenaud has mistaken *Tanton* when the Latin was *Tauton* from the Greek ταυτον. These names *On*, *Tauton* and *Idemipsum* do not occur in *De Arte Cabalistica*, but in *De Verbo Mirifico* they do. See sig. d 3 recto to sig. d 4 recto where they occur in the order *Ehieh*, *On*, *Hu* and *Tauton*. As may be seen from the following detail from the printed version of *De Verbo Mirifico* the word is quite evidently *Tauton* and not *Tanton*.

Tauton: a latinis Idēipsum est appellatum.

Sig. d 4 recto enlarged detail.

This raises the possibility that Thenaud was either working from a manuscript which failed to show the difference between *n* and *u*, or between the Greek *ν* and the Greek *υ*. Neither explanation reflects well on his knowledge of Greek. It does however show that Thenaud used *De Verbo Mirifico* here, because *De Arte Cabalistica* does not consider this string of names.

¹ Vulgate has Is. xlii 8:-

Ego Dominus, hoc est nomen meum : gloriam meam alteri non dabo, et laudem meam sculptilibus.

NASB has Is. xlii 8:-

I am the LORD, that is My name;
I will not give My glory to another,
Nor My praise to graven images.

Hebrew has Is. xlii 8:-

אֲנִי יְהוָה הוּא שְׁמִי וְכְבוֹדִי לֹא אֶתֶּר לֹא-אֶתֶּן וְתַהֲלֹתַי לְפָסִילִים:

The word translated *that* in NASB is הוּא Hebrew. Thenaud transliterates this into *Hu*. In this Thenaud copies Reuchlin's treatment of the name give in *De verbo mirifico*, sig. d 4 recto-verso. Reuchlin followed Pico's thirty-fourth Kabbalistic conclusion of the second series. Zika comments that Reuchlin adopted the not uncommon Kabbalistic and Jewish exegetical practice of treating the demonstrative pronouns 'this', 'that' and 'he' as a substantive. C. Zika, *Reuchlin's De verbo mirifico and the Magic Debate of the Late Fifteenth Century*, JWC, 1976, vol. xxxix, p. 128.

Such occurrences are common in scripture; see

Is. xliii 10:-

אַתֶּם עַדִּי נֹאס־יְהוָה וְעַבְדִּי אֲשֶׁר בְּחֶרְתִּי
לְמַעַן תִּדְּעוּ וְתִאֱמְרוּ לִי וְתִבְיֵנוּ כִּי-אֲנִי הוּא
לְפָנַי לֹא-נִוְצָר אֵל וְאַחֲרַי לֹא יִהְיֶה: ס

and Is. xliii 25:-

אֲנֹכִי אֲנֹכִי הוּא מַחֲה פְשָׁעַיִךְ לְמַעַן וְחַטָּאתֶיךָ לֹא אֶזְכֹּר:

² *Je seigneur mon nom cest moymes.*

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in all, over all and through all at all times; he is so removed and separated from all his creatures as to his essence (which on account of simplicity cannot be mixed or composed) so that he remains in his substantive sameness, unchangeable uniformity, as if in repose or marvellous silence, making all things in himself and of himself, without any aid from elsewhere outside of himself. For this reason David said *Dixi domino deus meus es tu quoniam bonorum meorum non eges*.¹ About the same name this prophet writes *Tu autem idemipse es et annu tui non deficient*.² That is to say O LORD God thou art thyself without aging, duality, without augmentation, diminution, variation, alteration, generation, transmutation,

folio 77 verso

¹ Vulgate has Ps. xv 2:-

Dixi Domino : Deus meus es tu, quoniam bonorum meorum non eges.

NASB has Ps. xvi 2:-

I said to the LORD, "Thou art my Lord;
I have no good besides Thee."

LXX has Ps. xv 2:-

εἶπα τῷ κυρίῳ Κύριός μου εἶ σύ,
ὅτι τῶν ἀγαθῶν μου οὐ χρείαν ἔχεις.

²Vulgate has Ps. ci 28:-

Tu autem idem ipse es, et anni tui non deficient.

NASB has Ps. cii 27:-

But Thou art the same,
And thy years will not come to an end.

LXX has Ps. ci 28:-

σὺ δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς εἶ, καὶ τὰ ἔτη σου οὐκ ἐκλείψουσιν.

It may be noted that Thenaud folio 77 recto wrote *idemipse* as one word.

**cores Du susd' nom e
i autem idemipse es ei
re o seigneur dieu tu**

and the Geneva ms. Fr. 167 folio 157 recto has:-

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mixture or mutability. For if there was no angel, heaven, man, element and creature whatsoever, God is hu, that is to say himself.¹ This name is so powerful that there is no heaven, earth, hell, man or angel who may resist him, as it is written, Dominus virtutum est hu ille rex glorie.² And your Gallic apostle, whom you call Saint Denys, who has written and given more than forty-five divine names,³ says of this Idemipsum ex seipso omnibus ad participandum idoneis irradiat alia connectens aliis habundantia et origine identitatis in seipso et contraria identifice prehabens per unam et singularem

∴ Du susdict non
autem idem ipse es
Et a dire O seigneur

It may also be noted that the Greek name given by Thenaud, *Tanton*, *ταντων*, does not figure in the Greek version of the verses of the Pss. quoted.

Reuchlin in *De Verbo Mirifico* sig. d 4 has *Psalmus enim primus & centesimus de deo sic enunciat: Et tu es Hu: & anni tui non deficient: Vos latine in coetu sacrorum de cantatis: Tu autem idemipse es. Et nomen Idem Virgilius ad louem transtulit pari quidem intelligentia: ...*

¹ *luymesmes*.

² Vulgate has Ps. xxiii 10:-

Quis est iste rex gloriæ? Dominus virtutum ipse est rex gloriæ.

NASB has Ps. xxiv 10:-

Who is this King of glory?

The LORD of hosts,

He is the King of glory.

LXX has Ps. xxiii 10:-

τίς ἐστιν οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης;

κύριος τῶν δυνάμεων, αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης.

Once again it may be seen that Thenaud's Greek word *Tanton*, *ταντων*, does not figure in the LXX at this extract from the Psalms. Thenaud copied Reuchlin's treatment of the names from *De verbo mirifico*, sig. d 4 recto-verso and follows Reuchlin in presenting God as *Rex Gloriæ*.

³ Reuchlin, *De Verbo Mirifico*, sig. d2 verso has reference to Jerome as giving ten names, in *Ad Marcellum*, to Dionysius as giving forty-five, others *alii* as giving seventy-two, others more and others less. In view of the high regard which Thenaud had for Jerome it is notable that there is no reference here by Thenaud to Jerome.

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totius identitatis supereminentem causam.¹ The second name of God in Hebrew is Ehieh, in Greek On, in Latin Ens, and in the vulgar Essence. About this (name) it is said in Exodus When God called Moses from the bush, which without burning itself up was burning, so as to send him to Pharaoh, and to the children of Israel, this same Moses asked him if those to whom you are sending me ask me your name, what shall I say to them? And God replied to him, Ehieh qui ero sic dices filiis israel Ehieh misit me ad vos.² That is to say I am, who am, For there is nothing outside of God which is substance subsisting of itself and permanent, but all things suddenly would become nothing if they were not formed and conserved in God. I cannot say to you what my conception is of such a divine name, which gives being, stability and permanence to all

¹ Dionysius the Areopagite. secundum Ambrosium Traversarium, *de diuinis nominibus*, p. 457, col. 1 has:-

idem que illud ex seipso omnibus participare idoneis insunans, et alia connectens aliis copia identitatis et causa, in seipso etiam contraria eodem modo ante habens. Secundum unam atque unicam totius identitatis supereminentem causam

Thenaud here follows Reuchlin *De Verbo Mirifico* sig. d 4 verso exactly except for two variant spellings, viz. *habundantia* for *abundantia* and *prehabens* for *præhabens*.

² Vulgate has Ex. iii 14:-

Dixit Deus ad Moyse: Ego sum qui sum. Ait: Sic dices filiis Israel: Qui est, misit me ad vos.

Hebrew has Ex. iii 14:-

וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים אֶל־מֹשֶׁה אֲהִיָּה אֲשֶׁר אֲהִיָּה וַיֹּאמֶר כֹּה תֹאמַר
לְבְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל אֲהִיָּה שְׁלַחְנִי אֵלֵיכֶם:

LXX has Ex. iii 14:-

καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς πρὸς Μωϋσῆν Ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ ὢν καὶ εἶπεν Οὕτως ἔρεῖς τοῖς υἱοῖς
Ἰσραὴλ Ὁ ὢν ἀπέσταλκέν με πρὸς ὑμῶν.

NASB has Ex. iii 14:-

And God said to Moses, "I am who I am"; and He said, "Thus you shall say to the sons of Israel, 'I am has sent me to you.'"

It is therefore evident that Thenaud has transliterated the Hebrew אֲהִיָּה, and has inserted it into the Latin. The name *On* which he attributes to the Greek is ὁ ὢν, is equivalent to the Platonic *To On* - το ὢν. Thenaud's use of *Essence* for the *vulgaire* is an appropriate description to designate the divine essence, withdrawn and separate from all things. This reflects the description given by Baruchias, the Hebrew, in Reuchlin's *de arte Cabalistica* . sig. d 3 recto. Zika in *Reuchlin and the Magic Debate*, p. 128, notes that Reuchlin uses the definition given by Pico in the thirty-fourth Kabbalistic conclusion of the second series.

Thenaud considers the names in the order Hu, Ehieh, and Esth (sic). Reuchlin's *de arte Cabalistica* has the order Ehieh, Hu and Esh.

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that is, for all men are stammerers, babblers and mute with regard to such profound matters. And who is he who can name the king of kings, the God of Gods, whose glory, which fills heaven and earth, is incomprehensible? Let the Cherubin be amazed, let the Seraphin be overwhelmed, let the thrones and all creatures adore. Who is he who knows him, and his primal conception and idea except he himself? Quis nouit spiritum domini aut quis consiliarius eius fuit?¹ And I know that every spirit which rises towards him, faints and falters at the very contemplation of his name, Ehieh. However, he desires that he may be venerated by us. Plato said about this in his Timæus Est secundum meam opinionem distinguendum primo quid sit On idest ens quod semper est

folio 78 recto

Ortum vero non habet et quid quod ortum non habet est nunq² Also the apostle of the French said Ipse on qui est totius esse pro viribus superessencie quod est fundatrix causa et opifex entis subsistencie substance essencie nature principium et mensura eternitatum atqz temporum entitas est et seculum entium.³ The third substantial name of God in Hebrew is Esth. In Greek Pir. In Latin Ignis, and in the vulgar feu, which is spoken of by the prophet Zechariah

¹ Vulgate has Is. xl 13 :-

Quis adiuuit Spiritum Domini? Aut quis consiliarius ejus fuit, et ostendit illi?

NASB has Is. xl 13:-

Who has directed the Spirit of the LORD,
Or as His counsellor has informed Him?

Rupertus Tuitiensis in *de sancta trinitate et operibus eius*, CM 21, book i, In Genesim I, p. 166, l. 1434, has:-

Quis in his et in huiusmodi adiuuit spiritum domini aut quis consiliarius eius fuit et ostendit illi.

²Dionysius the Areopagite sec. Iohannem Scotum, *De diuinis nominibus*, p. 257, col. 3(*) *Hoc autem ibi quidem ων ibi uero non ων, quantum quidem recedit ab eo quod semper est non est; quantum autem ex esse accepit, tantum est, et ei omnino esse et quod non ων ipso continetur et saluatur.*

³ Dionysius the Areopagite. secundum Ambrosium Traversarium, *de diuinis nominibus*, p. 332, col. 1 has:-

Ipse qui est essentiae virtute fundatrix causa est, atque opifex entis, existensis, subsistentiae, substantiae, essentiae, naturae, principium et mensura saeculorum, atque temporum entitas, et aeternitas entium, et tempus eorum quae fiunt, esse autem iis quae fiunt, esse autem iis quae quomodolibet sunt, et generatio iis quae quomodocumque gignuntur.

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Ego ero ei (dixit deus) murus ignis in circuitu et in honorem Ehieh in medio eius.¹ Also your apostle Deus noster ignis consummens est.² For God is the first sole and total agent who transforms and forms everything by his light which is as much more excellent than the elementary, celestial or angelic are in comparison to the shadows of the night. He illumines all things. He is called fire. As a sign of that he was shown and he appeared to his friends, such as Abraham, Moses, Ezechiel, David, Elijah, and many others in fire. In your law it is written that the Holy Spirit descended on the apostles of that law in tongues of fire. Also Zoroaster and Heraclitus, those most ancient philosophers, said that fire is the primal fountain and productive source of all things. Know then that Almighty God is apart from all applications, terms and names which human fragility can give to him. Also consider him naked and without any vestments in the depth of his eternity; he is primarily himself, without having affair or need of any other. For with regard to all creatures which exist there is none more glorious, blessed and eternal. Secondly he is the one who is subsisting and permanent essence by which all things that he has created are what they are and remain as they are according to their courses, terms and

¹ Vulgate has Ze. ii 5:-

Et ego ero ei, ait Dominus, murus ignis in circuitu, et in gloria ero in medio ejus.

NASB has Ze. ii 5:-

'For I,' declares the LORD, 'will be a wall of fire around her, and I will be the glory in her midst.'

Hebrew has Ze. ii 9:-

9 וְאֲנִי אֶהְיֶה לָּהּ חֹמַת אֵשׁ סָבִיב
וְלְכָבוֹד אֶהְיֶה בְּתוֹכָהּ:

It is to be noted that the Hebrew word אֶהְיֶה occurs twice. So Thенаud would have been justified in transposing the word *Ehieh* twice - Ehieh ei (dixit deus) murus ignis in circuitu et in honorem Ehieh in medio ejus.

²Vulgate has Heb. xii 29:-

Et enim Deus noster ignis consumens est.

Similarly Vulgate has Dt. iv 24:-

Quia Dominus Deus tuus ignis consumens est, Deus æmulator.

The fact that Thенаud once again introduces the apostle to the Gauls, (and in this case omits Biblical references) emphasises firstly his ability to adapt Reuchlin's work for his own purposes, and secondly it illustrates Thенаud's concern to show that Gaul/ France was a significant authority.

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periods, without their entity being in any way varied or changed. Thirdly he is fire that is active, penetrating, formal, transformative, vivifying, illuminating and so much and so greatly clarifying that all other fires and flames, understandings and spirits are as deepest darkness in comparison thereto, as night is in comparison to day.

folio 78 verso

Fourth Treatise. The Practice of the Kabbalah

The ten other names of God, which signify first his unique essence, triune in persons and his principal attributes and glorious vestments by which he shows himself and is manifested to his poor creatures; which names are reduced to one sole name which is yet more glorious, terrible and marvellous.¹

Chapter 9

After my Rabbi and profound teacher had declared and interpreted the three holy names of God, significative of his incomprehensible majesty, he instructed me so that I might proceed to the angelic hierarchy and to the spiritual world by means of ten.² Also because this celestial world is made up of ten heavens

¹This is a significant point of departure by Thenaud from the thesis proposed by Reuchlin in his 1494 *De Verbo Mirifico* that the ultimate name of God was the Pentagrammaton YHSVH denoting Jesus. J. Friedman, *The Most Ancient Testimony. Sixteenth Century Christian Hebraica in the Age of Renaissance Nostalgia*, Ohio, 1983, p. 89 observes that one area of improvement reflected in the *De Arte Cabalistica* over the *De Verbo Mirifico* was Reuchlin's ability to use numbers and his willingness to drop the Pentagrammaton as an important focal point of his system. Reuchlin did make use of the Pentagrammaton, but the degree to which he did so is inconsequential compared with earlier theories. Had Reuchlin been able to demonstrate in *De Verbo Mirifico* the numerological value of the Pentagrammaton, he might have been able to overcome the fact that YHSVH was not Hebrew. Unfortunately, Reuchlin did not have any real ability to use numbers in 1494, with the result that the linchpin of his *De Verbo Mirifico* argument disintegrates under scrutiny. Since his wonder-working word rested on a foundation of sand, Reuchlin moved in a different direction in the *De Arte Cabalistica*. Thenaud, as we shall see, also moved in a new direction. By referring to and by reinterpreting Rabanus Maurus' *De Laudibus Sancte Crucis* towards the end of ms. 5061 he represented the cross as the solution.

²Thenaud simply has the phrase *Pour ce que iay procede en l'angelique ierarchie et on monde spirituel par dix*. This introduces the important number ten. In this he follows Pico Treatise 4 page 75

or spheres, so I want you to know the heaven of heavens called Ensoph,¹ which is to say infinitude, by ten sacred names, which our ancient masters used to call Belimah,² that is to say the ten notions, which are not to be

who, in his *Nine Hundred Conclusions* was followed by Reuchlin whose *De Arte Cabalistica* folio 52 recto subdivides the five groups among which all things are distributed - *Sunt enim cunctæ res uniuersaliter un quinas condiciones distributæ* - into the ten modes of essence - *essentia* - and understanding - *intelligentia*. Reuchlin proceeded to use this connection between five and ten to solve the knotty problem - *artificio ænigmaticus scrupus* - posed by Pico as to how five and ten and fifty were the key to unlocking the problem of the fifty gates of intelligence - *secretum quinquarinta portarum* - the great jubilee - *magni lobelei* - the thousandth generation - *millesime generationis* - and the kingdom of all ages - *et regnum omnium seculorum*. Reuchlin credits Ramban in his introduction to Genesis with recognizing that everything which Moses had received by means of the gates of understanding is contained in the Jewish Law. An extensive list was given by Reuchlin in *De Arte Cabalistica* folio 52 verso of the different aspects of the Law intended. These were derived from the literal or metaphorical sense, oracular utterance, arithmetical computation, by means of the geometry of the shapes of the letters (written or transposed), the result of the consequential harmonies in the shapes of the letters, conjunctions and their divisions, as well as roundabout or straightforward expression, which might come about through missing or superfluous words, through decline or augmentation, crowning, closing in and opening up, or establishing in order.

¹Thenaud only has this one mention of *Ensoph*.

Ensoph

Ms. 5061 folio 78 verso detail enlarged.

Reuchlin however makes several references to *Ensoph*.

It may be noted in passing that whereas Reuchlin uses the term *Ensoph* four times -

Ensoph

Folio 20 verso detail enlarged.

Ensoph, id est infinitudo,

Folio 21 recto detail enlarged.

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balistis Ensoph noīatū, & est deitas ipsa sine indumento.
, q̄ est regnum oīm seculorū. Ca

Folio 53 recto.

Ensoph sit Alpha & O,

Folio 62 recto bis detail enlarged.

The otherwise reputable translation *op. cit.* by M. and S. Goodman misleadingly has *En Sof* on four occasions (pp. 119, 121, 285 and 287.), but *Ensoph* correctly once (p. 251). The fact that Thenaud, as may be seen from the above images, follows Reuchlin in writing the term as one word *Ensoph* is yet a further indication of our writer's dependence on Reuchlin.

In *De Arte Cabalistica* the term *Ensoph* occurs in Book 1 (folios 20 verso and 21 recto) and in Book 3 (folio 53 recto and 62 recto as noted supra). The term is also given in Hebrew characters in Book 3 (folios 62 recto and verso). In these two citations the two Hebrew words are given, as detailed infra:-

Supra eotonā uero ponit איין סוף .i. infinitudo, & est abyss

Folio 62 recto detail.

ensac non finis, hoc est איין סוף .i. in hac finē
hic dicitur איין סוף .i. in hac finē

Folio 62 verso detail.

The significance of the appearance of the Latin and the Hebrew terms in Reuchlin is that it shows that Thenaud opted to restrict his usage by ignoring the Hebrew lettering.

All these occurrences merit attention because they inform us of the knowledge which Thenaud had of *Ensoph*.

In the first mention (folio 20 verso) *Ensoph* is described as the *lux Adonai*.

Furthermore, just as active intellect is the light of the mind, so Shaddai is Metatron's light, *El Hai* ("the living God") is the light of the soul of the Messiah, and *Ensoph* is the
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published among the people,¹ by which one comes to the knowledge and
light of the Lord.

In the second mention (folio 21 recto) *Ensoph* is described as *infinitudo*. (This is evidently the meaning which Thenaud selected for here he has *Ensoph qui est a dire infinitude par dix noms sacrez ...*)

Not even our thought can grasp him, he who is called *Ensoph*—"Infinity," a concept which accords with He who is unknowable and unutterable, hidden away in the furthest recesses of his divinity, into the unreachable abyss of the fountain of light, and in this way nothing is understood to come from him—as if at ease the absolute Deity held all kinds of things in his compass, himself remaining naked and unclothed, without the cloak of attributes. He is not extravagant of himself, or of his splendour, yet indiscriminately spreads goodness about him.

In the third mention (folio 53 recto) *Ensoph* is connected with *infinitudo*. The Kabbalists by means of *Ensoph* mean *regnum omnium seculorum* and *deitas ipsa sine indumento*.

If its surface were perpetual, infinity would result, the kingdom of all generations, called *Ensoph* by the Kabbalists, the naked deity. God produced all the rest while cloaked in light as a garment, that there might be light of light, and then, with the light of his garment he created the intelligible world of distinct and invisible spirits, which the Kabbalists call "heaven," as you have often heard me say.

In the fourth mention (folio 62 recto line 4) *Ensoph* is described as *infinitudo* and *abyssus*. It is placed above the Crown.

In the fifth mention (folio 62 verso) *Ensoph* is described as *Alpha* and *O*.

In the final mention (folio 62 recto line 19) *Ensoph* is described as *nihil siue non ens ac non finis*.

Infinity is the most absolute Essence, drawn back in the depths of shadows, and, lying or, as they say, reliant upon nothing, is hence called "Nothing" or "Not being," and "Not end" (*Ensoph*) because we are so damned by our feeble understanding of divine matters that we judge things that are not apparent in the same way as we judge things that do not exist.

² Thenaud follows Reuchlin but does not give the fuller explanation which is found in *De Arte Cabalistica*, folio 63 recto:-

You have heard a brief account of the ten properties or notions or attributes in the divine. They are called *Belimah*, by the Kabbalists, which some understand as *Beli*, meaning "without" or "beyond" and *Ma*, meaning "which," as if it said "ten beyond which," that is "with the essence of God left out." These people, then, usually interpret *Belimah* as "Beyond what is ineffable." Others understand it to come from *Belom* meaning "bridle" in the phrase "Bridle your tongue and do not speak," because sacred words must not be uttered profanely.

J. Reuchlin, *de Arte Cabalistica*, tr. Goodman, M. and S., New York, 1983, p. 289.

This recognition of the value of silence was to be acknowledged later in sixteenth century French circles which had an interest in the Kabbalah. Thus B. de Vigenère, *Traicté des chiffres ou secretes manieres d'ecrire*, Paris, 1586, after p. 37 where he notes in the margin that "Tous les chiffres Hébraïques ont double sens, l'un appert, & l'autre caché" and after p. 38 where he refers to the ten Sephiroth passes to a recognition of the mystic value of silence in the Old and New Testaments. He acknowledges the value of silence - pre-creation *Belimah* - which was employed by Jesus, as recorded in Jn. viii when he wrote on the ground. Reference is also made to Lk. x (the command not to evangelize) and to Gehazi II Ki. iv (the child who was without sound).

¹Reuchlin, quoting *Yetzirah* as his authority, contrasts the declarative nature of the Treatise 4 page 78

familiarity of the divine essence¹. In those names all the other names, which are found in holy scripture are referred to and applied. These ten names are like interior and exterior emanations, or are like precious ornaments, in which God is clothed, adorned and by which he makes himself known in infinite glory to the multitudes of the blessed angels, the holy saints and rational spirits.² The first name is Kether, which is to say infinite power, and crown of the reign of everlasting felicity, to which all things which are and which are not, be they celestial, terrestrial or infernal owe obeisance without any repugnance, delay or restraint. For it is the primary fountain and source without end or limit of lordship, majesty, empire or reign from whence the mystery is comprised in Emeth, which signifies Truth. For when Ehieh is multiplied, it gives the total of four hundred and forty-one, which is comprised in Emeth.³ To this first significative name of all power, which is attributed to God the Father, can be referred the names of Light inaccessible, Aleph obscure, the day of eternity and the everlasting judge. The second name is Hochma

twenty-two letters of the Hebrew alphabet with the silence of Belimah., which he equates with the Sephiroth.

עשר ספירות בלימה
 Quod scriptum in libro Yetzirah legitur
 וְעֶשְׂרִים וְשְׁתַּיִם אֲוִיּוֹת
 Decem numerationes Belima, &
 uiginti duae litterae. Quapropter non pauci scriptores & decem istis pro-
 prietatibus silentio dignis,

De Arte Cabalistica, folio 65 recto.

As it is written in the book *Yetzirah* There are ten Sephiroth, Belimah and twenty-two letters. Because of this not a few writers (referring to) these ten properties which merit silence (*silentio dignis*) ...

¹ See End note *Sephiroth*.

²At this point Thenaud leaves following Reuchlin's *De Arte Cabalistica* and reverts to following *De Verbo Mirifico* sig. d 5 verso ff..

³Thenaud does not explain the sums which are as follows:-

EHIEH = אהיה

א = 1, ה = 5, י = 10, ו = 6, so sum = 21. 21x21 = 441.

EMETH = אמת

א = 1, מ = 40, ת = 400, so sum = 441.

Thenaud follows Reuchlin *De Arte Cabalistica*, folio 62 recto, but he does not use Reuchlin's observation that 441 is also the value of Adonai Shalom אדני שלום.

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which is to say Wisdom attributed to God the Son, who terminates the efflux of the divine generation, together with the second numeration by which all things have been made. For this is why it is said Dominus possedit me in initio viarum suarum antequam quicquam faceret a principio Ab eterno effusa sum ex capite antequam terra. Nondum abyssi quando concepta eram.¹ For just as the good workman makes his plan in imagination and fantasy within himself before putting his hand to work, so also God Almighty in himself knowingly engendered his Son (by his understanding) and this he did by himself eternally and internally and by him he made all things visible and invisible. This eternal wisdom was within himself and before it was manifested it was called by you others Word.² About which you say In principio erat verbum et verbum erat apud deum et deus erat verbum Hoc erat in principio apud deum.³

Margin has The most holy and sacred mystery of the Father, and the Son in God

And we others sing of it Ego ex ore altissimi prodii promogenita ante omnem creaturam.⁴ But when it (she) was known and manifested externally you said

¹ Vulgate has Pr. viii 22:-

Dominus possedit me in initio viarum suarum, antequam quidquam faceret a principio.

23 Ab æterno ordinata sum, et ex antiquis, antequam terra fieret.

NASB has Pr. viii 22:-

The LORD possessed me at the beginning of His way,
Before His works of old.

23 From everlasting I was established. From the beginning,
from the earliest times of the earth.

²verbe.

³Vulgate has Jn. i 1:-

In principio erat Verbum, et Verbum erat apud Deum, et Deus erat Verbum.

2 Hoc erat in principio apud Deum.

NASB has Jn. i 1:-

In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God.

2 He was in the beginning with God.

⁴Hebrew has Ps. xlix 28:-

אֶפְרָאִי בְּכֹר אֶתְנָהוּ עֲלִיּוֹן לְמַלְכֵּי־אֲרָץ:

Omnia per verbum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nichil.¹ And soon after
Omnis caro vidit salutare dei.² You said Verbum caro factum est et habitavit in
nobis³ and we others sing Omnia in sapientia fecisti⁴ And just as Aleph which
was first obscure and dark, made itself visible and luminous, and went out to
Beth, which returns to Aleph, so that one finds Aba, which is to say Father, O
treasure and unfathomable depth of wisdom⁵ of which it is written in Proverbs
Beatus homo qui adeptus fuerit sapientiam.⁶ To this name hochma are attributed

Vulgate has Ps. xlviii 28:-

Et ego primogenitum ponam illum excelsum præ regibus terræ.

NASB has Ps. xlix 28:-

I shall also make him My first-born,
The highest of the kings of the earth.

LXX has Ps. lxxxviii 28:-

καὶ γὰρ πρωτότοκον θήσομαι αὐτόν,
ὑψηλὸν παρὰ τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν τῆς γῆς.

¹Vulgate has Jn. i 3:-

Omnia per ipsum facta sunt; et sine ipso factum est nihil quod factum est.

NASB has Jn. i 3:-

All things came into being by Him, and apart from Him nothing came into being that has
come into being.

²Vulgate has Lk. iii 6:-

Et videbit Omnis caro salutare Dei.

NASB has Lk. iii 6:-

And all flesh shall see the salvation of God.

³Vulgate has Jn. i 14:-

Et verbum caro factum est, et habitavit in nobis;

NASB has Jn. i 14:-

And the Word became flesh, and dwelt among us, ...

⁴Vulgate has Ps. ciii 24:-

Quam magnificata sunt opera tua, Domine! Omnia in sapientia fecisti; impleta est terra
possessione tua.

NASB has Ps. civ 24:-

O LORD, how many are Thy works!
In wisdom Thou hast made them all;
The earth is full of Thy possessions.

⁵sapience.

⁶Vulgate has Pr. iii 13:-

Beatus homo qui invenit sapientiam, et qui affluit prudentia.

NASB has Pr. iii 13:-

How blessed is the man who finds wisdom,
And the man who gains understanding.

the following names.¹ The first letter of the great name of God, which is yod First born, The holy land of the living, The thirty-two ways of intelligence, The seventy sorts of the Law, Battle, Judgment, Amen, the Holy Book, The will of God and many other things manifesting the divine wisdom. The third name is Binath, which is to say Prudence or Intelligence, which is attributed to God the Holy Spirit, of whom you say in your gospel Cum venerit ille paraclitus quem ego mittà vobis spiritum veritatis qui a patre procedit ille vos do

folio 79 verso

cebit omnia.² Beatus homo qui adept' fuerit sapientiam et qui affluit intelligentia. And in Job Dies loquentur et multitudo annorum sciet sapienciam sed certa est ipsa sapiencia in hominibus et inspiratio dei omnipotentis dat eis intelligenciam.³ For the Holy Spirit gives all science, understanding and

Although Thenaud here follows Reuchlin *De Arte Cabalistica* folio 62 verso there are highly significant differences. For instance where Reuchlin has

quapropter Aleph eandem uti propinquissimam & & (sic) feocundiozem literam sibi recipit, nominaturque אב pater omnis generationis & productionis. Deinde assumptum Beth, rursus ablegat in uniuersitatem entium ...

So Aleph accepts this letter as the closest letter to itself and as the most productive and it is called AB which means 'Father of all generating and producing'. When it has taken on Beth it despatches it again into the universe.

Thenaud quite clearly has ABA as may be seen from the following detail:-

trouue אבא qui est a dire prre

Folio 79 recto detail enlarged.

This is further evidence that he had access to another source.

¹Here Thenaud diverges from *De Arte Cabalistica* folio 62 verso which does not have *Hochma*, but has *sapientia*, whereas the equivalent passage in *De Verbo Mirifico* at sig. d5 recto has *Hochma*. However the description given by Thenaud of the names which are attributed to *Hochma* does not follow *De Verbo Mirifico*.

² Vulgate has Jn. xiv 26:-

Paracletus autem Spiritus sanctus, quem mittet Pater in nomine meo, ille vos docebit omnia, et suggeret vobis omnia quaecumque dixero vobis.

NASB has Jn. xiv 26:-

But the Helper, the Holy Spirit, whom the Father will send in My name, He will teach you all things, and bring to your remembrance all that I have said to you.

³Vulgate has Jb. xxxii 7:-

Sperabam enim quod ætas prolixior loqueretur, et annorum multitudo doceret sapientiam.

8 Sed, ut video, spiritus est in hominibus, et inspiratio Omnipotentis dat intelligentiam.

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intelligence to all spirits who are dead and darkened without his light or heat. In this name is terminated and finished the ternary and trinity of the divine persons, as is the second efflux of love, so that the seat of the incomprehensible deity before whom all the cherubs and seraphs devotedly chant without ceasing Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus God of Sabbaoth is to be contemplated with full devotion and humility.¹ To this name many others are added, which are Adonay, Spirit, vow, faith, Jubilee, the Day of Propitiation, the second river which flows out of Paradise. The second letter of the ineffable name of God which is He and the fifty doors of intelligence.² The fourth name of God is Hesed, which signifies mercy, which is attributed to it, and is more attributed and more connatural with it than any other thing that may be (as ones daily walk shows).³ So David says in caelo misericordia tua⁴ And Moses Domine clemens domine tetragrame et misericors non secundum iniquitates nostras.⁵ This mercy is his

NASB has Jb. xxxii 7:-

I thought age should speak,
And increased years teach wisdom.
8 But it is a spirit in man,

And the breath of the Almighty gives them understanding.

¹Comparison may be made with the similar description of these first three Sephiroth as the single seat of the Trisagion God of Hosts as found in Reuchlin *De Arte Cabalistica* folio 63 recto where he cites as his authority Rabbi Isaac's *Yetzirah - teste Rabi Ishac in commentariis libri letzira*.

²See note infra *Fifty Doors of Intelligence*.

³Compare the fuller list given in *De Arte Cabalistica* folio 62 verso, where the fourth number is given as *Bonitati siue clementiae* and is linked with the name *El*.

... kindness, mercy, right arm, innocent, the third day, bright fire, the face of a lion, the first foot, the old man Abraham, East, higher waters, the silver of God, Michael, priest, angel in the appearance of the electrum Hasmal, white clothes, south wind, and others.

⁴Vulgate has Ps. xxxv 6:-

Domine, in caelo misericordia tua, et veritas tua usque ad nubes.

LXX has Ps. xxxv 6:-

κύριε, ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ τὸ ἔλεός σου,
καὶ ἡ ἀλήθειά σου ἕως τῶν νεφελῶν.

Hebrew has Ps. xxxvi 6:-

יְהוָה בְּהַשְׁמִים חֲסֵדָה אֱמוּנָתְךָ עַד־שָׁקִים׃

יְהוָה בְּהַשְׁמִים חֲסֵדָה אֱמוּנָתְךָ עַד־שָׁקִים׃

⁵Vulgate has Ex. xxxiv 6:-

quo transeunte coram eo ait
Dominator Domine Deus misericors et clemens
patiens et multae miserationis ac verus .

Hebrew has Ex. xxxiv 6:-

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sceptre by which he rules the universe to which are attributed and referred these names - The right arm, Pontiff, the old Abraham, the third day, the clear fire, the white vestments, Silver, the right foot, and the pontiff. The fifth name is Geburath, that is to say Justice or Severity, which is like the sash of God, to which is attached his sword, as King David said *preparans montes in virtute tua accinctus geburath*¹ by which all things badly done are infallibly (and after some delay of time) punished, for sinners cannot evade the lance point² of Geburath by means of distance or separation in time, if the sceptre Hesed is not introduced. To this are referred and reduced the following names Elhoym the left arm, the fire which comes out of the waters, the property of rigour, the negative commandments, the day, the West,

6 וַיַּעֲבֹר יְהוָה | עַל-פָּנָיו וַיִּקְרָא יְהוָה | יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי רַחֲמִים וְחַנּוּן אֲרָךְ
אֲפִים וְרַב-חֶסֶד וְאֱמֶת:

NASB has Ex. xxxiv 6:-

Then the LORD passed by in front of him and proclaimed, "The LORD, the LORD God, compassionate and gracious, slow to anger, and abounding in loving-kindness and truth."

¹ Vulgate has Ps. lxiv 7:-

Præparans montes in virtute tua; accinctus potentia;

LXX has Ps. lxiv 7:-

ἐτοιμάζων ὄρη ἐν τῇ ἰσχύϊ αὐτοῦ,
περιεζωσμένος ἐν δυναστείᾳ.

Hebrew has Ps. lxv 7:-

מִכֵּין הָרִים בְּכַחוֹ נְאֻזָּר בְּגִבּוֹרָה:

NASB has Ps. lxv 6:-

Who dost establish the mountains by His strength,
Being girded with might;

Thenaud has mistakenly given the construct form *gevurath*.

Compare the fuller list given in *De Arte Cabalistica* folio 62 verso, where the fifth number is given as *seueritis diuinum* and is linked to the name *Elohim*.

In the fifth *Sephira*, that of seriousness, is the divine name *Elohim* coming forth from water (as is stated in the book on Creation). It is also the fourth day, west, Gabriel, the old man Isaac, night, bravery, the golden altar, the second food, sanctification, darkness, Metatron, Aquilon, the dark appearance.

² French *le copeau* the cutting part of a wood or metal instrument. Latin *cuspis* the point or the pointed end of anything, such as standard, a javelin, lance, spit, sting of a bee or of a scorpion.

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Gabriel The old Isaac Night Force The altar of gold, The left foot, Sanctification, dark Cloud, Metatron, and Aquilo. The sixth name is Tiphereth, which is to say glory or beauty, which is like the vestment of divine good, for the divine centre is goodness whose circumference is beauty, which shines everywhere at all times according to the diversity of the circles and spheres, to which it extends.¹ This name is mentioned in the book of Chronicles Nunc igitur deus noster confitebimur nos tibi et laudabimus nomen tiphereth inclitum tuum.² Also David remembers it when it said Quoniam tiphereth virtutis et valoris tu es³ and Isaiah Sic deduxisti populum tuum ut faceres tibi nomen tiphereth.⁴ This is

¹Compare the fuller list given in *De Arte Cabalistica* folio 63 recto, where the sixth number is given as *speculatio illuminans* and is linked to the name *Eloha*.

Attached to the sixth Sephira is Eloha, enlightening speculation, the wood of life, pleasure, the Line of the Mean, the written Law, the High Priest, the rising of the sun and the colour purple. Tedacus Levi writes that it is from this place that the seventy nations are spread out over the earth and that its sign is the Truth of the Lord, and that it is called Peace and has its shape pictured in the moon. Its mystery is the third letter of the Tetragrammaton and this mystery is "Our father who is in heaven," the man above or the heavenly Adam, judgement, opinion, Michael, the old man Israel, the God of Jacob.

² Vulgate has I Chr. xxix 13:-

Nunc igitur, Deus noster, confitemur tibi, et laudamus nomen tuum inclitum.

LXX has I Chr. xxix 13:-

καὶ νῦν, κύριε, ἑξομολογούμεθά σοι καὶ αἰνοῦμεν τὸ ὄνομα τῆς καυχήσεώς σου.

Hebrew has I Chr. xxix 13:-

וְעַתָּה אֱלֹהֵינוּ מוֹדִים אֲנַחְנוּ לָךְ וּמְהַלְלִים לְשֵׁם תִּפְאֶרֶתְךָ:

NASB has I Chr. xxix 13:-

Now therefore, our God, we thank Thee, and praise Thy glorious name.

Thenaud has incorporated mention of *tiphereth* into the Latin.

³Vulgate has Ps. lxxxviii 18:-

quoniam gloria virtutis eorum tu es
et in beneplacito tuo exaltabitur cornu nostrum

LXX has Ps. lxxxviii 18:-

ὅτι τὸ καύχημα τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτῶν εἶ σύ,
καὶ ἐν τῇ εὐδοκίᾳ σου ὑψωθήσεται τὸ κέρας ἡμῶν.

Hebrew has Ps. lxxxix 18:-

כִּי־תִפְאֶרֶת עֲזָמוֹ אַתָּה וּבִרְצֹנְךָ תָרִים [תָרוּם] קַרְנֵנוּ:

NASB has Ps. lxxxix 17:-

For Thou art the glory of their strength, And by Thy favour our horn is exalted.

This quotation is a compilation of the Hebrew (תִּפְאֶרֶת) *Tiphereth* with the Latin modified by the substitution of *valoris* for *gloria*.

⁴ Vulgate has Is. lxiii 14:-

Quasi animal in campo descendens, spiritus Domini ductor ejus fuit. Sic adduxisti populum tuum, ut faceres tibi nomen gloriæ.

referred to by the names Eloha Illuminative Speculation, the Tree of Life, Voluptuosity, the Written Law, The line of the seventy-two nations, which are on earth, The third great name of God, The old Adam, The Father of heavens, and the rising sun. The seventh name is Nezaḏ,¹ which is to say triumph, or

LXX has Is. lxiii 14:-

καὶ ὡς κτήνη διὰ πεδίου, κατέβη πνεῦμα παρὰ κυρίου καὶ ὠδήγησεν αὐτούς· οὕτως ἤγαγες τὸν λαόν σου ποιῆσαι σεαυτῷ ὄνομα δόξης.

Hebrew has Is. lxiii 14:-

כְּבָהֶמָה בְּבִקְעָה תֵּלֵךְ רֹחַ יְהוָה תְּנִיחֵנוּ בֶן נַחֲמָה עַמֶּךָ לַעֲשׂוֹת לָךְ שֵׁם תִּפְאָרֶת:

NASB has Is. lxiii 14:-

As the cattle which go down into the valley,
The Spirit of the LORD gave them rest.
So didst Thou lead Thy people,
To make for Thyself a glorious name.

This is a straightforward substitution of *Tiphereth* (תִּפְאָרֶת) for *gloria*.

¹Thenaud quite clearly writes Nezaḏ:-

Le pere des cieulx et
Nezaḏ qui est a di
vng magnanime.

Ms. 5061 folio 80 recto.

This is repeated in the Geneva ms. Fr. 167 folio 161 recto:-

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creux & soleil le
Nezad. qui a d
r bng magnanime

For **נצח** Thenaud should have written **Nezach**. Thenaud had access to Reuchlin's *de arte Cabalistica* which has folio 62 recto:-

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LXII

חכמה.i. sapiētia **בין**.i. prudētia siue itelligētia **חסד**.i. demētia
seu bonitas **גבורה**.i. grauitas uel eueritas **תפארת**.i. or. nat. **נצח**
.i. triūph. **תהלה**.i. cōfessio laudis **יסוד**.i. fūdamētū **מלכות**.i. regnū
Supra coronā uero ponit **אין סוף**.i. infinitudo, & est abyss. Eloquent

The Latin translates as:-

"Wisdom," "Understanding" or "Intelligence," "Loving Kindness" or "Goodness,"
"Seriousness" or "Gravity," "Beauty," "Victory," "Praise," "Foundation," and "Kingdom."
Above the Crown is placed En Sof—"Infinity," which is the Abyss. ...

This however does not account for the scribal error of *Nezad* for *Nezach*. Thenaud also had access to Reuchlin's *de verbo mirifico* which has sig. d5 verso:-

te ipsa est spiritus in
gentiam. De Neçah
imum uocatis: Tris

The scribe might therefore have written *Nezab*, though in fact he wrote *Nezad*. The error is not fully explained in this way. Nevertheless the error demonstrates the lack Hebrew and of Kabbalistic awareness of the scribe.

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magnanimity.¹ For the one who is magnanimous cannot ever turn away from that which has been done. About this name Samuel says in the first book of Kings Triumphator in israel non parceret et penitudine non flectetur Necqz enim est homo ut agat penitenciam.² To this name are attributed and reduced Sabbaoth, right column, the right foot, the thigh, the great wheel, Moses, the prophetic vision, and many other things. The eighth name is Hod, which signifies confession or praise, of which it is written in the Psalter Hod et decorem induisti amictus lumine sicut vestimento³ and in the first book of

¹Compare the fuller list given in *De Arte Cabalistica* folio 63 recto, where the seventh number is linked to the name *Adonai Sabaoth*.

To the seventh *Sephira* apply the Lord of hosts, the leg, the foot, the right column, the great wheel, the prophets' vision, Moses and so on.

² Vulgate has I Sam. xv 29:-

Porro triumphator in Israel non parceret, et pœnitudine non flectetur; neque enim homo est ut agat pœnitentiam.

LXX has I Sam. xv 29:-

καὶ διαιρεθήσεται Ἰσραὴλ εἰς δύο, καὶ οὐκ ἀποστρέψει οὐδὲ μετανοήσῃ, ὅτι οὐχ ὡς ἀνθρώπος ἐστὶν τοῦ μετανοῆσαι αὐτός.

Hebrew has I Sam. xv 29:-

וְגַם נִצַּח יִשְׂרָאֵל לֹא יִשְׁקַר וְלֹא יִנָּחַם כִּי לֹא אָדָם הוּא לְהִנָּחֵם:

NASB has I Sam. xv 29:-

And also the Glory of Israel will not lie or change His mind; for He is not a man that he should change His mind.

³ Vulgate Ps. ciii 1b has:-

... Domine Deus meus, magnificatus es vehementer. Confessionem et decorem induisti,
2. Amictus lumine sicut vestimento; Extendens cælum sicut pellem,

LXX Ps. ciii 1b has:-

κύριε ὁ θεός μου, ἐμεγαλύνθης σφόδρα,
ἐξομολόγησιν καὶ εὐπρέπειαν ἐνεδύσω
2 ἀναβαλλόμενος φῶς ὡς ἱμάτιον,
ἐκτείνων τὸν οὐρανὸν ὡσεὶ δέρριν·

Hebrew has Ps. civ 1 has:-

בְּרָכִי נַפְשִׁי אֶת־יְהוָה יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי גִבּוֹרִים מְאֹד
הוֹד וְהִדָּר לְבָשֶׁת: 2 עֲטֶה־אֹר כְּשֶׁלֶמָה נוֹטָה שָׁמַיִם כִּי־רִיעָה:

NASB has Ps. civ 1b:-

... Thou art clothed with splendor and majesty,
2 Covering Thyself with light as with a cloak,
Stretching out heaven like a cloak

Thenaud has followed the Vulgate, but has replaced *Confessio* with *Hod*.

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Kings Tibi domine est potencia magnificentia gloria victoria et hod.¹ For all creatures owe confession and praise without end to Almighty God. To this name are referred the Column of Fire, Elhoe Sabbaoth, the left foot, Bootz, The old serpent, The discipline of God, Aaron's rod, Cherub, and grinding millstones.² The ninth is Malcuth, which is to say faith and God superillustrous over all kings and gods, to whom alone one owes adoration of service, for his reign and triumphant lordship are everlasting from age to age, as it is

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¹ Jerome, *Commentary on the minor prophets*, Cl. 0589, SL 76a. In Zechariam, bk. 2, chap. s.s 6, line 194.

id est coronam alteram, quæ hebraice hod.

Vulgate I Chr. xxix 11 has:-

Tua est, Domine, magnificentia, et potentia, et gloria, atque victoria, et tibi laus; cuncta enim quæ in cælo sunt, et in terra, tua sunt; tuum, Domine, regnum; et tu es super omnes principes.

LXX has I Chr. xxix 11 has:-

σοί, κύριε, ἡ μεγαλυσύνη καὶ ἡ δύναμις καὶ τὸ καύχημα καὶ ἡ νίκη καὶ ἡ ἰσχὺς, ὅτι σὺ πάντων τῶν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς δεσπόζεις, ἀπὸ προσώπου σου ταρασσεται πᾶς βασιλεὺς καὶ ἔθνος.

Hebrew has I Chr. xxix 11 has:-

לֵךְ יְהוָה תְּגַדֵּלָהּ וְתִגְבוּרָהּ וְתִתְפַּאֲרֶתָּ וְתִנְצַח וְתִהְיֶה כִּי־כָל
בְּשָׁמַיִם וּבָאָרֶץ לֵךְ יְהוָה תִּמְלֹכָהּ וְתִתְנַשֵּׂא לְכָל וּלְרֹאשׁוֹ׃

NASB has I Chr. xxix 11:-

Thine, O LORD, is the greatness and the power and the glory and the victory and the majesty, indeed everything that is in the heavens and the earth; Thine is the dominion, O LORD, and Thou dost exalt Thyself as head over all.

The LXX, which may be translated as closing with ... *before thy face every king and nation is troubled*, may be noted in passing for its variance from the others quoted.

The Hebrew contains the names of a number of the *Sephiroth* - *Geburah*, *Tiphereth*, *Nezach*, *Hod* and *Malcuth*.

Thenaud follows the LXX, but replaces *laus* with *Hod*.

²²Compare the fuller list given in *De Arte Cabalistica* folio 63 recto, where the eighth number is linked to the name *Elohe Sabaoth*.

In the eighth are gathered God of hosts, the mystery of the column and the left foot and Booz, and from here comes the ancient snake, the Learning of the Lord, the branch, Aaron, the Cherub, the sons of the king, the grinding millstones

(Thenaud has *les molles flotantes*, Reuchlin has *molæ molentes*) and other things.

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written Regnū tuū domine regnū omniū seculorum¹. To this name is linked Sadai, The foundation of the world, Mount Sion, the pools of testing, The just and living God, the whole Sabbath, Justice, Force, The ways of science, of good and of evil, The covenant of God, The ark of the covenant, The foundation of prophecy, David, Redemption and the age of the souls. The tenth and last name of God by which he ought and can be touched by his creatures, which is the end and the extremity of his vestment from whose hem lifegiving, cleansing and illuminating virtue issue so very abundantly that he can say that the one who has touched me is Pahad, which is to say furious fear, such as have the damned, of whom it is written Quisqz suos manes patimur.² Neither

¹ Vulgate Ps. cxliv 13 has:-

Regnum tuum regnum omnium seculorum; et dominatio tua in omni generatione et generationem.

Hebrew Ps. cxlv 13 has:-

מַלְכוּתְךָ מַלְכוּת כָּל־עַלְמִים וְיִמְשְׁלֶתְךָ בְּכָל־דּוֹר וָדּוֹר:

LXX Ps. cxliv 13 has:-

ἡ βασιλεία σου βασιλεία πάντων τῶν αἰώνων,
καὶ ἡ δεσποτεία σου ἐν πάσῃ γενεᾷ καὶ γενεᾷ.

NASB Ps. cxlv 13 has:-

Thy kingdom is an everlasting kingdom,
And thy dominion endures throughout all generations.

Thenaud has used *Regnum*, where he could have substituted *Malcuth*. See supra on I Chr. xxix 11.

Compare the fuller list given in *De Arte Cabalistica* folio 63 recto, where the ninth number is linked to the name *Sadai*.

To the ninth Sephira are attached Sadai, the base of the world, Zion, the source of the fish ponds, the just, the living God, the complete Sabbath, the mean between "Keep" and "Remember," the fiftieth day from Leviathan, the Ram, Joseph the Just, Solomon, justice, strength, the Tree of Knowledge of good and evil, the treaty of the Lord, the bow of the Covenant, the glory of the Lord, the foundation of the prophecy of David, redemption, the age of souls.

² This phrase also occurs in Zeno Ueronensis - Tractatus. Cl. 0208. Bk. 1 tract 2 line 30.

Poetæ autem melius, qui duplicem uiam apud inferos ponunt: impiorum unam quæ ducit in tartarum, piorum aliam quæ ducit ad elisium, eo fortius addentes quod defunctorum ibidem non tam formæ quam facta noscantur ac necessario recipiant secundum quod mundanæ administrationis suis in actibus portant, recte dicentes quisque suos patimur manes.

Compare the fuller list given in *De Arte Cabalistica* folio 63 recto, where the tenth number is linked to the name *Adonai*.

To the tenth Sephira come the Lord (Adonai), the kingdom, life, the second cherub, unilluminating speculation, later things, the end, the church of Israel, the bride in
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Margin has Epilogation

So then you have ten names of God, holy and sacred which are to be adored and revered, by which everyone is to be elevated in the love and knowledge of God, which signifies his power, wisdom and intelligence, his mercy, rigour, beauty, triumph, praise, his everlasting reign and his fear, which is to prevent every presumptuous unprepared person from coming to him, like Osa who presumed to approach the Ark; I know that he was struck so that he died suddenly.

Margin has The ten names of God according to Saint Jerome

Your doctor Jerome¹ in his short letter which he sent to Marcellus, said otherwise in his list of ten sacred names which according to him are El which

pullule' si treshabondâment
fo touche'est Pahad. qu'est
on ont les dannez desquelz il

Rupertus Tuitiensis in *de sancta trinitate et operibus eius*, CM 23, book 30, In Hiezechielem I page 1654 line 453 has:-

timor Domini sanctus permanens in sæculum sæculi iudicia Domini Vera iustificata in semet ipsa.

¹Jerome, *Tractatus lix in psalmos* Cl. 0592, Ps. 146, l. 7 (*) ... deus enim apud hebræos decem habet nomina; dicitur Sabaoth, dicitur Saddai, dicitur eloim, dicitur El, dicitur etiam lao, dicitur eser iaia. Inter cetera nomina unum est nomen, quod dicitur Ia.

Jerome, *Epistolæ*, Cl. 0620, epist. 25, vol. 54, p. 219, has:-

... primum dei nomen est hel, quod septuaginta 'deum' aquila ευτομολογίαν eius exprimens ισχυρον, id est 'fortem', interpretatur. deinde eloim et eloe, quod et ipsum 'deus' dicitur quantum sabaoth, quod septuaginta 'uirtutem', aquila exercitum transtulerunt, quintum elion, quem nos 'excelsus' dicimus. Sextem eser ieie, quod in exodo legitur: qui est, misit me. Septimum adonai, quem nos 'dominum' generaliter appellamus, octauum ia, quod in deo tantum ponitur et in alleluiæ quoque extrema syllaba sonat, nonum tetragrammum, quod ανεκφωητον, id est ineffabile; putaverunt et his litteris scribitur: iod, he, uau, he quod quidam non intellegentes propter elementorum similitudinem, cum in græcis libris reppererint, πιπλ legere conserueuerunt. decimum quod superius dictum est, saddai et in ezechiele ininterpretatum ponitur. ...

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in Greek is (θεος see footnote)¹ or and we say dieu. The second Eloim. The third Eloë the fourth

folio 81 recto

Sabaoth, which we call virtutum or exercituum. The fifth Elion, which is to say excelsus. The sixth Eser eheie,² which is to say The one who is. The seventh Adonay, which is to say Lord. The eighth Yah, which we use in Allelu yah. The ninth is Tetragrammaton Anephomton,³ that is to say the name of four letters which cannot be pronounced. The sixth is Sadai, which is to say robust, and sufficient, and in Greek it is Ichyros.

Margin has Numerous and divers names of God

*c des sacres noms lesquels se
rec est Θ Ε Ο Β -- ou Θ Ε Ο Ψ et no"
E loim Le tiers Eloë Le quart*

Folio 80 verso.

As may be seen the scribe has displayed a rudimentary ability to write θεος.
The Geneva ms. is similar with:-

*noms lesquels selon luy sont El. qui est en grec est Θ ε ο β.
ou Θ ε ψ & nous le disons dieu le second Eloim.*

Geneva ms. Fr. 167 folio 163 verso.

²See footnote folio 86 verso infra Eyeasserye.

³Thenaud, in ms. 5061, quite clearly has *Anephomton*, as may be seen from the detail below:-

*Le neufliesme cest Tetragrammatō Anephomtō
cest a dire le nom de quatre lettres qui ne peut estre pro
noncé*

Ms. 5061 folio 81 recto.

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Anephonto

Ms. 5061 folio 81 recto detail enlarged.

However the Geneva ms. Fr. 167 has:-

Le neufiesme cest Tetragramaton Anephoniton cest a dire le nom de quatre lettres qui ne peult estre prononcee.

Folio 163 recto.

Anephoniton

Folio 163 recto detail enlarged.

Clearly the Genevan copyist did not follow ms. 5061, which was incorrect as will now be shown.

Reuchlin uses the term *Tetragrammaton Anec/phoniton* in *De Verbo Mirifico* where he declares that it constitutes the ineffable four letters - *id est quatuor litterarum ineffabile*.

nihil aliud denominari queat uocaturq; apud graecos Tetragrammaton Anec/phoniton: id est quatuor litterarū ineffabile.

Sig. d6 verso.

phoniton:

Sig. d6 verso detail enlarged.

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Others say that God, before the creation of the world was ineffable.¹ In the creation he was called Elhoim.² After the creation and in his indwelling of the world as if it were his temple, he is called Adonay. So also when he did miracles, and when he had completed all he was called Sadai, whose best man³ and mediator to human levels is Metatron (Mettraton)⁴ who thus directs

Thenaud's other possible source is *De Arte Cabalistica* which is similar in that the divine name is again said to be unsayable *id est non uocabile*. However as may be seen from the detail given below the spelling is different. It also shows the mistakenness of ms. 5061's *Anekphoriton*.

Anekphoriton

De Arte Cabalistica folio 56 verso detail enlarged.

¹J. Le Fèvre d'Étaples, *Quincuplex Psalterium. Gallicum. Romanum. Hebraicum. Vetus Conciliatum*, Paris, 1509 has been suggested in the introduction supra as being the source of Thenaud's Cosmological diagrams. That work also contains information on the names attributed by God. Notably p. 231 notes that Jerome in the letter to Marcellus gives the names *El Elohim Elohe Sebaoth Elion Ehihe Aser Ehihe Adonai lah* "" Sadai, and the prophets in the Psalms have *El Elohim Elohe Sebaoth Elion Adonai lah* "" Sadai Sur Abir Iesu Iesuoth Mesiah. Comparison with Thenaud's lists shows that there are obvious similarities but there is no clear dependence by Thenaud on the earlier work of Le Fèvre d'Étaples. Le Fèvre d'Étaples did however acknowledge Reuchlin's *De Verbo Mirifico* even though he questions his argument:-

... et tunc nomen intelligo quod totum in se claudit Tetragrammaton, ut ex libro de verbo mirifico amplius intelligi potest utqz sæpe alias in annotationibus dictum est. Iesus tamen ut non est aspiratum reciperent iudæi nomen esse saluatoris nostri cuius elementa sunt Ioth/ Sin/ Vau/ Ain. alterum autem Ioth/ Sin/ Vau/ He repudiarent quasi fictitium & a notis curiose commentatum. & sive hoc sive illud nomen augustum est & venerandum sed de his satis.

²

Elhoim

Folio 81 recto detail showing this unusual spelling for *Elohim*.

³ Thenaud has *le paranimphe*.

Greek παράνημος Latin *paranymphus* m. and late Latin *paranympha* f.

From παρα beside νύμφη bride.

In Greek antiquity this friend of the bridegroom accompanied him when he went home to fetch the bride. Also used of the bridesmaid to the bridegroom. By extension and in a figurative sense, a person or thing that woos or solicits for another; an advocate, spokesman
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in accordance with his will the three levels and companies, that is to say the angels, the empire of heaven, and intelligences, who govern and move the celestial bodies and souls; so he is called Sabbaoth. Besides these two tens, we have many other names of God, and man. Maran Atha, which signifies dominus noster venit. Na which is put at the end of Osanna, which is a name of God, which one uses in great adversities and tribulations, which is to say, when translated into Latin Obsecro.¹ For this reason Moses said Dimitte Na peccatum populi tui.² Also we read in the psalm O domine saluū me fac o

or orator who speaks on behalf of another.

OED, p. 460 c.

4

Metatron

Folio 81 recto detail which shows Thénau's spelling which is at variance with the Greek origin of the name. M. Schwab, *Vocabulaire de l'Angelologie d'après les manuscrits hébreux de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Archè, Via Medici, 15 Milano, 1989, p. 125, notes that Metatron μετα θρον described the one who was at the throne. This was also a synonym for the archangel. C. Mopsik, *Les Grands Textes de la Cabale. Les rites qui font Dieu. Collection des Dix Paroles*, Paris, 1968, p. 54, comments on Ge. v 24 according to *Livre Hébreu d'Hénoch*, Verdier Lagrasse, 1989, where the pre-flood patriarch Enoch was taken to heaven and given the name Metatron. For reference to the name Metatron in the Geniza texts see L. Schiffman, and M. Swartz, *Hebrew and Aramaic Incantation Texts from the Cairo Geniza*, Sheffield, JSOT, 1992, p. 36.

Reference should also be made to the note to folio 87 verso infra, where Thénau has Metatron.

¹ Latin *Obsecro, opsecro*, to ask on religious grounds; also used as an expression of deprecation, and as a merely polite form of entreaty. C. Lewis, and C. Short, *o. cit.*, 1241b-c.

²Vulgate has Nu. xiv 19:-

Dimitte, obsecro, peccatum populi hujus secundum magnitudinem misericordiæ tuæ, sicut propitius fuisti egredientibus de Ægypto usque ad locum istum.

LXX has Nu. xiv 19:-

ἄφες τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τῷ λαῷ τούτῳ κατὰ τὸ μέγα ἔλεός σου, καθάπερ ἔλεως αὐτοῖς ἐγένου ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ἕως τοῦ νῦν.

Hebrew has Nu. xiv 19:-

סֶלֶח-סֶלֶח נָא לְעֵין הָעַם הַזֶּה כְּגִדְל חֲסִדֶּךָ
וְכַאֲשֶׁר נִשְׁאַתְתָּה לְעַם הַזֶּה מִמִּצְרַיִם וְעַד-הַנֵּה:

NASB has Nu. xiv 19:-

Pardon, I pray, the iniquity of this people according to the greatness of Thy loving-kindness, just as Thou also hast forgiven this people, from Egypt even until now.

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domine beneprosperare. The Hebrews read A na domine saluifica me A na domine fortunifica me.¹ Sabbath is another name which is commonly used in sacrifices. We have moreover Emanuel, which is to say Vobiscum deus. Imō which is to say permanet.² Macom and Caphu.³ But who is the one who may

Thenaud's version has *tui* (thy) instead of *hujus* (this). Here he is at variance with the Vulgate, the LXX, and the Hebrew. Reuchlin *De Verbo Mirifico* sig. e7 verso also has *tui*, which is further evidence of Thenaud's reliance on Reuchlin. The use which Thenaud makes of *De Verbo Mirifico* is abundantly clear in this section. Reuchlin sig. e7 verso has been followed exactly by Thenaud in his consideration of *Na* and the other names.

¹See End note *Thenaud's use of Na*.

²It is to be noted however that whereas Reuchlin *De Verbo Mirifico* sig. e7 verso has *Innon*:-

Et ante solem Innon no/

Sig. e7 verso detail.

Thenaud has Imō here:-

αυς. Imō

Folio 81 recto detail.

The source of this name is Ps. lxxii 17.

Vulgate has Ps. lxxi 17:-

Sit nomen ejus benedictum in secula! Ante solem permanet nomen ejus.

Hebrew has Ps. lxxii 17:-

17 יְהִי שִׁמּוֹ לְעוֹלָם לְפָנֵי־שֶׁמֶשׁ יָגִין [יָנוּן] שְׁמוֹ
וַיִּתְּבָרְכוּ בּוֹ כָּל־גּוֹיִם יֵאֻשְׁרוּהוּ:

NASB has Ps. lxxii 17:-

May his name endure forever;

May his name increase as long as the sun shines;

And let men bless themselves by him;

Let all nations call him blessed.

The word which has been used as the name *Innon* is the Hebrew יָנוּן יָגִין.

This rare verb might, according to some older versions, have been יָכוֹן, *to be established, to endure*. Notwithstanding the doubt over the etymology Reuchlin was fully justified in adopting *Innon*. Thenaud's Imō is erroneous.

³Hebrew has Ex. xxxiii 12 ff.:-

וַיֹּאמֶר מֹשֶׁה אֶל־יְהוָה רְאֵה אֶתְּךָ אֹמֵר אֵלַי הַעֲלֵ אֶת־הָעָם

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הַזֶּה וְאַתָּה לֹא הוֹדַעְתָּנִי אֶת אֲשֶׁר־תִּשְׁלַח עִמִּי וְאַתָּה אָמַרְתָּ יִדְעִיתִיךָ
 בְּשֵׁם וְגַם־מִצָּאֶתָּה חֵן בְּעֵינַי: 13 וְעַתָּה אֲסִנָּא מִצָּאֶתִי חֵן בְּעֵינֶיךָ
 הוֹדַעְנִי נָא אֶת־דֶּרֶכְךָ וְאֶדְעֶךָ לְמַעַן אֲמַצֶּא־חֵן בְּעֵינֶיךָ וְרָאֶה כִּי
 עִמָּךְ הִנְּנִי הַזֶּה: 14 וַיֹּאמֶר פָּנֶי יֵלְכוּ וְהִנַּחְתִּי לְךָ: 15 וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו
 אִם־אֵין פָּנֶיךָ הֹלְכִים אֶל־תַּעֲלֵנוּ מִזֶּה: 16 וּבִמָּה יוֹדַע אֲפֹא כִּי־
 מִצָּאֶתִי חֵן בְּעֵינֶיךָ אֲנִי וְעִמָּךְ הֲלֹא בִלְכַתָּךְ עִמָּנוּ וְנִפְלִינוּ אֲנִי וְעִמָּךְ
 מִכָּל־הָעָם אֲשֶׁר עַל־פְּנֵי הָאֲדָמָה: פ 17 וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל־
 מֹשֶׁה גַם אֶת־הַדָּבָר הַזֶּה אֲשֶׁר דִּבַּרְתָּ אֵעֲשֶׂה כִּי־מִצָּאֶתָּה חֵן בְּעֵינֶי
 וְאֶדְעֶךָ בְּשֵׁם: 18 וַיֹּאמֶר הֲרֵאֵנִי נָא אֶת־כְּבוֹדְךָ: 19 וַיֹּאמֶר אֲנִי
 אֶעֱבִיר כָּל־טוֹבִי עַל־פָּנֶיךָ וְקִרְאֹתִי בְשֵׁם יְהוָה לְפָנֶיךָ וְהִנַּחְתִּי אֶת־
 אֲשֶׁר אַחֲן וְרַחֲמֹתַי אֶת־אֲשֶׁר אֲרַחֵם: 20 וַיֹּאמֶר לֹא תוּכַל לִרְאוֹת
 אֶת־פָּנַי כִּי לֹא־יִרְאֶנִי הָאָדָם וְחִי: 21 וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה הִנֵּה מְקוֹם אֲתִי
 וְנִצַּבְתָּ עַל־הַצּוּר: 22 וְהָיָה בְּעֵבֶר כְּבֹדִי וְשִׁמְתִּיךָ בְּנִקְרַת הַצּוּר
 וְשַׁכַּתִּי כַּפִּי עָלֶיךָ עַד־עֲבָרִי: 23 וְהִסַּרְתִּי אֶת־כַּפִּי וְרֵאִיתָ אֶת־אַחֲרִי
 וּפָנַי לֹא יִרְאוּ:

NASB has Ex. xxxiii 12 ff.:-

12 Then Moses said to the LORD, "See, Thou dost say to me, 'Bring up this people!' But Thou Thyself hast not let me know whom Thou wilt send with me. Moreover, Thou hast said, 'I have known you by name, and you have also found favour in My sight.'

13 Now therefore, I pray Thee, if I have found favor in Thy sight, let me know Thy ways, that I may know Thee, so that I may find favor in Thy sight. Consider too, that this nation is Thy people."

14 And he said, "My presence shall go with you, and I will give you rest."

15 Then He said to Him, "If Thy presence does not go with us, do not lead us up from here.

16 "For how then can it be known that I have found favor in Thy sight, I and Thy people? Is it not by Thy going with us, so that we, I and Thy people, may be distinguished from all the other people who are upon the face of the earth?

17 And the LORD said to Moses, "I will also do this thing of which you have spoken; for you have found favour in My sight, and I have known you by name."

18 Then Moses said, "I pray Thee, show me Thy glory!"

19 And He said, "I Myself will make all my goodness pass before you, and will proclaim the name of the LORD before you; and I will be gracious to whom I will be gracious, and will show compassion on whom I will show compassion."

20 But He said, "You cannot see My face, for no man can see Me and live!"

21 Then the LORD said, "Behold there is a place by Me, and you shall stand there on the rock;

22 and it will come about, while My glory is passing by, that I will put you in the cleft of the rock and cover you with My hand until I have passed by.

23 "Then I will take My hand away and you shall see My back, but My face shall not be seen."

The terms used by Thénaud *Macom* and *Caphu* are related to this passage which concerns the accompanying presence of God. Verse 21 refers to מְקוֹם, given by both as *Macom*, and verse 22 has כַּפִּי, given by both as *Caphu*.

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can name God Almighty, whose centre is everywhere, and whose circumference is incomprehensible, in the contemplation of whom all spirits are overwhelmed, and fall on their faces. But so that every multitude be reduced to unity, you are to know that there is one sole name above all others, and it is coeternal with him, and one which makes heavens, lands, hells, angels, men and all creatures tremble, by whose virtue things which are impossible in nature are made possible, for by it

folio 81 verso

one does miracles, controls angels, evil spirits, winds, souls, stars, birds, beasts, all creatures and what is more, God (but not in any way by force or violence) but because he was pleased thus to command to be carried out the will of the one who knows how to Kabbalize, and so to change things; so that it may be called and pronounced, the one who wishes to use it is to be pure in life, humble towards him, cut off from all passion, affection and human or worldly desire, and such a one should be sufficiently prepared by fasting and prayer to achieve this.

Margin has There is one name of Almighty and virtuous God who is above all others

Of this name it is written in Zechariah In die illa erit deus unus et nomen eius unum.¹ This name was shown and taught to the angels as soon as they were created, so that they may adore him who made them good, and who expelled Berith² and his rebellious and contumacious adherents, who did not want to give the adoration due to that glorious and most resplendent name. For this the above mentioned blessed angels were illuminated; purged and perfected, but in different manners according to the diversity of their natural perfection,

¹Vulgate has Ze. xiv 9:-

Et erit Dominus Rex super omnem terram: in die illa erit Dominus unus, et erit nomen ejus unum.

NASB has Ze. xiv 9:-

And the LORD will be king over all the earth; in that day the LORD will be *the only* one, and His name *the only* one.

²See End note Treatise 1, folio 4 verso.

by the self same name, for they knew the most profound and secret mysteries of divine science, the duration of the world, the creation, ruin and reparation of human nature, of the two Adams and the two Eves, and of many other things. This name so inspired the first parents in their creation that Eve, seeing her first born, might say I have had and possess a man by the grace of Tetragramme. Then when the good line of Seth began to multiply, the self same name started to be invoked most devotedly by all for by it they obtained fulfilment of their desires. This name was like the most inexpressibly valuable hereditary treasure of the right of succession handed from Seth to Noah, to the holy patriarchs, that is to say Abraham, to whom God said Ego sum tetragammas qui eduxi te de Ur chaldeorum¹ To Isaac of whom it is written fecit altare deo et invocavit nomen tetragrammi² and to Jacob to whom God said as he was sleeping in Haran and when he contemplated that marvellous ladder which touched the heavens and earth Ego sum tetragrammus deus abraham patris tui et deus ysaac.³ From these holy

¹Vulgate has Ge. xv 7:-

Dixitque ad eum: Ego Dominus qui eduxi te de Ur Chaldæorum, ut darem tibi terram istam, et possideres eam.

NASB has Ge. xv 7:-

And He said to him, "I am the LORD who brought you out of Ur of the Chaldeans, to give you this land to possess it."

²Vulgate has Ge. xxvi 25:-

Itaque ædificavit ibi altare; et invocato nomine Domini, extendit tabernaculum, præcipitque servis suis ut foderunt puteum.

LXX has Ge. xxvi 25:-

καὶ ὠκοδόμησεν ἐκεῖ θυσιαστήριον καὶ ἐπεκαλέσατο τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου καὶ ἔπηξεν ἐκεῖ τὴν σκηνὴν αὐτοῦ· ὥρυξαν δὲ ἐκεῖ οἱ παῖδες Ἰσαακ φρέαρ.

Hebrew has Ge. xxvi 25:-

וַיִּבֶן שָׁם מִזְבֵּחַ וַיִּקְרָא בְּשֵׁם יְהוָה וַיִּטֶּשֶׁם אֱהֱלֹו וַיִּכְרוּ שָׁם עֲבָדֵי יִצְחָק בְּאֵר:

NASB has Ge. xxvi 25:-

So he built an altar there, and called upon the name of the LORD, and pitched his tent there; and there Isaac's servants dug a well.

It is evident that Thénau's version which has *deo* is at variance with the Hebrew שָׁם, the Latin *ibi*, the Greek ἐκεῖ and the English *there*.

³Vulgate has Ge. xxviii 13:-

Et Dominum innixum scalæ dicentem sibi: Ego sum Dominus Deus Abraham patris tui, et Deus Isaac; terram, in qua dormis, tibi dabo et semini tuo.

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patriarchs this name came to Moses successively, to whom the revelation and interpretation was better revealed than to any of his forebears. And for this reason the Kabbalists say that the Shemhamaphoras of Moses has more power, virtue and excellence than that of Adam, Noah, Abraham, and of the others. With this the divine virtue was more closely annexed and adjoined, for God had determined to deliver the children of Israel from the company of Egypt after many flagellations and to submerge Pharaoh and his army in the Erythrean sea, after the dividing of which by his most powerful hand and invincible arm by Moses and Aaron, by the virtue of that name. For by it Moses struck Egypt with ten exceptional plagues, he passed through and divided, as has been said, the Red Sea, he overcame Amalek, he brought down manna, he drew forth fountains from hard stones, he caused meat in abundance to appear. Also he did many other marvellous things which are not in holy Scripture, read as they are, but which are real if they are kabbalized. And he left the knowledge of that name, also his shemhamaphoras to his successor Joshua, and to the seventy-two princes, governors of the people, so that using that name Joshua stopped the sun and the moon, he divided the river Jordan, he overcame thirty-one kings, he shared out the holy land. Then this holy name and the secrets of it were passed from father to son by glorious kings, priests, dukes, judges, pontiffs and governors of the people, in which alone was their total trust and hope. Of this name holy scripture writes

LXX has Ge. xxviii 13:-

ὁ δὲ κύριος ἐπεστήρικτο ἐπ' αὐτῆς καὶ εἶπεν Ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεὸς Ἀβραὰμ τοῦ πατρὸς σου καὶ ὁ θεὸς Ἰσαὰκ· μὴ φοβοῦ· ἡ γῆ, ἐφ' ἧς σὺ καθεύδεις ἐπ' αὐτῆς, σοὶ δώσω αὐτήν καὶ τῷ σπέρματί σου.

Hebrew has Ge. xxviii 13:-

וַיַּהֲבֵה יְהוָה נֹצֵב עָלָיו וַיֹּאמֶר אֲנִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי אֲבִרְהָם אָבִיךָ וְאֱלֹהֵי
יִצְחָק הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר אַתָּה שֹׁכֵב עָלֶיהָ לִּי אֶתְנֶנָּה וְלִצְרָעָךְ:

NASB has Ge. xxviii 13:-

And behold, the LORD stood above it and said, "I am the LORD, the God of your father Abraham and the God of Isaac; the land on which you lie, I will give it to you and to your descendants."

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in various places. Quid queris nomen meum Gene xxxii.¹ Omnipotens nomen eius Ex. vi.² Per nomen eius iurabis deuter. v.³ Quid facies nomini tuo magno

¹Vulgate has Ge. xxxii 29:-

Interrogavit eum Jacob: Dic mihi, quo appellaris nomine? Respondit: Cur quæris nomen meum? Et benedixit ei in eodem loco.

NASB has Ge. xxxii 29:-

Then Jacob asked him and said, "Please tell me your name." But he said, "Why is it that you ask my name?" And he blessed him there.

²Vulgate has Ex. vi 2:-

Locutusque est Dominus ad Moysen, dicens; Ego Dominus

3 Qui apparui Abraham, Isaac et Jacob, in Deo omnipotente; et nomen meum ADONAI non indicavi eis.

LXX has Ex. vi 2:-

Ἐλάλησεν δὲ ὁ θεὸς πρὸς Μωϋσῆν καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτόν Ἐγὼ κύριος·

3 καὶ ὤφθην πρὸς Ἀβραάμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ, θεὸς ὢν αὐτῶν, καὶ τὸ ὄνομά μου κύριος οὐκ ἐδήλωσα αὐτοῖς·

Hebrew has Ex. vi 2:-

2 וַיִּדְבֹּר אֱלֹהִים אֶל־מֹשֶׁה וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו אֲנִי יְהוָה: 3 וְאָמַר אֶל־
אֲבֹרָהֶם אֶל־יִצְחָק וְאֶל־יַעֲקֹב בְּאֵל שַׁדַּי וְשְׁמִי יְהוָה לֹא נִדְעָתִי
לָהֶם:

NASB has Ex. vi 2:-

God spoke further to Moses and said to him, "I am the LORD;

3 and I appeared to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, as God Almighty, but by My name, LORD, I did not make Myself known to them."

Thenaud gives the reference chapter but not verse. It is clear that his version is a paraphrase . It does share the confession that God's name is 'שַׁדַּי Shaddai or Almighty. However the intention of the Hebrew was that although God had indeed been known as 'שַׁדַּי Shaddai or Almighty, the fuller revelation made to Moses was that of the Tetragrammaton. Thenaud was therefore justified in relying on this verse, though his wording fails to state the case.

³Vulgate has Dt. v 11:-

Non usurpabis nomen Domini Dei tui frustra; quia non erit impunitus qui suer re vana nomen ejus assumpserit .

LXX has Dt. v 11:-

οὐ λήμψῃ τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ σου ἐπὶ ματαίῳ· οὐ γὰρ μὴ καθαρίσῃ κύριος τὸν λαμβάνοντα τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ ματαίῳ.

Hebrew has Dt. v 11:-

לֹא תִשָּׂא אֶת־שֵׁם־יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ לְשׁוֹן
כִּי לֹא יִנְקָה יְהוָה אֶת־אִשְׁר־יִשָּׂא אֶת־שְׁמוֹ לְשׁוֹן:

NASB has Dt. v 11:-

You shall not take the name of the LORD your God in vain, for the LORD will not leave him unpunished who takes His name in vain.

Josue. vi.¹ Quid queris nomen meum quod est mirabile. Ju. xiii.² Elegi iherusalem ut sit nomen meum ibi sedī paralipo. s.³ Et le royal prophete Secundum

Thenaud's selection of this verse does indeed support his topic, which is the significance of the Tetragrammaton. Once again however his presentation shows what can only be described as a wanton disregard for exegesis, in that the paraphrase selection of words which he gives promotes the use of the divine name in connection with oath taking.

¹Thenaud clearly cites Joshua vi as may be seen from the detail below:-

Josue. vi.

Folio 82 recto.

This is repeated in Geneva ms. Fr. 167 which has:-

Josue. vi.

Folio 164 verso.

The reference should have been to Joshua vii.

Vulgate has Jo. vii 9:-

Audient Chanæni, et omnes habitatores terræ, et pariter conglobati circumdabunt nos, atque delebunt nomen nostrum de terra; et quid facies magno nomini tuo?

NASB has Jo. vii 9:-

For the Canaanites and all the inhabitants of the land will hear of it, and they will surround us and cut off our name from the earth. And what wilt Thou do for Thy great name?

Notwithstanding the wrong reference, the verse is highly appropriate to the argument.

²Vulgate has Ju. xiii 18:-

Cui ille respondit : Cur quæris nomen meum, quod est mirabile?

LXX has Ju. xiii 18:-

καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὁ ἄγγελος κυρίου "ἵνα τί τοῦτο ἐρωτᾷς τὸ ὄνομά μου; καὶ αὐτό ἐστιν θαυμαστόν.

Hebrew has Ju. xiii 18:-

וַיֹּאמֶר לוֹ מֶלֶאךָ יְהוָה לָמָּה זֶה תִּשְׁאַל לְשִׁמִּי וְהוּא פֹלְאִי:

NASB has Ju. xiii 18:-

But the angel of the LORD said to him, "Why do you ask my name, seeing it is wonderful?"

It is to be noted that the translators of the NASB used *my* rather than *My* which clearly shows their opinion that the name was that of the angel.

This topic of the appearance of the *Angel of the LORD* מֶלֶאךָ יְהוָה to Manoah was highly pertinent to Thenaud's subject, though Thenaud simply and straightforwardly ignores the angel as intermediary.

³Vulgate has II Chr. vi 6:-

Sed elegi Jerusalem ut sit nomen meum in ea, et elegi David ut constituerem super populum meum Israel.

Treatise 4 page 103

nomen tuum sic et laus tua.¹ Ante solem permanet nomen eius² Sit nomen domini benedictum. A solis ortu usqz ad occasum laudabile nomen domini.³ De' in nomine tuo saluum me fac.⁴ Beatus vir cuius est nomen domini spes eius.⁵ Confitebor nomini tuo quoniam

folio 82 verso

NASB has II Chr. vi 6:-

but I have chosen Jerusalem that My name might be there, and I have chosen David to be over My people Israel.

¹Vulgate has Ps. xlvii 11:-

secundum nomen tuum Deus sic et laus tua in fines terrae

NASB has Ps. xlviii 10:-

As is Thy name, O God,

So is Thy praise to the ends of the earth.

²Vulgate has Ps. lxxi 17:-

sit nomen eius benedictum in saecula
ante solem permanet nomen eius
et benedicentur in ipso omnes tribus terrae
omnes gentes beatificabunt eum

NASB has Ps. lxxii 17:-

May his name endure forever;
May his name increase as long as the sun shines;
And let men bless themselves by him;
Let all nations call him blessed.

³Vulgate has Ps. cxii 3:-

a solis ortu usque ad occasum laudabile nomen Domini.

NASB has Ps. cxlii 3:-

From the rising of the sun to its setting
The name of the LORD is to be praised.

⁴Vulgate has Ps. liii 3:-

Deus in nomine tuo saluum me fac et in virtute tua iudica me.

NASB has Ps. liv 1:-

Save me, O God, by Thy name,
And vindicate me by Thy power.

⁵Vulgate has Ps. xxxix 5:-

Beatus vir cuius est nomen Domini spes ipsius
et non respexit in vanitates et insanias falsas,

NASB has Ps. xl 4:-

How blessed is the man who has made the LORD his trust,
And has not turned to the proud, nor to those who lapse into falsehood.

Treatise 4 page 104

bonum est.¹ Cognoscent quia nomen tibi dominus.² Sanctus et terribile nomen eius.³ Non nobis domine non nobis sed nomini tuo da gloriam.⁴ Nos autem in nomine domini nostri sperauimus.⁵ Sperent in te qui nouerunt nomen tuum.⁶ Propter nomen tuum propiciaberis peccato meo.⁷ Adiua nos deus salutaris

¹Vulgate has Ps. liii 8:-

Voluntarie sacrificabo tibi
confitebor nomini tuo Domine quoniam bonum est.

NASB has Ps. liv 6:-

Willingly I will sacrifice to Thee;
I will give thanks to Thy name, O LORD, for it is good.

²Vulgate has Ps. lxxxii 19:-

Et cognoscant quia nomen tibi Dominus
tu solus Altissimus in omni terra.

NASB has Ps. lxxxiii 18:-

That they may know that Thou alone, whose name is the LORD,
Art the Most High over all the earth.

³Vulgate has Ps. xcvi 3:-

Confiteantur nomini tuo magno quoniam terribile et sanctum est.

NASB has Ps. xcix 3:-

Let them praise Thy great and awesome name;
Holy is He.

⁴Vulgate has Ps. cxiii 9:-

Non nobis, Domine, non nobis sed nomini tuo da gloriam.

NASB has Ps. cxv 1:-

Not to us O LORD, not to us;
But to Thy name give glory
Because of Thy loving-kindness, because of Thy truth.

⁵Vulgate has Ps. xix 8:-

Hii in curribus et hii in equis
nos autem in nomine Domini Dei nostri invocabimus.

NASB has Ps. xx 7:-

Some boast in chariots, and some in horses;
But we will boast in the name of the LORD, our God.

⁶Vulgate has Ps. ix 11:-

Et sperent in te qui noverunt nomen tuum
quoniam non dereliquisti quaerentes te Domine.

NASB has Ps. ix 10:-

And those who know Thy name will put their trust in Thee;
For Thou, O LORD, hast not forgotten those who seek Thee.

⁷Vulgate has Ps. xxiv 11:-

Propter nomen tuum propitiaberis peccato meo; multum est enim.

NASB has Ps. xxv 11:-

For Thy name's sake, O LORD,
Pardon my iniquity, for it is great.

noster et propter gloriam nominis tui.¹ If I wanted to list and to tell of all the places in holy scripture where there is made mention of this holy name it would be necessary for me to order a large book, but for the present it suffices for you to know these, for just as the sun holds within itself all light, and the Panthaure² the property of all precious stones, so also this holy name of ineffable God which is of four letters contains not only the virtues and graces of all other sacred names, but it is greater than them, for it is among them as the sun is among the planets.

About the excellence of the quaternary number of that holy and sacred name of God and its significance

Chapter eighth³

Earlier I have shown, declared or exposed to you the holy name of God, the Hebrew said to me. It is now appropriate for us to purify ourselves by fastings, prayers and ablutions, and then to change our customary vestments lest per adventure they be polluted and spotted, and that we put on others that are pure and clean, and also we are to wash our whole bodies, eyes, mouths and ears, in order that the grace of God may be favourable and effective. And

¹Vulgate has Ps. lxxviii 9:-

Aiuvva nos Deus salutaris noster
propter gloriam nominis tui Domine libera nos
et propitius esto peccatis nostris propter nomen tuum.

NASB has Ps. lxxix 9:-

Help us, O God of our salvation, for the glory of Thy name;
And deliver us, and forgive our sins, for Thy name's sake.

²See also folio 116 verso infra.

The *Pantarbe*, a precious stone, was fabled to act as a magnet for gold. It was also regarded as the stone of the sun. The word derives from the Greek παντάρβη.

³This is actually chapter ten, but the scribe has written *Chapitre huytiesme* as may be seen from the detail below:-

Chapitre huytiesme.

Folio 82 verso detail.

Treatise 4 page 106

because the holy name is comprised of four mystical letters we shall spend four whole days in this place shut away and secret, and where we cannot be seen except by God and the angels; to which suggestion I consented. Then on the fifth day he said thus to me. The whole resolution and interpretation of a name is by four letters, and syllables, as well as by the accidents and properties of those letters and syllables, but because the name

folio 83 recto

which were are to speak of cannot be composed, for there cannot be anything like the name signifying the most simple essence, which can never be subject to composition, because the most simple simplicity is to remain in itself, not joined, united and composed as are other names. For this reason I shall proceed by another means, and I shall show you firstly the excellence of the number four, then I shall tell you what each one of the four letters signifies.

Margin has Praise of the quaternary number

A good workman who desires to make some great thing, be it a church, château, picture, vessel, golden hanging, book, ship or other such thing, conceives and sketches out in himself first of all and in his understanding the whole of his work, which is called Idea or Fantasy, and according to that he does his task, whereby one knows visibly what was the original idea¹ and fantasy² of the workman. So it is that God has made this universe and all things that are in it by quaternaries, from which one is to conclude that such was his idea. That everything is made by quaternaries, I shall prove to you. For in the first place there are four worlds, as I have told you above; these are the angelic, the celestial, the elementary and the microcosm. In the angelic there are four princes, who are under the eternal monarch, who directs the holy multitude of the blessed angels. In the Celestial there are four triplicities of signs, and forms of four qualities, which are the four seasons of the year, that is to say spring, Summer, Autumn, and winter. In the Elementary there are the four elements, and in the microcosm there are four things, that is to

¹*lydee.*

²*la fantasie premiere.*

say flesh, spirit, shadow and soul, for Ovid said *Bis duo sunt hominis manes caro spiritus umbra Ortus habet manes spiritus astra petit*. In substance there are four things, none of which in themselves have being. The remainder show growth, the third have feeling, and fourth have understanding. In qualities there is heat, cold, damp and dryness. In quantity there are points, line, area and volume. All movement is ascending, descending, straight or circular. There are four virtues in which all the others are

follo 83 verso

found. Four rivers flow from the terrestrial paradise, the holy book of Ezekiel has quaternaries of beasts, cherubin and wheels. Daniel saw four beasts who fought in the sea, four in arithmetic produces the number ten, which is the consummation and perfection of all numbers, for one, two, three and four make up ten. It was revealed to the first parents that the reparation of human nature would be through the death of the just and innocent Messiah, who would restore to the tree the fruit of life which sacrilegiously they had picked.¹ And his name was of four letters. The ancients and early fathers had also only four letters as appears in Adam Abel Seth Enos. And what is more, each and every nation call God (*dieu*) by a name that has only four letters.

Margin has In all nations the name of God has four letters

The Latins use *deus*. The Greeks *teos*. The Egyptians *Teut*. The Persians *Syre*. The mages *Orsi*, and from this comes *Oromasis*, and the Arabs have *Alla*, which cannot be made without divine inspiration and holy mystery. And as the name signifies the substance, it is to be concluded that in this intelligible sphere and in the incomprehensible one which is God, there is an ideal

¹ Latin *tollo* to lift or to take up.

Vulgate has Ge. iii 6:-

Vidit igitur mulier quod bonum esset lignum ad vescendum, et pulchrum oculis, aspectque delectabile; et tulit de fructu illius, et comedit, deditque viro suo, qui comedit.

NASB has Ge. iii 6:-

When the woman saw that the tree was good for food, and that it was a delight to the eyes, and that the tree was desirable to make one wise, she took from its fruit and ate; and she gave also to her husband with her, and he ate.

Treatise 4 page 108

quadrature to which philosophers have approached when they said it was known that the circle could be divided into four, yet they had not then come to that knowledge which today I introduce to you in the ineffable name with four letters; I am giving to you knowledge of God. Of this the Lacedomians, who formerly sculpted and painted their sovereign Jupiter with four ears, had some obscure knowledge. But so that this holy and sacred name might not fall into disdain through common usage, our ancient sages sought to signify by three points enclosed principally within a parenthesis, as follows¹ and pronounce Adin or Adonay which is to say Lord not at all that it signified that thing, for there never was translator, interpreter nor change which could find either term or word to signify him, but they borrowed that name.

Margin has The four letters of the sacred name

The four letters are.² I shall tell you of each one of them in as far as

folio 84 recto

human fragility may so bear, then I shall speak of them conjoined and so revolved for that name cannot be said or pronounced. For the knowledge thereof is not only in regard to characters, nor in the understanding of numbers,

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Folio 83 verso detail enlarged.

2

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Folio 83 verso detail enlarged.

Treatise 4 page 109

but in its pronunciation, in its virtue, hidden and removed. The first letter is lod, written like a point, which is the commencement of all numbers. For God in himself is permanent, without movement, outside of himself in creation; he is not number, order, one, nor unity however much he is the commencement and end of all things, but he is the first infinite point of Geometry, and then ten, which is the final number in Arithmetic, is also the fullness of fountain of entity, recluse in the abyss of darkness, and in the sea of nothings to which one cannot pass. So then just as unity does not produce anything except itself, for one times one is only one, and thus this letter lod excites us to contemplate the infinitude of God in Himself, without his extending himself to his creatures, so also the three names which I have spoken to you about above, which are Hu, Ehieh, Esth. The second letter of this holy and sacred name is He, which signifies and is worth five in Arithmetic, which is composed of the first even number, which is two, attributed to his creatures, and of the first of the odd numbers, which is three, a number attributed to God. Also just as the movement of a point which is protracted beyond itself makes a line, and the line, displaced outside itself makes latitude, so also unity displaced outside of itself produces only one, its producer, and on this account two is changeability, for as Servius said *Alter de duobus dicitur*, and everything which is not simple, nor one, is composed; every composed thing is made of some material proportion which requires its formal perfection. Thus it is that he who was first of all created and produced by God, is not God. So also it is duality, changeability and multitude, from whom is required formality and divine perfection, signified by three, which is a number associated with divine things, as said the

folio 84 verso

poet *Numero impare deus gaudet*¹ and because thus is the angelic nature of which it was formerly said by Appollo *Quasi parua porcio dei sunt angeli* for

¹P. Vergilius Maro, *Eclogae*, poem 8, verse 75:
... *numero deus impare gaudet*.

See also Appendix Vergiliana, *Ciris*, verse 373:
Treatise 4 page 110

the angels are the first intellectual rays which the divine light produced outside of itself. They are designated by this blessed letter He, which is worth and which signifies the spirit, for it cannot be pronounced without great aspiration. Every number in itself may divide into two parts, equal or unequal, exceeding by one of the parts. The even number belongs to the class of things composed and mixed, and so are the angels, in whom are essence and virtues distinct, and odd belongs to the things everlasting and pertaining to the divinity, and such are the angels, who are not to be signified by the first number, which belongs to the divinity, but by the number that follows. For this reason the state of the ideal, archetypal or angelic world cannot be better figured than by the fifth letter which signifies aspiration, and the imperfect number two, if it is not perfected by the triune unity. In demonstration of this Moses made on the Ark two cherubs, each of whom had wings extended five measures upon which was the sacred name of God; by this he wanted to give knowledge to the rude and barbarous people of that essence and nature, which first of all flows from God. This number five was formerly sacred to Mercury. Also the fingers of the hands and the toes of the feet together with the internal and the external senses are numbered in fives. This number is the centre of the ten, as well as the multiplier of all numbers up to one thousand which is infinity, and about which the Count of Mirandola said The one who knows the ten of formal arithmetic and he who knows the secret of the fifty doors of intelligence,¹ that of the great Jubilee, the thousandth generation and the everlasting reign, that is to say The one who will make a circle whose centre is five, and let it be equally divided by a line into two, at the top of which is nine, and at the base is one.² Then from the right side and before one, is put two, three, four, five equally spaced, and on the other side are put five, six, seven and eight, and let these lines join the opposite numbers

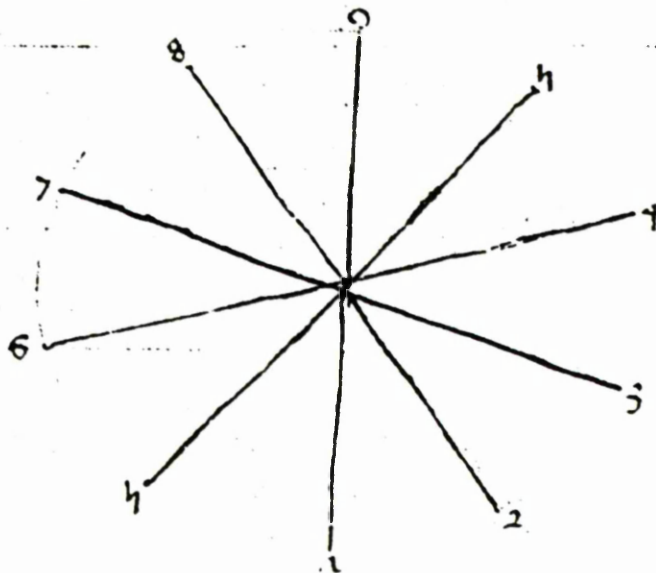
folio 85 recto

¹ See End Note *Fifty Doors of Intelligence*.

² J. Reuchlin, *De Arte Cabalistica*, folio 39 recto, where he states that the Tetractys, or quaternity, *tetractys illa quaternitudo* is the Idea of everything created. As the mathematicians say, all progression is derived from four. He then passes on to describe the circular diagram, with five in the middle. The sum of the numbers at the ends of the spokes is ten in each case. Treatise 4 page 111

one finds in every instance ten and because there are five lines the sphere comes to fifty.¹ Of this number fifty, the double portion is one hundred, and this treated with the number of the same circle, comes to a thousand, as appears in this figure.²

uit par le nombre du d cercle fera mil c
t en ceste figure.



ysiesme lettre du d' saint et sacre nom α

¹ Thenaud follows J. Reuchlin *De Verbo Mirifico* sig. e6 recto and *De Arte Cabalistica* folio 52 verso and 53 recto. It is to be noted that Reuchlin in the latter work furthers the argument by discussing the Hebrew *Ensoph*. Thenaud does not do this, and this indicates that he was following the earlier work. See note infra *Fifty Doors of Intelligence*.

²The origin of this diagram is attributed by Waterfield to Anatolius. See R. Waterfield, *The Theology of Arithmetic*, ΤΑ ΘΕΟΛΟΓΟΥΜΕΝΑ ΤΗΣ ΑΡΙΘΜΗΤΙΚΗΣ, Phanes, 1988, pp. 65/66 where he translates Iamblic's section on the Pentad as including a dissertation on 5 as the arithmetic mean of numbers which add up to 10. Iamblic stated that his work included a diagram of the form given by Thenaud, but no such diagram was given.

Treatise 4 page 112

The third letter of the above mentioned holy and sacred name is Vau, which in grammar is the copula, in arithmetic signifies six, and in geometry it is the character symbol for something perfected and accomplished. One sees that a thing which is a hexagon and which has six sides, like a die, whichever way it is turned, that it is complete and uniform. Also there is no number below ten which has all its parts, which make it up without excess or shortfall, apart from this six whose half is three, whose third is two, and whose sixth is one, which numbers joined together make six. And likewise this Vau signifies the celestial and elementary world joined together, perfect and accomplished by God Almighty, without any superfluity or lack. As a sign of which this letter is not placed in all the genealogies which are given in holy scripture for a sign and character of perfect accomplishment, except in two which are (first) those of the heaven and the earth. *Iste sunt generationes celi et terre*¹ And (secondly) in that time of Phares from whom our Lord descended as it appears at the end of the book of Ruth.² Vau then signifies all things and everything composed of

¹ Vulgate has Ge. ii 4:-

Istæ sunt generationes cæli et terra, quando creata sunt, in die quo fecit Dominus Deus cælum et terram.

Hebrew has Ge. ii 4:-

אֱלֹהִים תּוֹלְדוֹת הַשָּׁמַיִם וְהָאָרֶץ בְּהִבְרָאָם
בְּיוֹם עֲשׂוֹת יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים אֶרֶץ וּשְׁמַיִם:

NASB has Ge. ii 4:-

This is the account *These are the generations* of the heavens and the earth when they were created, in the day that the LORD God made earth and heaven.

² Vulgate has Ru. iv 18:-

Hæ sunt generationes Phares: Phares genuit Esron.

Hebrew has Ru. iv 18:-

וְאֵלֶּה תּוֹלְדוֹת פָּרֶץ פָּרֶץ הוֹלִיד אֶת־חֶצְרוֹן:

NASB has Ru. iv 18-

Now these are the generations of Perez: to Perez was born Hezron.

Thenaud's explanation is not only unclear, but reveals his ignorance of Hebrew. The word in question is *generations*. In Hebrew the word is תּוֹלְדוֹת cstr. תּוֹלְדוֹת. The argument is proposed by Reuchlin *De Verbo Mirifico* in sig. e5 verso:- *Ubi Tholdoth singulari diuinitatis dono per Vau in ultima scribitur. These two occurrences were Ge. ii 4 and Ru. iv 18. Thenaud adopts the same references. Reuchlin did not use this argument in De Arte Cabalistica.*

matter and form, which are subject to movement and to passage of time and which are united and joined by inseparable conjunction, as it is written in Ecclesiasticus Quid est fuit id quod futurum

folio 85 verso

est quid est quod futurum est id quod fuit.¹ The fourth and final letter of that name is that which I have already demonstrated. 'He' which signifies man, the reasonable creature, who has been placed in the midst of the three worlds, as I have shown at the end of the first treatise, as the link and the union of the universe. This letter is the centre of the sphere, which I have drawn above, in

The following table lists the distribution of תולדות in the Bible, with its variant forms including occurrences with suffixes.

	A	B	C	D
1	תולדות	תולדות	תולדת	תולדת
2	Gn. xxxvi. 1	Gn. ii. 4	Gn. v. 1	Gn. xxv. 12
3	Gn. xxxvi. 9	Ru. iv. 18	Gn. vi. 9	Ex. vi. 16
4	Gn. xxxvii. 2		Gn. x. 1	Ex. vi. 19
5	I Ch. v. 7		Gn. x. 32	I Ch. i. 29
6	I Ch. vii. 2		Gn. xi. 10	I Ch. xxvi. 31
7	I Ch. vii. 4		Gn. xi. 27	
8	I Ch. vii. 9		Gn. xxv. 13	
9	I Ch. viii. 28		Gn. xxv. 19	
10	I Ch. ix. 9		Ex. xxviii. 10	
11	I Ch. ix. 34		Nu. i. 20 + 11t.	
12			Nu. iii. 1	

¹Vulgate has Ec. i 9:-

Quid est quod fuit? Ipsum quod futurum est. Quid est quod factum est? Ipsum quod faciendum est.

10. Nihil sub sole novum ...

NASB has Ec. i 9:-

That which has been is that which will be,
And that which has been done is that which will be done.

So there is nothing new under the sun.

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which man is equal to the angels except in nature and corruptible part, as David said *Minuisti eum paulominus ab angelis*. And as Virgil says *Igneus est illis vigor et celestis origo quantum non noxia corpora tardant terreniqz ebetant artus moribundaqz membra*. And Plato said in his *Timæus* that God created first the fire, then the earth.¹ From fire were made all corruptible things and the lower ones, but because these things were so different and repugnant he required them to be joined in a third, which is man, whose power, nature and spiritual nature live and converse with God and the angels. I know that he lives, moves, grows and feels with the body, which he inhabits and which is material. For this reason Hermes Trimegistus (whom many have said was Moses) has written this *O asclepi magnum miraculum est homo animal adorandum et honorandum Hic enim in naturam dei transit quasi impe sit deus Hic demonum genus nouit ut pote qui cum isdem ortum se esse cognoscat Hic humane nature partem in seipso despicit alterius partis diuinitate confisus*.² Others say that the first letter has power over the orient, and over all things oriental, together with fire. The second has power over the things of the south and the air. The third over occidental things, and over water. The fourth over northern things, and over the earth, and by each one of these, as parts of the ineffable name one can work marvels.

Chapter 11

folio 86 recto

About different semhamaphoras or in other words, interpretations, revolutions and decipherings of the above mentioned name of God

¹Thenaud follows Reuchlin *De Verbo Mirifico* sig. e6 recto *Platonis in libro cui est inscriptio Timæus hoc dogma extat: Deum in exordio primum creasse ignem: deinde terram.*

²Thenaud follows Reuchlin *De Verbo Mirifico* sig. e6 recto, though the reference to Hermes as Moses is not found in Reuchlin who merely has *Propter hæc ait Hermes Trismegistus: O Asclepi ...*

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I am aware that one may advance in one's knowledge of God thanks to all creatures and lessons. However our fragility is best assisted by the scriptures which God has revealed to us, as he done nowhere else, and that by derivation and origin from sovereign and ineffable truth. These are to be more revered than the oracles of Minos which the paladium of Troy and Atila of Numa and even the names of God which signify and represent his essence. So it is that our venerable doctors, pontiffs and priests, in order to conserve and to guard the majesty and excellence of the sacred name of God the Tetragrammaton, only published it once each year and that on the day of Propitiation by the High Priest as he gave his blessing to the people. At other times they used other names more sacred than Adonai in which the above mentioned name was enclosed by a kabbalistic means, some of which were of seven letters, some of twelve, 22 and the others of seventy-two. For this they had various sorts of Semhamaphoras which they attribute to Adam, Moses, Abraham, Joshua, Solomon, David, Daniel and many another which I need not mention here for the oft repeated meaning above and so you would call me superstitious and a mage.¹ But less us consider these four only. The first has seven letters and you others pronounce it Eyeassereye although here it has not seven for I have translated it for pronunciation, for otherwise I could not represent it in your Roman letters. Its function is to make angels wonderfully visible and to get them to speak of fasts and the many manners of preparations for such matters. The prayer is of this form O imperial sceptre Israel seal most mighty unchanging God incomprehensible and insoluble chain. Your dominion is essence most firm, which I invoke in perfection and complement by my works so that the spirit you have put in me may be active in order that your lucid blessed light bearing benign and angelic ones may be obedient to you. Make me worthy to attain truth in this matter through thy holy name²

Comparison may be made with the respect that Pico accorded to magic and the Kabbalah. "*...there is no knowledge which makes us more certain of the divinity of Christ than magic and Kabbalah ...*" E. Garin, *Johannes Picus Mirandulanus: Opera Omnia*, Turin, 1971. p. 105.

which is Eyeasserye.¹ The second has twelve letters which is² that is to say the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit and because you have this always on your lips and by it you make your prayers I shall proceed to the next. The third one has 23 letters³ and is derived from combinations and revolutions

quod וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים

Folio 86 verso detail enlarged.

¹NASB has Ex. iii 14:-

And God said to Moses, "I AM WHO I AM"; and He said, "Thus you shall say to the sons of Israel. 'I AM has sent me to you.'"

Heb. has Ex. iii 14:-

וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים אֶל-מֹשֶׁה אֲהִיָּה אֲשֶׁר אֲהִיָּה וַיֹּאמֶר כֹּה תֹאמַר
לְבְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל אֲהִיָּה שְׁלַחְנִי אֵלֵיכֶם:

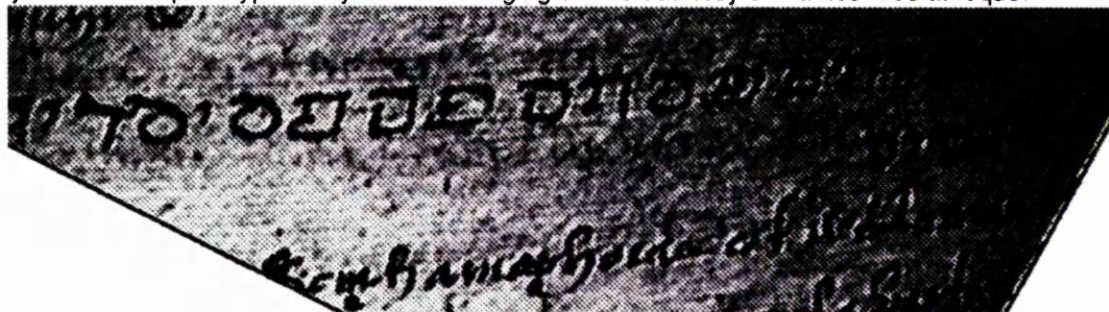
The name 'Eyeasserye' is derived from אֲהִיָּה אֲשֶׁר אֲהִיָּה in the above verse, with the meaning 'I AM WHO I AM.'
2

איכבן ורוח הקדש

Folio 86 verso detail enlarged.

This 12 letter name is an accurate rendition of אב בן ורוח הקדש 'FATHER, SON AND HOLY SPIRIT'.

³Ms. 5061 does not record the Hebrew characters referred to here, but they are given in the Nantes ms. 521 Fr. 355. There is no microfilm of this ms. The following image was taken by myself with the prototype of my SOBER imaging device courtesy of Nantes Médiathèque:-



Folio 185 recto.

The same string of Hebrew characters is found in Geneva ms. Fr. 167 which has:-
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such as one finds in these words Adonay Saday Adonay Heloem Adonay Annora whose function is to oblige all creatures to make obeisance and to render the will of man virtuous, and whose prayer is O just judge my God Adonay¹ Sabbaoth² Adonay Cados³ Adonay Annora⁴ empowering angel lord and king most imperial Cados holy of holies my God Annora Lord of dominions giver of largesse you are the spirit ruler and ruler of demons and obeyed by the true light which shines in the darkness and penetrates it to the end. Thee

אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֱלֹהֵינוּ

Folio 173 recto.

Thenaud's source for this was Reuchlin's *De Arte Cabalistica* which has the same 22 characters:-

re acipetrare optata cōuertat se ad demētā & mīlcratōes dē
laracterib' אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
it esse digna sacre scripture memoracula, cuius modi habent &

Folio 78 recto.

Reuchlin attributes this saying to RabbiASSE's סֵפֶר הַיָּחִיד, *Sepher ha-Yahid*. He recommended suppliants to appeal to the Clemency and Pity of God when they sought success. The saying was a proper reminder of sacred scripture - *digna sacre scripture memoracula*. The twenty-two characters (Thenaud wrongly states that there were twenty-three perhaps due to the abbreviation for *characteribus* which is visible in the image given immediately above being mistaken for a final ם) were correctly grouped by Reuchlin into four groups each ending in a final ם. This distinction is not evident in the Nantes and Genevan mss.

The derivation of this name, which is *Anaktham*, *Phastham*, *Phasphasim Deyonsin* or *Deyonsim* is obscure it is said to be derived from Nu. xxiv 24,25. *Sepher Raziel*. p. 24a and 45a simply give it as a holy name of God, adding that in Gematria it is equivalent to ADIRIRON, אֲדִירִירוֹן.

M. Cordovero, (1522-1570) *Pardes Rimmonim*, *Sha'ar Peratey Hashemoth*, xiv, goes into the method of obtaining this name from the first 22 letters of the Priestly Benediction using five different types of transformation. See T. Schrire, *Hebrew Amulets - Their Decipherment and Interpretation*, London, 1966, p. 97.

¹Hebrew אֲדֹנָי, an intensive plural of rank derived from אֲדֹן *lord*. Dalman, *Der Gottesname Adonaj*, cited in *BDB*, 10b. Massoretic variations אֲדֹנָי, אֲדֹנִי and אֲדֹנִי are used to distinguish human and divine references.

²Hebrew צָבָאוֹת from צָבָא, *to wage war, or to serve*. *BDB*, p. 838b, 839a,b.

³Hebrew (abs.) קָדוֹשׁ, *sacred, holy*. *BDB*, p. 872b.

⁴Hebrew (Niphal participle) נוֹרָא from יָרָא, *to fear*.

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I humbly supplicate to remove from me my shame that thou mayest restore me. The fourth semhamaphoras has forty-two in our language, but in yours it requires sixty for translated it is Sagathbama sagaththechaz Miathazab lemibatha Zethaghaphaz Thegazama Zaazpapas.¹ This also may be subjected to Kabbalah and turned as follows God the Father, God the Son, God the

¹Thenaud follows Reuchlin *De Arte Cabalistica* folio 74 recto closely though there are a number of notable features.

Thenaud has:-

Le quatresime
semhamaphoras est de .xlii. lettres en nostre langue
mais en la vñe il en faudroit bien soixante car translate
cest Sagathbama Sagaththechaz Miathazab lemibatha
Zethaghaphaz Thegazama Zaazpapas

Ms. 5061 folio 86 verso detail.

Thenaud states that in the translated form sixty *soixante* letters are required, but there are in fact seventy-one! Reuchlin (folio 74 recto) merely observes that more letters are needed in Latin - *Nam latine pluribus erit opus*,Reuchlin is however very much aware of the significance of numbers for he states that this forty-two letter Hebrew name of God may be divided into seven words each of six characters. Each word may then be divided into three characters which is in accordance with Hebrew practice - *quarum singulae contineant iuxta idioma linguae hebraicae ternas literas*. Thenaud does not adopt this point, nor does he follow Reuchlin in his observations as to the arithmetic associated with $6 \times 7 = 42$.

It can be seen from the following image that Thenaud, although he did not include the Hebrew, has followed Reuchlin *De Arte Cabalistica* closely:-

שגת במה שגתהבז מיתאצב מיתפתח
צתגהפז תגהצמא צאצפמש
licio sic Equidem hoc in uersu
dū q̄alqualq; literas comprehendere, confestim mihi altera pars dictionis
unius ē lepte quatuor disyllaba nascitur. Vna em̄ quareq; huius tam p̄cioli
nois dictio sex constare characteribus dignoscitur, tñ hebraicis tñ, nō aut
alterius lingue. Nam latine plurib; erit opus, ut Sagathbama, Sagaththe
chaz, Miathazab, lemibatha, Zethaghaphaz, Thegazama, Zaazpapas,

Folio 74 recto detail.

A scribal omission and an error are evident in the Geneva ms. Fr. 167 in that *Sagaththechaz* is given as *Sagaththecaz* and *lemubatha* is given as *leiubatha* as may be seen from the following image:-

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Holy Spirit, three in one and one in three.¹ Fourthly, the other semhamaphoras has seventy-two letters which comprise all the others. It is of this that Capnion says that in this manner much is achieved by the masters of the Kabbalah, and also the devout do wonders and signs, which have been told to me. This proceeds from the throne of the glory of God for the four letters from which the

soixante. Car translate cest Sagathlama. Sagaththecaz
Miatharab. leiubatha Zethaghaphaz, Thegazama, 3aa7
ppus.

Folio 173 verso.

¹ Geneva ms. Fr. 167 folio 173 verso is of considerable significance here because it continues the argument by adding a transliteration of the name. After following ms. 5061 declaring that it is not a matter of three Gods, but of only one God, the Genevan ms. adds 'Toutesfoys se ne sont pas troys Dieux, mais ung seul Dieu, & se prononce en Hebreu, Ab / El / Ben el / Veruah qados el / ak en selossa elhoiz qi elhoim ehad /.

Dieu le saint esprit. troys en vng. & vng en troys. Toutes
foys se ne sont pas troys Dieux, mais vng seul Dieu, & se pronõce
en Hebreu. Ab: El: Ben el: Veruah qados el: ak en selossu
elhoiz qi elhoim ehad /

Geneva ms. Fr. 167 folio 173 verso, detail.

This passage is overtly Trinitarian. It perhaps indicates that the writer of the Geneva ms. had access to a speaker of Hebrew. Furthermore this Trinitarian formula was preserved by Guillaume Postel (1510-1587) in his work on the Zohar - *Lex oris. Zoharus, hoc est summij splendor ...Zohar super Geneseos librum. In Beressit sive in caput primum secundum Hebræos in 12 capita diuidet*, BL. ms. 1410 or 2956. Folio 13 recto deals with the 42 letter name of God *Sanctus pater, sanctus filius, sanctus spiritus, sanctus unus in tribus et tres in uno*. These lines also contain Aramaic-Hebrew script as follows:-

אבא קדוש ברא קדוש רוחא קדושא שלשה באחד אחד באלטה
קדוש

Folio 9 is also to be noted, not only for the use of the same Aramaic-Hebrew script but also for the insertion to the manuscript made by the same hand at the time of writing. These insertions are given below underlined:-

laor de en sof or cadmon or zach, veor Mezuchzach, lux primaria lux splendens et lux splendificata si possim experimere.

The phrase is also written in Aramaic-Hebrew, so that *or cadmon* is inserted as
אור קדמון.

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great name of God is composed are seventy-two in number as appears from the following - Iod has the numerical value of ten - He is five - Vau is six - He again is five - Iod is ten - Iod and He are fifteen - Iod He Vau twenty-one - Iod He Vau He come to

folio 87 recto

twenty-six. If these partial sums of ten, fifteen, twenty-one, twenty-six are summed together one arrives at seventy-two figured by the seventy-two palms which the children of Israel found at Elim after their passage through the red sea by the column of fire and the cloud. These seventy palms together with the cloud and the fire represent the seventy-two angels princes of the world. By the virtue of their names characters and symbols Moses divided the red sea to the ground. To this is added the angel leading the cloud and the other of the column of fire. That this number of seventy-two which is found in the name of God is justly applied to the angels I shall prove as well as the manner in which unity and nonparity are attributed to God as appears from the preceding chapter, so that parity and duality are firstly attributed to the angels. The number therefore of two will be multiplier for the angels. The cubic multiplication of two is achieved by saying Two times double two is eight. If in each order of angels one puts eight saying eight times nine is seventy-two. Also one attains the number seventy-two by the four letters of the name of God by saying four Iod three he two Vau and one he are forty fifteen twelve and five which are a grand total of seventy-two. This is evident from the knowledge and love of the blessed angels as well as from the virtues of their names; thus it behoves us to increase in the love and knowledge of God. The above mentioned names of angels are enclosed in the Hebrew scripture of Exodus chapter fourteen if the letters are properly cabalized. *And the angel of the Lord who had been going before the camp of Israel, moved and went behind them and with them the column of cloud moved from before them and stood behind them between the camp of the Egyptians and the camp of Israel. And there was the cloud of darkness and yet it gave light at*

night with the result that the one could not approach the other all night. Then as Moses stretched out his hand over the sea the Lord swept it by a strong East wind all night and turned it into dry land so that the waters were divided. The expositive and declarative names of the sacred name of God and by which one can ascend to the top of Jacob's ladder are Vehuiah, Jeliel, Sitael, Elemiah, Mahasiah, Jelael Achaiah, Cahethel, Haziel, Aladiah, Lauiah, Hahaiah, Jezabel, Mebahel, Hariel, Hakamiah, Louiah, Caliel, Leuuiah, Pahaliah, Nelchael, Jeiaiel, Melahel, Haiuiah, Nithhaiah, Jerathel, Seehiah, Reiaiel, Omael, Lecabel, Vasariah, Jehmah, Lehahiah, Cauakiah, Manadel, Aniel, Haamiah, Rehahel, Jeiazal, Hahael, Michael, Veualiah, Jelahiah, Sealiah, Ariel, Asaliah, Mihael, Vehuel, Daniel, Hahasiah, Imamiah, Nanael, Nithael, Mebahiah, Poiel, Memamiah, Jeialel, Harahel, Mizrael, Vinabel, Jahhael, Ananel, Mehiel, Damahiah, Manakel, Eiael, Habuiah, Roehel, Jabamiath, Haiael, Mumiah.¹ In each one of the above mentioned angels is comprised and enclosed one of the names of God. And in as much as they are the principals of the angelic world and of all sacred hierarchies permanent in the world without ever leaving it they still govern and order all these lower matters through their inferiors. The example is in the stars and the planets which are there in heaven and all the time they are the cause of all terrestrial causes and effects. This lower and elementary world is merely in one location, but the intellectual is everywhere just as Plotinus said in his book de intellectu ydeis et ente This sensible world is one in place but the intelligible is everywhere. I was quite amazed to hear so many new names of angels, which are not found in holy scripture except by the revolution of letters. I had indeed read of Gabriel, Michael, Raphael,² Uriel;³ also I found that the name of the angel of our first parent Adam was

¹The significance of these names and the distribution of the endings is studied in detail in the introduction supra.

²The Roman Catholic Church only officially recognized Michael, Raphael and Gabriel. M. Schwab, *op. cit.*, p. 122 *comme l'a déclaré le concile de Rome tenu en 745 sous le pape Zacharie, l'église ne reconnaît que trois anges: Michael, Raphael, and Gabriel; les autres noms ne désignent pas des anges, mais des démons.* Vita S Bonifatii, auctore Othlono, lib. III, dans Mabillon *Acta sanctorum* ord. Bened., pars II, p. 64.

³Thenaud uses Reuchlin *De Arte Cabalistica* folio 79 recto, though the four angels are not given in the same order. No mention is made of their military roles as bearers of the standard, nor is any mention made of the four Satanic equivalents *Samæl, Azazel, Azæl* and *Mahazæl*.

Raziel,¹ who assumed responsibility for the restoration and salvation of human nature, which was to be achieved in the centuries to come by the Messiah God man, who would descend from him. Also I learned that Jophiel² was the angel of Shem, Zadkiel³ was Abraham's, Raphael⁴ was Isaac's, Peliel⁵ was Jacob's, Metatron⁶ was Moses', but because I had never read of the above mentioned seventy-two I asked my Rabbi if God had given them the names which had been revealed to us or if they had assumed them themselves. He replied I

folio 88 recto

have already told you that some names signify the essence of things which

In the army of God there are four leaders in front of the standards,

מִיכָאֵל גַּבְרִיאֵל אִירִיאֵל רַפָּאֵל

Michael, Gabriel, Uriel and Raphael, just as there are four elements. This is like the four regions or the four spiritual numerations, when the Children of Israel once set off in four squadrons (Nu. ii) with Judas to the East, Reuben (*Ruben*) to the South, Ephraim to the West and Dan to the North.

Folio 79 recto.

¹Thenaud follows Reuchlin *De Arte Cabalistica* folio 8 recto which states that the source was to be found in *commentariis circa librum letzira* - 'Commentary on The Book of Creation'.

Sepher Raziel was also the name of a mystical book. See infra under AGLA, RIRI in the order of exorcism.

²Thenaud follows Reuchlin *De Arte Cabalistica* folio 10 recto which states that Shem's Rabbi was *Iophiel* (sic). רַבּוֹ שֶׁל שֵׁם יוֹפִיאֵל.

³Thenaud follows Reuchlin *De Arte Cabalistica* folio 10 recto which states that Abraham's Rabbi was *Zadkiel*. רַבּוֹ שֶׁל אַבְרָהָם זַדְקִיאֵל.

⁴Thenaud uses Reuchlin *De Arte Cabalistica* folio 11 recto:-

:רַבּוֹ שֶׁל יִצְחָק רַפָּאֵל: .i. praeceptor ipsius Ishac fuit Raphæl.

⁵Thenaud uses Reuchlin *De Arte Cabalistica* folio 11 recto:-

:רַבּוֹ שֶׁל יַעֲקֹב פֶּלִיאֵל: .i. praeceptor ipsius Iacob fuit Peliel.

⁶Thenaud follows Reuchlin, which includes copying the strictly erroneous spelling *Metattron*:-

... institutus fuit ab angelo suo Metattron. ...

רַבּוֹ שֶׁל מֹשֶׁה מֵטַטְרוֹן .qui est nuncius Sadai. ...

De Arte Cabalistica folio 11 recto sig. E2 and F1 details copied.

suo Metattron.Ira

De Arte Cabalistica folio 11 recto detail enlarged.

Treatise 4 page 123

they represent and others are instituted for the pleasure of man or for the operation of the self same thing. However, it is because we are unaware of the angelic nature and substance and because of human inadequacy, that we cannot give proper and substantive names unless they are conceded by divine revelation which has accorded to us letters clearly described which signify numbers and many other things. These we assemble according to the wish of the angels so as to cause us to remember and to invoke exactly what these angels wish to be addressed and called, just as men do, for they are spiritual in as far as they see and hear all our thoughts and desires before we can say or pronounce them. So Elijah mocked the prophets of Baal who called out in a loud voice to their god and said¹ Call out with a loud voice, for sure God is occupied or is on a journey or perhaps he is asleep and must be awakened - Third book of Kings xviii. But they wanted us to have some names or tangible signs in remembrance of them. For the honour and reverence of the one who is beloved one needs to guard some sort of memento, ring, fantasy, image or character or name in one's memory. Also for the reverence of the blessed angels and God one must always have their characters or names in one's memory.² (For name³ is as if sign was said⁴) and names⁵ by sight and hearing of times move the senses to excite our senses⁶ and the senses excite fantasy⁷ and fantasy strikes the memory. Memory awakens Reason.⁸ Reason embraces the spirit⁹ and the spirit thus embraced will be prepared to receive angelic illumination and perfection.¹⁰ So vocal orations,

¹ I Ki. xviii 27.

² *memoire.*

³ *nomen.*

⁴ *notamen.*

⁵ *noms.*

⁶ *sens.*

⁷ *fantasie.*

⁸ *raison.*

⁹ *l'esprit.*

¹⁰ Reuchlin *De Arte Cabalistica* folio 57 recto, after discussing the derivation of some of the names of angels, eg Raphael from medicine, and after observing that some of the Hebrew scholars had determined to derive the names of other angels from the numbers *ex numeris* - and figures *figuris diuinitatis traditis* - and had therefore had to become like boys taught to learn sounds from letters, as Hebrews, Greeks, Romans, Arabs and Egyptians do. This was not because the sound lacked letters, ...

synagogue songs, thurifications¹ and other ceremonies of these items induce or excite neither God nor the blessed angels to convey to us what we desire to be done. We do them so that we may approach, so that we may be joined to and so that we may be united with God. They are to inflame and to elevate us in him by external means. Example. He who is secured to and attached by a cable to the land, when he wishes

folio 88 verso

to come to the shore hauls on the cable and it seems that he slowly makes the land come nearer to himself.² I know that one does indeed want only to get nearer, as in this case, for there is every evidence that we want to know God and the good angels whose love and grace and assistance we desire. This is why we have synagogues, pontiffs, priests, wardens, singers, sacred unctions, robes, blessed thurifications, oblations and sacrifices, which we use day by day, not just to mollify God, to flatter him or to make him change his immutable determination, but so that we may recognise by pure adoration, humble prostration and devout confession, our humility, abject state and poverty and so that we may praise his most excellent divinity, eternal majesty and

... but because of our imperfections. So there are names and signs that either by their shape or their sound arouse our senses. The senses stimulate the imagination, imagination memory, memory reason, reason understanding, understanding rouses mind, and mind the angel.

... sed propter nostræ imbecillitatis memoriam, ut sint nomina quasi notamina quæ sensus nostros incitent uel figura uel figura uel uoce, rursumque sensus moueat phantasiam, phantasia memoriam, memoria rationem, ratio intellectum, intellectus mentem, mens angelum.

Thenaud has followed this passage entirely. Reuchlin's phrase *ut sint nomina quasi notamina* is notably reflected in Thenaud's - (*Car nomen il est quasi notamina*) - *For name is as if sign was said.*

M. and S. Goodman in their most valuable translation of *De Arte Cabalistica* are nevertheless guilty of a significant omission here because they totally omit the Hebrews from their leading position among those who were like boys who needed to learn sounds from letters.

¹OED vol. T page 397. *Thurification*. Action of thurifying: the burning or offering of, or perfuming with incense.

²Thenaud follows Reuchlin *De Arte Cabalistica* folio 57 recto.

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goodness of which we should have frequent and nigh-continuous memory which memory is forbidden to us by fleshly corruption in which our souls are clothed. Bells, temples and cymbals, songs, psalms and hymns, salutations, reverences and genuflexions, excite and draw us to this end - just as the good horse fatigued and exhausted by the long journey which he has made is awoken and stirred for battle, when he hears trumpets, clarions, and horns, so that he truly renews his forces.¹ The creatures of this lower world together with the delights, voluptuosities, desires, avarices and loves for them submerge us and pull us down to such an extent that we are bound by such voluptuosity that we, like birds without wings, cannot rise up by contemplation to recognize our divine nature together with the principal from which it originates which is our destiny and to which it is due to return. But God, full of goodness and mercy towards his poor rational creatures, as are the very luminous angels, highly desirous and preoccupied for our salvation has established the above mentioned ceremonies and has moreover given to the perfect sages and very contemplative doctors and saints marvellous characters, new forms, sayings, and otherwise unknown words, which have no meaning in any known language

folio 89 recto

instituted for the pleasure of man for they are made and instituted of themselves by which, when we are perceived to be elevated, moved, and attracted to them, they appear to us and speak not only to the inner man but to the outer in divers manners according to the diversity and condition of those to whom they reveal themselves. To Lot they appeared as angels. To Abraham they appeared as men, for Abraham's visible virtue was greater than Lot's. To others they appeared in their sleep or in the form of an eagle, a staff, a bird or in some tangible form. Sometimes the names of the angels are imposed according to the diversity of their offices and operations. Raphael is therefore nominated for the medicine which he taught to Thobie. Gabriel for his great virtue and force which he showed in Daniel when it says Volando volauit

¹Thenaud follows Reuchlin *De Arte Cabalistica* folio 57 verso.

Michael for his triumphant victory and who for this reason is interpreted quis tam fortis (who is as strong) But these names are in no way as virtuous as the other essences which are without meaning which are extracted from the revealed holy scriptures as count Mirandola says in one of his conclusions Non significatiue voces plus possunt in magia q` significatiue quelibet enim vox virtutem habet in magia in quantum dei voce formatur quia illud in quo primum magicam excercet natura vox est dei¹ Which means that the sayings and words that are without meaning have more virtue in magic than those that do have meaning. For in the self same art words have no value except inasmuch as they are formed from the divine voice, and thus it is a fact that natural magic is the voice of God. I have therefore told you that if the names of the sacred and blessed angels being comprehensive and indicative of the holy and ineffable name of God are honoured and cultivated and known and venerated with purity of life, elevation of spirit and with the psalmody of seventy-two verses, which Capnion (Reuchlin) has translated for us from Hebrew into Latin for daily use, one can do all sorts of prodigious marvels, and one can overcome the forces of nature either on earth, in heaven or at sea, in war, in battle, in danger and achieve full assurance not just for oneself but for others. Some have replaced

folio 89 verso

the four letters of the ineffable name of God with these other four Mem Zade Pe and Zade² which in our language and in our letters is Mazpaz.³ Other

¹Thenaud follows Reuchlin *De Arte Cabalistica* folio 58 recto.

Meaningless sounds have more magical power than meaningful ones. Any sound is good for magic in so far as it is formed from the word of God, because its nature works magic primarily through the word of God.

²It appears that the scribe should have inserted the Hebrew characters, but as may be seen from the image infra, this was not done:-

lettres du nom ineffable de dieu ces aultres
Mem Zade Pe et Zade qui est

superstitious minded people have said yaua to be the name from which they have derived twelve revolutions or syllabifications, which are yaua yaau aaui uyaa aayu yuaa ayau auya uaay auay uaya ayua.¹ And just as in this manner the four letter name is revolved, turned and syllabised so also the other names of twelve 23 42 and sixty-two letters may be obtained. So you can see and know how our Cabala (sic) is derived from the interpretation of the scriptures, even from the ineffable name of God, which one is never to use on account of its marvellous dignity unless in a case of extreme need and that subject to special rules according to the specific semhamaphoras. The prayer of the above mentioned name Crown is O truth of truth infinite salvation most high whose height is beyond angelic and human comprehension To whom all power and reverence to whom all empire and obedience belong by whom all creation is sustained and maintained to Thee do I commend myself - be my salvation and defence within and without. By your most holy letters, I who am unworthy, call you to have mercy on me, and to save me, and to deliver me

Folio 89 verso detail.

³MAZPAZ = מצפץ. Thenaud has once again used Reuchlin *De Arte Cabalistica*. Although this quotation is once again from Book III, it has been selected from a discussion on the division of the Kabbalah. Reuchlin discusses the fivefold division according to Rabbi Hama's *Book of Speculations*, and is here dealing with the type of transposition known as *Athbash*.

... one word written with one set of letters symbolically designates another word composed of different letters. This occurs, according to the *Book of Creation* by Abraham, in twenty-two variations through the revolutions of the twenty-two alphabets. For example, the Name of God, Mazpaz, is written with the four letters מצפץ MZPZ. On this your friend *Mirandola* says: "The Name of God of four letters Mem. Zade. PE. Zade, should be taken as referring to the kingdom of David." This word is not in the text of Sacred Scripture, so of what will it be said to be a symbol? The Kabbalists reply that it is a symbol (symbolum) and a sign (signaculum) of the ineffable Tetragrammaton and that it comes from the last alphabet, the twenty-second of the book called the *Sepher Yesirah*. This alphabet is called *Athbash*, and in it "Y" is exchanged for "M," "H" for "S," and "V" for "P," so that Mazpaz is Adonai, that is, YHWH.

Folio 64 verso

¹Thenaud follows Reuchlin.

sunt hæc.
 יְהוָה יְהוָה יְהוָה יְהוָה יְהוָה יְהוָה יְהוָה יְהוָה יְהוָה יְהוָה יְהוָה
 יְהוָה יְהוָה יְהוָה יְהוָה יְהוָה יְהוָה יְהוָה יְהוָה יְהוָה יְהוָה יְהוָה
 Duodecim igit ista nomina, unum nomen
 apud Cabalistas censentur, tanquam unius reificationum, quoniam sunt duode

Folio 67 recto.

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from this danger. Thou art the most high God Yaua Amen. All the ceremonies, sacrifices, temples, synagogues and other observances of our law were only ordinances to keep the most holy and glorious name in sovereign reverence on account of his majesty, virtue and divinity, which is why it is written I am the ineffable Tetragrammaton your God mighty and jealous you are to make to me an altar of the earth and offer thereon whole burnt offerings and peace offerings, your sheep and oxen in every place in which memory of my name is recalled - I shall come to you and bless you. And this is sufficient on the subject of the names of God. However, before ending with the celestial world and the Kabbalah, I will instruct you in another practice, which was observed by our earliest sages when they wanted to have an angelic or divine vision and revelation.

folio 90 recto

How the ancient Kabbalists who wanted to have a vision and a divine or angelic revelation, spirit of prophecy, infilling of knowledge and power over nature used the ceremonies contained in the book of Aaron and the Pontiffs.¹

Chapter 12.

The ancient sages, elevated in spirit, who had both interior and exterior purity, together with faith, love and hope,² and who desired to be so familiar with their good angel that they may see and talk with him would chose some fine place, a palace or house well separated from all noise and habitation of man. Then

¹This reference to the *liure de Aaron et des pontifes* is the only one of its kind in Thenaud's Kabbalistic works. The book is not known. This raises the possibility that it is the only known reference to an otherwise lost work. However, as will be seen from this chapter, the material attributed to it is unlikely to have been in the written and graphical form presented here. On the other hand the substance of the exorcism undoubtedly contains many influences which can only be attributed to an otherwise unrecognized Christian Kabbalistic source.

²The three Christian theological virtues of Faith, Hope and Charity are listed in I Co. xiii 13. When added to the four cardinal virtues they produced one of the best-known heptads of Catholicism. It is to be noted that whereas the Greek and the Vulgate have the order Faith, Hope and Charity (Love), Thenaud here has Faith (*foy*), Charity (*charite*) and Hope (*esperance*).

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in the finest and most solemn room which faces the East or the South they follow this order. First they erected three altars united and joined together which signify the unity and trinity of God. In each one of which is engraved a silver plate which has the sign of the divine victory¹ in gold which signifies that by the effusion of blood all the rebels and those who hold the divine majesty in contempt will be overcome and the penitent will be reconciled. Then the altars were covered with the finest linen or silk in drapes which extend equally to the front and to the rear to the four corners of the same sign of divine victory picked out in red silk. On the middle altar is an ark made of wood covered with silver, and on the covering are three signs of the divine victory at the top, and in the same manner there are three pinnacles upon which are the same signs and in which are the three names of the leading princes directors and leaders of the celestial army and mounted forces. The entire front of the ark is in silver, but the all powerful name of God is in gold together with the nine symbols or characters of the nine orders of angels. Moreover on the two sides of the ark are two characters, one of which represents the divine and angelic worlds. The other represents the celestial and elementary worlds. On the two sides there are two golden candle holders and two pure wax candles. The ark is lined with Crimson or with a silk material and it contains

folio 90 verso

the following items:- the capital gold circlet, the triumphal gold ring, the staff of

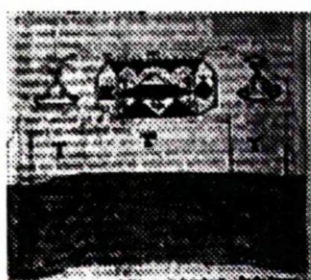
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Folio 90 detail enlarged.

Treatise 4 page 130

mighty power, the chair which symbolises the judgement throne, the receiving vessel for the divine infusion, the vessel for the water of purification, the incense burner, the book of benedictions and prayers, the vessel for the holy oil, the vessel for the salt of wisdom, the Theomantic breastplate with the gold circlet on one side and the Arithmantic figure on the other, the linen robe, the purple robe and the belt.

Here is a figure¹ of the altars and of the ark.



See End Images folios 90 verso Altar and Ark²

When the candles had been lit they said Hely³ Agyos⁴ light of our fathers breathe propitiously with thy divine mercy and inflame our hearts with thy love so that we may be enabled to make acceptable offerings to thee who livest in eternity.

¹This is a thumbnail image. See End Image folio 90 verso.

²Reference to End Images 90 verso Altar and Ark reveals that the description is accurate. It is to be noted that although the text does not note that there are 7 'T' signs of the Divine Victory that is the number which are shown. This small detail is a small but significant indicator that the copyist of the altar was working from a real artefact whose originator incorporated the 7 with its well known mystical significance. It may also be seen that just as all of the nine symbols or characters associated with the nine orders of angels incorporates a 'T' so does each one of the 16 symbols on the lower amulette given on folio 73 verso.

The presence of the two interlocking triangles on the left of the Ark is also to be noted in the light of Thenaud's use of this image in his cosmology, as discussed above.

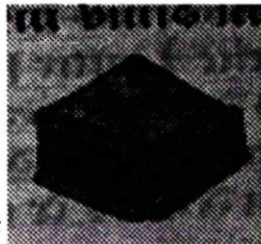
³Hebrew **אלי** Eli Greek Ηλει. This latter term is found in Mt. xxvii. 46, and was noted in folio 61 recto and verso supra.

⁴Greek ἄγιος. The conjunction of these names indicates that Thenaud's source was certainly not a conventional Jewish one. The numerous Trinitarian suggestions in the passage indicate the likelihood of the source being a well informed person, possibly a former Jew with some exposure to Greek.



The water vessel of stone is as follows¹

see End Image folios 90 verso water vessel.



The salt one is as follows²

See End Image folios 90 verso salt cellar.

folio 91 recto

And for the blessing of this water here is the prayer which is said over it Hely Sabaoth³ who brought water from the rock for thy people look piteously on us and create in us a pure and clean mind and worthily wipe away all our iniquities. Thou livest in eternity. Most mercifully sanctify this cleansing⁴ water and bless it so that whosoever is sprinkled with it may be cleansed from all contagion by thy holy and ineffable name. Who livest and reignest in eternity. Then he said over the salt. God of Abraham God of Isaac God of Jacob look with favour and bless this salt and truly sanctify it so that all unclean thoughts

¹This is a thumbnail image. Note the Tetragrammaton inscribed.

²This is a thumbnail image. Note the Tetragrammaton inscribed.

³See folio 81 recto supra.

⁴ Lavacrum. See Titus iii 5 Vulgate - Non est operibus justitiæ, quæ fecimus nos, sed secundum suam misericordiam salvos nos fecit, per lavacrum regenerationis et renovationis Spiritus sancti,

NASB has Titus iii 5:-

He saved us, not on the basis of deeds which we have done in righteousness, but according to His mercy, by the washing of regeneration and renewing by the Holy Spirit,

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may be wiped away and so that it may be enabled to save us from eternal corruption by virtue of thy sacred name. Who livest in eternity. Having said these things they place the salt in the water saying the following words Salt of wisdom restores purity and water saves from corruption. After this they wash their faces and hands with the water that has been blessed devoutly reciting this prayer I pray to thee hely Agla,¹ who knowest my transgressions, I pray to thee alone to whom all my iniquities are open. I pray to thee that every stain may be truly washed away by this washing.

Here is the form of the linen robe.²

¹This name was known in Christian circles. See Leloyer, *Discours et histoires des spectres*, I, viii, ch. vi, and Grünbaum, *Zeitschrift des deutschen morgenl. Gesellschaft*, vol. xxx, p. 271. Jerome for instance used it in his *Liber interpretationis hebraicorum nominum*, cl. 0581 pa ed. Lagarde, 16 lin. 2 'agla sollemnitas ista uel uilulus' and in cl. 0581 p. 24 lin. 16 it appears as 'agla festiuitas eius'.

The origin however was the Hebrew acronym Agla אגלא.

This was an acrostic for אהה גבור לעלם אדני inscribed on David's Shield. See BN. ms. 602, folio 98 b and 115 b. It was the first of the letters to be inscribed on an amulette and to be placed on the forehead of a woman in childbirth. *Amtahiath Biniamin*, folio 18b and 27 a. It is also found in connection with a 'daughter of Mohialath on a drinking bowl in the Musée Dieulafoy in the Louvre. See M. Schwab, *Coupes à inscriptions magiques*, pp. 62-63. It was also written on an amulette designed to open the spirit to religious studies. *Sepher Raziel*, folio 42 b. AGLA was also used followed by the term ארזאל used as the name of an angel who was invoked at the end of journey, *Sepher Raziel*, folios 81 b and 84 b. no. 603 folio 132 a. M. Schwab, *Vocabulaire de l'Angelologie d'après les manuscrits hébreux de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Archè, Via Medici, 15 Milano, 1989, p. 137.

²These thumbnail images were obtained by the author from the text microfilm ms. 5061 9504795 705/95, because they are omitted from the colour transparency microfilm ms. 5061 ICR 1114 9611494 190796. The text from the other side, the verso, can be seen through the parchment. The left hand image, which shows the front, has the sign 'T' of the Divine Victory top and bottom. Under the upper one there is the Tetragrammaton. Under the lower one there is 'hely'. The right hand image, which shows the rear, also has the sign 'T' of the Divine Victory top and bottom. Under the upper one there is 'agla'.

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The front

The rear

see End Images folio 91 recto left and right.

The blessing of the robe is done by sprinkling with the sanctified water and saying Sanctify and truly bless this immaculate vestment Omnipotent God that it may be for your service to me Our defence in adversity from which cause to flee the infidel evil spirit and whatsoever my enemy may have in store for me; cause those who are my adversaries and those who surround me with iniquity to flee.

folio 91 verso

Lo the sign of salvation and triumph. The Lord surrounds me and the adversary does not prevail against me and the impious synagogue¹ does not harm² me. Those who devise ill against me will perish in front of me and those who are malign will be pulverized in my footprints. Lo the sign of salvation and triumph and my enemies will be scattered before me. Thou however art my salvation, God, and your mercy goes before me. Thou art living in power and strength in eternity.³ Then they take and put on the robe in front of the altar and say God gave to me the vestment of purity, I shall not fear what darkness may devise against me for equity and your mercy surround me, and I shall enter into your sanctuary trusting that mercy is granted to me of your right hand. Do not bring my iniquity before the court but take them into oblivion. Tainted am I and

¹Synagoga, æ, f. from συναγωγή, a congregation of the Jews, *Tert. adv. Jud.* 8; id. *adv. Marc.* 3, 22; Schol. *Juv.* 6, 159. C. Lewis and C. Short, *op. cit.*, p. 1829b.

²lædo, to hurt by wounding, striking. C. Lewis and C. Short, *op. cit.*, p. 1029a.

³sæculum, (poetic esp. Lucretian, sæclum, les corectly, as in Thénaut here seculum, and seclum.) C. Lewis and C. Short, *op. cit.*, p. 1613 c.

filled with iniquity. Help me, Hely, help me, Agla lest I pass away, protect me and I shall be saved and I shall disdain iniquity. Who liveth and reigneth in eternity. After this prayer they take the incense to burn it and say as follows Hely by thy Tetragrammaton thy ineffable name, since the first acceptable sacrifice was made by the hand of thy servant Abel and since Abraham made a whole offering which thou didst not despise, Mercifully truly and graciously accept this offering which I unworthily offer; by your spirit and love flowing into me who ruleth triumphantly in eternity. Then when they have perfumed the altars and the ark, they take the belt or sash¹ of golden thread above which is written in red silk Joth He Vau He Victor fortis triumphans Agla hely which they place on the altar to bless it by sprinkling with the above mentioned water together with these words:- May your right O God omnipotent bless this belt of chastity and all desire flee from it through thy ineffable name Who reigneth in superior power in eternity. After this they perfume the altars together with the whole room saying Pleasant and sweet is the tabernacle of the Lord justice is his throne and equity is his footstool. Charity surroundeth me, and chastity girdeth my loins. I offer an whole burnt offering for my sins and the wrath of the Lord is changed into peace. Be pacified my God and help me. Do not despise my sacrifice, grant to me fortitude and

folio 92 recto

I present my innermost being,² my heart³ I raise to thee, and my mind I bring

¹Baudrier, baudrier, a sash or cross belt normally used to support a sabre or epee.

² Renes, renum. The kidneys, the loins and in ecclesiastical Latin, the seat of the affections. *A Latin Dictionary*, C. Lewis and C. Short, *op. cit.*, p. 1564 c.

Vulgate Psalm cxxxviii 13 Quia tu possedisti renes meos; suscepisti me de utero matris meæ.

NASB Ps. cxxxix 13 :-

For thou didst form my inward parts; lit. kidneys. ...

Hebrew Ps. cxxxix 13:-

כִּי־אַתָּה קִנִּיתָ כֻּלִּיתִי חֲסֹכֵנִי בִּבְטֶן אִמִּי:

And Vulgate Apoc. ii 23:-

Et filios ejus interficiam in morte, et scient omnes Ecclesiæ, quia ego sum scrutans renes et corda; ...

to thee, who art omnipotent and reigneth and governeth in eternity. Then they gird themselves with the belt and sprinkle the chamber with the blessed water saying:- May the sprinkling of these walls with the dew cause salvation and piety and majesty to indwell them. When these things were done they take the purple robe made in the Dalmatian style¹ on which were written the four ineffable and marvellous names of God in gold on a round silver amulette. And before he put it on he said upon his knees before the altar, I offer to thee omnipotent God this tunic of charity and sincere love may it be blessed and sanctified by thou who livest in eternity. Then they rise and put it on and say:- Who will live in thy sanctuary, O Lord, and whose whole burnt offering will be acceptable to thee? He who is robed with purity and he whose loins are girded about with chastity, he who is surrounded with charity, and he who despises vanity. Without doubt everything under heaven is vanity and my repose is in the Lord God of Zion. Arise son of Zion, rejoice, O God of Jacob. He who hath a pure heart and who exalteth a just intent. He who doth not neglect the needy, and who protecteth the widow and orphan from the lofty. Whose right hand protecteth me and whose powerful hand defendeth me. Whose virtue surroundeth me and whose robe envelopeth me. Sing praises to the Lord the God of Zion rejoice in the God of our salvation. After this prayer they perfume this garment which they put on.²

NASB Re. ii 23:-

And I will kill her children with pestilence; and all the churches will know that I am He who searches the minds (lit. kidneys) and hearts; and I will give to each one of you according to your deeds.

Greek Re. ii 23:-

καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτῆς ἀποκτενῶ ἐν θανάτῳ. καὶ γνώσονται πᾶσαι αἱ ἐκκλησίαι ὅτι ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ἐραυνῶν νεφροὺς καὶ καρδίας, καὶ δώσω ὑμῖν ἑκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα ὑμῶν.

³Cor, literally the chief source of the circulation of blood, and so of life; by metonymy, a person, pars pro toto; the source of emotions and feelings; the seat of wisdom, according to the ancients. C. Lewis and C. Short, *op. cit.*, p. 468c.

¹C. Lewis and C. Short, *op. cit.*, p. 510 b. Dalmatica, a long undergarment of Dalmatian wool, worn by the priests during the mass. Edict. Diocl. 16,4. 17, 1. See also Isid. Orig. 19, 22, 9. Tunica dalmatica, R. Latham, *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List, Oxford*, 1989, p. 130.

²This is a thumbnail image. Note the names and the colours from End Image folio 92 recto.

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See End Image folio 92 recto.

folio 92 verso

Having done this they take the golden ornament from the ark which is joined by means of a length of silk material knotted behind the head in this manner:-



see End Image folio 92 verso.

And, with this ornament in their hands, prostrate themselves before the altar saying Hely creator accept this plea¹ from thy servant. Grant to me understanding that I may perfectly know thee. Sanctify and bless this headpiece inscribed with the names from which all impure spiritual deceits² flee, and confound all

¹Deprecatio, properly a warding off, or averting by prayer; a deprecating, deprecation, and by transfer a prayer for pardon, a deprecation. C. Lewis and C. Short, *op. cit.*, p. 551 c, and R. Latham, *op. cit.*, p.140a.

² Illusio, a mocking, jeering; irony of speech, but in ecclesiastical Latin, an illusion, deceit. C. Lewis and C. Short, *op. cit.*, p. 887 a.

Vulgate Ps. xxxvii 7 (8):- Quoniam lumbi mei impleti sunt illusionibus, et non est sanitas in carne mea.

NASB Ps. xxxviii 7:-

For my loins are filled with burning; and there is no soundness in my flesh.

Hebrew Ps. xxxviii 8:-

כִּי־כִסְלִי מָלְאֵנִי נִקְלָה וְאֵין מָתָם בְּבִשְׁרִי:

The Niphal participle of נִקְלָה, to roast or to burn. This form occurs elsewhere, as in Is. iii 5, with the meaning of being lightly esteemed, or dishonoured.

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my adversaries. May kings fear your name and may the princes be obedient to it. But as for me I adore thy name and by thy virtue I shall be saved. Help me, my God, free my soul from the infernal¹ grasp, who liveth in eternity. Then they place this ornament on the altar which they sprinkle and perfume while saying Blessed art thou O God of Abraham Sanctified art thou O God of Jacob, Respected art thou O God of Isaac and virtuous are they who yield to thee who livest in eternity. Having done this they put on this ornament on the head saying In thee I confide my soul, O God, and my heart sacrifices to thee, because my unjust acts are remitted and my iniquities are obliterated. Bless the Lord, O my soul. Praise his holy name, O my spirit. Then they sprinkle the room and say Sanctify, O our God, your holy temple and delete every impurity from thy house. After this they take from the ark two golden amulettes one of which is Theomantic and other is Arithmantic,² as in these figures.³

folio 93 recto

Vulgate Is. lxvi 4:-

Unde et ego eligam illusiones eorum, et quæ timebant adducam eis; ...

NASB Is. lxvi 4:-

So I will choose their punishments, And I will bring on them what they dread. ...

Hebrew Is. lxvi 4:-

וְגַם-אֲנִי אֶבְחַר בְּתַעֲלָלֵיהֶם וּמַגִּוְרֵתָם אֶבְיֵא לָהֶם

See also Is. iii 4 for the other scriptural occurrence.

¹*Inferus*, opposite to *superus*. Positional and in particular *belonging to the Lower World, underground*. C. Lewis and C. Short, *op. cit.*, p. 944 b.

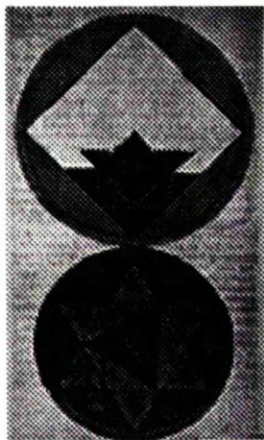
²Arithmantic from Arithmancy, or Arithmancy, the divination of the future from numbers.

An old kind of arithmancie, fathered on Pythagoras, yet never invented by him. Holinshed, 1577, *Descr. Brit.* ix. 28/2

Greek ἀριθμός - number and μαντεία - divination.

³This is a thumbnail image. Note the comments to End Image folio 93 recto and the discussion in the Introduction pp. 127 ff. *supra*.

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see End Image folio 93 recto.

folio 93 verso

And, on their knees before the ark, and with the ornaments in their hands, they say Agla Sabaoth I offer to thee the shield of fortitude and the buckler of victory which thou art worthy to sanctify and to bless, thou who rulest in eternity Amen. Then they place them on the altar to be perfumed and when they put them on they say The Lord reigneth in victory, the Lord subdueth the proud, the Lord subjugateth the impious, the Lord destroyeth and shattereth the enemies, the Lord is a helper to me, those who accuse my soul will perish. The Lord is strong and my trust is in thee. The Lord is the buckler of my defence. In the Lord my spirit trusts and my soul praises the Lord. Be praised, O Lord, forever,¹ and may lips never fail to praise the Lord. Then with a silk ribbon they hang the ornament around the neck. After this they take the golden circlet as shown in the figure.²



See End Image folio 93 verso.

¹Perhennis, perennis. See Perennalis, perhennalis, eternally. R. Latham, *op. cit.*, p. 342.

²This is a thumbnail image. Note the Tetragrammaton inscribed and see End Image folio 923 verso.

which they offer to God saying. I offer to thee, my God, this ring in love and charity true bond of your mercy a sign which thou art worthy to confirm to sanctify and to make holy, thou who reignest in eternity. Then they place it on the altar for it to be perfumed and sprinkled with the holy water with these words. How sweet is blameless betrothal, how delectable is the love of his heart, how sweet are the words of his mouth, gentle as doves. With his gem he has betrothed my soul he has led her into the inner chamber of her betrothal. My soul loved him and his love has come down. His embrace is the embrace of charity and his love is virginal. His delight is chastity, his ornament is purity. He surroundeth my soul with fringes¹ he crowns it with those things that are delightful to him. Rise up my love and enter into my breast, adorn my members with pearls,² and my mind with virtues. Arise my victor deus,³ and take my weary soul which hopes in thee and cherish it. It loves thee and thou savest it. Glory to thee, it says, in eternity and it adores thee forever.

Having said this they put the ring on the last but one finger of the right hand. Then they take the staff and baton of power at the top of which is the golden triangle, as in the figure which follows, and whose base is wood covered with silver which is made in several pieces

folio 94 recto⁴

¹Fimbriæ, fibres, threads, shreds, fibrous parts, fringe. See als Mt. ix 20 and xiv 36. C. Lewis and C. Short, *op. cit.*, p. 750b.

²Margarita, f., margaritum, n.. μαργαρίτης, pearl. C. Lewis and C. Short, *op. cit.*, p. 1114a. Note the lack of comment to Thenaud's ms. *La Marguerite*.

³See vestment folio 92 recto supra.

⁴This is a thumbnail image. Note the comments to End Image folio 93 verso.
Treatise 4 page 140



See End Image folio 93 verso.

so that it can be kept in the ark, which they offer to God saying, on their knees, Deus Potestativus, who art seated above cherubin and seraphin sanctify this staff of victory. To thee I offer petitions and prayer so that it may be blessed and sanctified and made holy by thou who art worthy of all power and who ruleth in eternity. Then they lay it on the altar and perfume and sprinkle it saying How powerful thou art, O God of virtue, how victorious thou art, O God of power, how triumphant is thy right hand and how armed is thy left hand. The God of Jacob disarms the imperious and no iniquity prevails against him. His strong lance and his victorious spear arm me, and they afford me victory which they give to my soul. After this they perfume the baton and then the room; with this baton in their hand they say Bless O Lord, thy chamber and sanctify thy holy mount. Expel all vileness from thy house and make to thyself a place of prayer, O my God. Expurgate, purify, and wash, O Lord, thy dwelling place and live in us. Having done this they place a holy chair before the altar as in the following figure¹ and on which there is a silver vessel ready for the infusion.

Then with the baton in the left hand this is what happens. O God whose seat is equity and justice is recompense, who dispersest the impious, and who teareth thy shield from the hand of corruption; acknowledge this chair and chosen vessel which I unworthily offer thee and sanctify and bless it, thou who governest in eternity. After this they sprinkle and perfume the chair and vessel, whilst saying God has chosen a clean heart, his seat he has placed in a just

¹See thumbnail supra and End Image folio 93 verso.

soul, his spirit rests on me and his wisdom takes me for his own way. I adore the living and immortal and the hand of the infernal one is never effective against me; the Lord lives in me and I overcome my enemies. Then they have

folio 94 verso

the fine silver vessel full of pure clear oil, with the name of God in letters of gold on the bottom as follows¹



which they present to God saying I offer to thee the vessel of a pure heart . Thou art worthy to bless and to sanctify it. Then they perfume it saying With oil of joy² my head is anointed, and to the name of the Lord I give praise. The oil of salvation is on my lips, and my supplication reaches out to the most high. The oil of compassion comes upon my soul, and wipes away all my iniquities. When they have said and done all these things, they put all the items in the ark and fast for thirty seven³ days in absolute chastity. Then they arise every midnight and put on all the above mentioned items and say the following prayer. God of mercy who hast made humankind for restoration from angelic transgressions, whose seat is in the midst of angels and who made

¹This thumbnail image was obtained by the author from the text microfilm ms. 5061 9504795 705/95, because it is omitted from the colour transparency microfilm ms. 5061 ICR 1114 9611494 190796. The Tetragrammaton is to be noted.

²Oleo leticie, in original. See Lætitia, *joy*, esp. *unrestrained joyfulness, gladness, pleasure, delight*. Cf. gaudium, hilaritas. C. Lewis and C. Short, *op. cit.*, p. 1029 c.

³On the significance of this number 37 see the discussion , in the Introduction pp. 104 ff. supra, of the distribution of the '-IAH' and '-EL' endings of the 72 angels names.

promises to our father Abraham and to his seed, thou art worthy to make me thy servant. By thy sacred name it is lawful for the undeserving to be brought forward, and the angel whom thou hast appointed as my guard to be made visible to me. On the thirty seventh night the candles suddenly ceased giving their light and then was heard such a sweet and delicious harmony that one was carried into ecstasy and enraptured. After this the celestial fire descended on the vessel of infusion and stayed there three days and three nights and then returned to heaven and the candles relit themselves. Then the exorcist and Kabbalist arose to say his prayer and took into his hands, put onto his front and onto his mouth the oil, and said as he did so Sanctify me O God and help me Deliver my soul from the hand of iniquity. After this he perfumed himself and put on all the above mentioned items. Then he said the above mentioned prayer Deus misericordiarum. The fire returned with marvellous odour and with this the Kabbalist's own custodian and guardian angel of light appeared to him and told him mysteries.

folio 95 recto

How Dame Simplicity took the disciple from the hands of the Hebrew Kabbalists and conducted him into the church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem where he saw the names and the books of all the ecclesiastical writers. And she left him near to Mount Calvary telling him that it was there that he would find the art of Kabbalising and nowhere else.

Fifth treatise.

First chapter

It pleased the divine and eternal goodness who always has pity on his poor reasonable creatures who so often err and wander in the desert places of this world to have regard for me with his pitying eye in softness and mercy - this same goodness brought to me this worthy and celestial Dame Simplicity, who was full of zeal and came to the synagogue of the Jews where Curiosity had directed me so that I may there be instructed in the celestial way of the holy scriptures, into the sacred mysteries of the angelic heavens and of the things required for my salvation by the Platonists and by the Hebrews. These people when they saw this Dame Simplicity entering were as greatly surprised as the Jews were in the temple when our Lord Jesus ejected them because they profaned it, and before whom they had neither power nor strength nor heart to resist him.

This divine nymph took me by the hand and drew me after her into the church of the Holy Sepulchre. This church seemed to me to be most grand and spacious and well supplied with pulpits and books all around from the floor up to very top in pairs, in fours and in twelve rows as they had been in the two famous libraries of Alexandria and Rome. Each one was richly bound and had upon it the name of the author in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Arabic or Chaldee. In the first row I saw the names of the evangelists and of those who had written canonical works who were saints John, Matthew, Mark, Luke, Bartholomew, Thomas, Jude, James, and Peter. Then as I let my eyes dwell on these books

I read the following names:- Hermas¹ who is referred to by Saint Paul in his letter to the Romans

folio 95 verso

who composed the book called "The Shepherd", Philo the Jew,² Seneca the Roman,³ the great Josephus,⁴ Pope Clement, Ignatius of Antioch, Polycarp of Smyrna, Papias of Hieropolis, Quadratus of Athens, Aristides, Agrippa, Egesippus, Justin, Melito, Theophilus, Appolinarius, Dionysius of Paris, Jerotheus, Denys of Corinth, Pyntius and Philippus of Crete, Tacianus, Musanus, Modestus, Bardesanes of Mesopotamia, Victor Pope, Hyreneus of Lyon, Panthenus the Stoic, Rhodon, Clement of Alexandria, Milchiades Appolonius who wrote the beautiful volume against Montanus.⁵ Serapion, Appolonius the Roman senator, Theophilus of Palestine, Bacchilus Bishop of Corinth, Policrates

¹Vulgate has Ro. xvi 14:-

Salutate Asyncritum, Phlegontem, Hermam, Patrobam, Hermen, et qui cum eis sunt fratres.

Greek has Ro. xvi 14:-

ἀσπάσασθε Ἀσύγκριτον, Φλέγοντα, Ἑρμῆν, Πατροβᾶν, Ἑρμᾶν, καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτοῖς ἀδελφούς.

The comment by Sanday and Headlam is that Ἑρμᾶς is an abbreviation for various names, Hermagoras, Hermerus, Hermodorus, Hermogenes. It is common among slaves, but not so much so as Hermes. Some fathers and modern writers have identified this Hermas with the author of the "Shepherd", an identification which is almost certainly wrong.

W. Sanday, A. Headlam, *The Epistle to the Romans*, The International Critical Commentary, Edinburgh, 1905. p. 427.

²Philo of Alexandria, also called Philo Judaeus, c.20 BC-c.AD 50, was the greatest Jewish philosopher and theologian of the Greco-Roman period whose writings survive. Their preservation was due largely to their influence on early Christian thought, especially the theologies of Clement and Origen, both Alexandrians. Philo was a member of a delegation sent (AD 40) to Rome to persuade Caligula to grant Jews of Alexandria the right to follow their own laws and not worship the emperor. Philo was a significant figure in the development of Middle Platonism, a philosophy that included elements of Stoicism in a matrix largely derived from Plato. His principal contribution was his allegorical interpretation of the Bible within this philosophic context, one of the first attempts to reconcile Greek philosophy with biblical religion. For the *Demiurge* of Plato's *Timaeus*, Philo substituted the *Logos*, or "divine word," as both the actual creator and the intermediary between a God (all spirit) and a world (all matter). At the same time he stressed the total transcendence of God. J. Blau, *Grolier Electronic Publishing*, 1995.

³Dedicatory Epistle supra folio B recto.

⁴For Josephus and others see *Bibliography - Other Sources* infra on *Church Fathers and Saints*.

⁵Montanus initiated an ecstatic movement in Phrygia in 156. He and his followers considered themselves to be the vehicles of a new effusion of the Paraclete. The church reacted by establishing the canon of church scripture. J. Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines*, A & C Black, London, 1980, p. 59.

Treatise 5 page 2

of Ephesus, Heraclius who commented on the acts of the Apostles, Maximus Candidus,¹ who devised a confession, Appion, Brabianus, Judas who interpreted the seventy weeks in Daniel, Tertullian, Leonides the father of Origen, the selfsame Origen, Cyprian of Carthage, Pontius his disciple, Ammonius, Triphon, Minutius, Gaius, Bercillus of Arabia, Hyppolitus who composed the Easter canons and numerous books on the old and new testaments, Alexander of Capadocia, Julius Affricanus, Deminus of Antioch, Theodorus of Neocaesarea, Pope Cornelius, Dennis of Alexandria, Novatian the priest from Rome, the first schismatic,² Malchion of Antioch, Archelaus of Mesopotamia, Anatolius, Victorinus, Pamphilus, Pierius, Lucianus, Phileas of Egypt, Arnobius, Lactentius, Eusebius of Cesarea, Rheticius, Methedius, Juveneus of Spain, Eustachius of Pamphilia, Marcellus of Alexandria, Athanasius, the great Saint Anthony, Basil the doctor of medicine, Theodorus of Thrace, Eusebius the orator, Triphilus of Cyprus, Donatus the heretic,³ Eusebius of Vercel, Fortunatianus of Africa, Acacius the go between, Serapion of Egypt, Hilary of Poitiers, Victorinus the orator. Titus Damasus Pope⁴ Apollinarius who wrote thirty works against Porphyry,⁵ Gregorius of Grenada, Sebadius of Agen, Didimus of Alexandria,

¹ Seventh century, normally known as Maximus the Confessor. He declared that the Church was established by the Saviour as 'the orthodox, saving confession of belief.' *Vita ac cert.* 24 (PG 90, 93).

² Novatian, circa 250, has been represented as anticipating the decisions of the Council of Nicea (325). This is highly questionable. For instance he nowhere describes the Spirit as a person, even though his predecessors Hippolytus and Tertullian did. Novatian sought to support the distinct subsistence of the Son as a person. His means of avoiding a charge of ditheism were twofold. He had recourse either to subordination of the Son to the Father, or the Son was described as a "passing moment in the life of the Father." See J. Kelly, *op. cit.*, p. 126. Thenaud was no doubt unaware that Cyprian had written of Novatian that "We are not interested in what he teaches, since he teaches outside the church. Whatever and whatsoever kind of man he is, he is not a Christian who is not in Christ's Church." *De unit. eccl.* 6.

³ The Donatist movement challenged the Catholic church primarily on the issue of the validity of the sacraments and the status of the minister. The fervent nature of the discord rent the church in North Africa for a century. The Donatist insistence on purity for clergy (and laity) meant that the consecration of Cæcilian as Bishop of Carthage in 311 was unacceptable, due to the fact that one of the consecrators had been accused of being a *traditor*. That is to say that he had been accused of having submitted to Diocletian's persecution by handing over copies of the scriptures. It is to be noted that Thenaud records the name of *Optatus daffrique* in his list. Optatus, bishop of Milevis, wrote six works 366-367 (later a seventh work) to refute Parmenianus the Donatist. Thenaud does not list Parmenianus, but he does give due mention to Augustine who was fiercely opposed to Donatism. J. Kelly, *op. cit.*, p. 410 ff.

⁴ Pope Damasus I, 360 - 384, was responsible for commanding Jerome to translate the Bible, which came to be known as the Vulgate.

⁵ See folio 96 verso which mentions Plotinus (Plotin). His biographer was Porphyry. The particular connection with this work of Thenaud's is that Plotinus was a neo-Platonist. Firstly he expounded an optimistic view of the universe. Secondly he recognised that all that exists
Treatise 5 page 3

Optatus of Africa, Aquilius Severus, Cyrillus Euzoius, Epiphanius of Cyprus, Ephraim, the Great Saint Basil, Gregory of Nazianzus. Then there were Photinus¹ Eunomius and

folio 96 recto

Priscillianus² heretics. In the same way Tiberianus, Evagrius of Antioch, Ambrose of Alexandria, Maximus the philosopher, Gregory of Nyssa, John the priest from Antioch, Gelasius of Cesarea, Theotimus of Scythia, Dexter son of Pacianus, Amphillocius and Sophronius. All these were before the time of the glorious Saint Jerome, (c. 347-420) or during his time, for he makes mention of them. Some of them declared the truth and sincerity of the Catholic faith; others disputed against heretics and I know that the church was greatly persecuted from the very start by tyrants whilst it was no less tyrannised by the pride and obstinacy stirred up by diabolical ill-will. For in the primitive

is an "Overflow" of the One. This pervades all of reality and is echoed in the desire for union with the higher orders and ultimately with the One. The first stage is purification. The next stage is the raising of the Mind with science and philosophy. The third stage is ecstasy. Porphyry states in *Vit. Plot.* 23 that Plotinus himself had such a mystical experience four times in five years. Compare the order of service in Treatise 4 chapter 12 of this work. It is curious that Thénau is here listing a writer - Apollinarius - who wrote against Porphyry's neo-Platonic ways which were so closely like his own.

¹ Photinus, Bishop of Sirmium, was subject to a trial for heresy in 341 under Pope Julius I. Photinus was cleared, but his views became increasingly suspect. Photinus was a pupil of Marcellus, Bishop of Ancyra who died about 374. Marcellus sought to locate the Trinity as immanent in God. They sought to expand the indivisible Monad into the Triad. Thus the externalization of the Logos constituted his becoming a second hypostasis. Similarly at the outpouring of the Spirit the Dyad, without undergoing any division, became a Tryad. After Judgement the process will be reversed, with the Logos being reabsorbed into the Monad. This was denied in 343 when the Western church completed the Council of Serdica after the Easterners had withdrawn. Thénau's views are summarized in diagrammatic form on folio 5 recto. He willingly admits the difficulties involved and uses it as a reason for seeking to be translated to the region of light. Folio 5 recto supra penultimate sentence.

² Priscillian, died 385, a Spaniard, came to be regarded as an heretic for his views on the origin of the soul. He followed the Origenist theory that the soul was created by God, and existed before the body. Insertion into the body was a penalty for sins. Among the consequences was the view that the body was a prison for the soul. See Leo *ep.* 15,10. Kelly points out that the prevalent Greek theory was creationism; i.e. that each individual soul is created independently by God at the moment of its infusion into the body. J. Kelly, *op. cit.*, p. 345.

Compare this attitude with Thénau's given in the second treatise supra concerning the immortality of souls and particularly *Numerous questions and points resolved concerning the immortality and true knowledge of souls.*

Chapter six.

Folio 28.

Treatise 5 page 4

church there were, according to Saint Jerome, seventy-two sects and schools of heretics. After this I saw the names and the volumes of the four lights of the world of the four fountains of science which are Saints Ambrose, Augustine, Jerome and Gregory. If I had to say and to name all the other catholic doctors who have written holy and divine works since the times of these men whose works I have recognised arithmetic itself would defeat me. I was therefore amazed and confused to see such a glorious multitude of doctors whose names and works have flourished forever over those of the damned and worldly poets, philosophers, orators and others who have written on the human sciences and this more through vanity and for gold and out of curiosity, than for edification or for their salvation whose names have been recorded in writing by Herminippus, Antigonus, Caristius, Satyrius and Aristomenes of Greece, as well as by Varro, Seneca Hyginus and others among the Latins. Every day they brought in innumerable newly written books from the flourishing doctors of Paris, Cologne, Oxford, Rome, Germany, Spain, Florence, Italy and from elsewhere. Dame Simplicity who was conducting the course of her school saw how I was amazed at the depth of the knowledge there and said to me O poor curious man, you have followed to some extent the curious doctrines

folio 96 verso

of Pythagoras, Platon, Aristotle, Plotinus, and other philosophers, Virgil, Ovid, Properce, Juvenal, Lucan and other poets, you have wanted to taste the superstitious and useless fantasies of the Hebrews, desiring thereby to gain a name, glory, knowledge and wisdom, so that you may hope to do portentous things over nature; now recognise your error and the time which you have wasted, for you are a child and a newcomer as to how you may truly know; you are at the first stage as if learning the alphabet for your study. For all knowledge, except for that which I dispense, which is named wisdom,¹ is wind, powder, leaves and flights of fancy and nothing at all. For this reason learn here and start under my guidance. Alas, celestial dame, I said to her, I

¹*sapience.*

know that on account of my age I am in decline and that I have passed the halfway point in vain. Nevertheless, I shall submit myself to your guidance and doctrine. Happily I have heard said that you make your pupils achieve immediate and unhesitating progress in manners and knowledge so that all the philosophers and jurists are amazed and that you have such a holy, lively, penetrating, secret and effective way that in a moment you can fill the understanding of your scholars with verity and desire for good so that from the very first day they know more than all other doctors. It seems to me that I have been totally changed and moved since my entering in here and I know not how my heart was stirred and my spirit was inflamed and how the warring affections and passions which drove me like the waves of the sea here and there were calmed and appeased. Thus arose this virtue and sudden mutation. I know that all the things that were formerly pleasant, voluptuous and sweet to me, were changed into bitterness and it seemed to me that a celestial sweetness and harmony came over me and filled me. For sure, said the glorious mistress and Dame Simplicity. The things that you know to have happened to you which are the sudden transformation of life and conduct come upon all those men and women who enter therein hoping to continue and to run the race till break of dawn. For if they are proud like lions, they will be made humble like lambs. Well may they be as slippery as goats, ravishing as lions, wily as foxes, treacherous as vipers, lazy as donkeys, greedy as pigs, glorious as peacocks, unreliable as swallows and more beastly than unreasoning beasts. After they are withdrawn from that they are chaste, gracious, open, faithful, diligent, sober, humble, stable and angelic. The gateway thereto is a divine and celestial antidote,¹ which is the chief work of God all powerful, for even the shadow itself heals all spiritual maladies, mortal poisons as well as any infernal attacks which the princes of darkness have stirred up so as to destroy and to harm the rational creatures who seek heaven and life everlasting. This virtue comes from the active, insuperable and mighty power of the principal director of this university which is the book written within and without, shut and

¹ Thenaud has *ung diuin et celeste tyriaque*.

R. Latham, *op. cit.*, p. 483 has *theriac/a, tiriad/a (tyriac-) c 550 c 1200 c 1480, ... theriac, antidote, electuary, "treacle"; ...*

Treatise 5 page 6

sealed with seven seals which his apostle saw when he was exiled to Patmos. This is the living and everlasting book of life rolled up which Ezekiel could not read. By the knowledge of this book Moses and all the prophets wrote and this was not to be understood until it was to be opened. The book was so correct, perfect, illuminated, laid out, punctuated, covered and bound that it is the model for all books on theology, on true philosophy and on true living. The book of God encapsulates and perfectly contains all sciences and this is far more than is contained in this curious Kabbalah for in itself it is the revealed book and the author of it is he who reveals all that is unknown and hidden not only to superb philosophers but also to the ordinary people who follow and who love my name. This book is his author, his doctor, the source of illumination and expositor so whoever knows it knows all things. Moreover without it all other knowledge is nothing. For just as Moses' staff devoured the staffs of Pharaoh's magicians, so this book destroys and confounds the books of the philosophers, orators, poets, doctors of medicine, jurists, astrologers, magicians and theologians. I know that it contains good, virtue and perfection for all of them. This book enlightens the angels; it reveals the secrets of the all-powerful God; shows him his shadowy coverts.¹ He governs the

folio 97 verso

angelic world, he ordains, he numbers, he measures and weighs heaven, earth, seas and stars, he closes and shuts hell as well as paradise. He purifies, vivifies, heals and kills, confounds and makes all things in an instant just as it pleases him and briefly his activity and attraction extends to all who desire to profit from it be they in the heights of heaven, in the depths of hell, or in unknown islands. The first lesson which is always demonstrated in your alphabet was this book when one said to you (cross on the part of God cross) (+ de par dieu +)² about which neither you nor those like you heretofore

¹ latibulum, *a hiding place, lurking hole, covert, den* of animals. C. Lewis, and C. Short, *op. cit.*, p. 1039 c. A notable use of the word here by Thénaud, because latibulum was normally used in an unfavourable sense such as *serpens e latibulis*, Vatin. 2.4, or as a hiding place, a refuge, *latibulum et perfugium doloris mei*. Cic. Att. 12,13, 2.

²

thought at all profoundly,¹ but as if curious to know have gone ahead but through a lack of foundation and of understanding of the very first character have remained rude bestial, unwise, ignorant and barbarous and what is more being desirous of knowledge and wisdom so you also became more mad and idiotic. For your wisdom is folly towards God. For this reason it is appropriate that you should ignore all that you have learned up to now and come to your first lesson as mentioned above. Croix de par dieu croix for there you will learn all doctrines which emanate from the mouth of the doctor of all wisdom and knowledge which belongs to it and to which he refers Omne datum optimum et omne donum perfectum de sursum est descendens a patre luminum.²

es incongneues La p^{re}miere
ut monstree en ton alphabet
isoit † de par dieu † a la
les ny pensastes oncques

Folio 97 verso

¹ The images of the cross should be contrasted and compared to the image of the cross found on the rare instance of a Jewish seal from late Mediæval France.



The remarkable features of the seal for the present study are:-

1. The similarity of the cross at the 12 o'clock position on both sides of the seal to the second cross in the text.
2. The fact that the seal came from Angoulême, Thenaud's home.
3. The seal is decorated with a moon crescent and a star, similar to some of the themes developed by Thenaud.

The seal (left) is inscribed IUDEORUM and (right) RAOUL DE GODESSART.

B. Bedos, art. Les sceaux. in *Art et archéologie des Juifs en France médiévale*, Archives nationales et ER 208, Toulouse, Collection Franco-Judaica. Ed. Privat, 1980., p. 212.

² NASB has Ja. i 17:-

Every good thing bestowed and every perfect gift is from above, coming down from the Father of lights, with whom is no variation, or shifting shadow.

Vulgate has Ja. i 17:-

Omne datum optimum, et omne donum perfectum, desursum est, descendens a Patre

Treatise 5 page 8

He made the shepherds, David and Amos prophets instantly; he made the poor fishermen into evangelists and apostles; he gave to his ordinary disciples the grace to speak all languages; he caused his truth and judgement to be preached not only by the mouth of his little children, but also by the muzzle of unreasoning beasts; he taught how evil spirits are to be confounded, how the dead are to be raised, the blind restored to sight, the paralysed healed and how knowledge may be infused, how tempests at sea and storms in the air are to be calmed, as also are the rage of cruel beasts and the malign course of planets. Also how from mortality, corruption and deformity one can come to immortality, incorruption and everlasting glory. He teaches without book and without letter and labour, in an instant, all that may be known in heaven, on earth and in the infernal regions, as well as the true holy and celestial Kabbalah without change or equivocation

folio 98 recto

of numbers of letters, without recourse to shadows, figures or parables. To do this you will keep my doctrines and follow me.

How Dame Simplicity takes her student towards Mount Calvary, which is a chapel of the church of the Holy Sepulchre. There he prays and then enters into a state of ecstasy and rapture so that the true Kabbalah is shown to him.

Chapter two

I followed my celestial Dame Simplicity barefoot and with head uncovered dressed with a hairshirt,¹ whipped, disciplined, mortified and humbled as she

luminum, apud quem non est transmutatio nec vicissitudinos obumbratio.

Greek has Ja. i 17:-

πάσα δόσις ἀγαθὴ καὶ πᾶν δῶρημα τέλειον ἄνωθέν ἐστιν καταβαῖνον ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς τῶν φώτων, παρ' ᾧ οὐκ ἔνι παραλλαγὴ ἢ τροπὴς ἀποσκίασμα.

Thenaud's partial use of the verse places the focus on the goodness of the gift, rather than on the constancy of the nature of God. The following sentences are effectively his exegesis of the verse.

¹ *La haire*, a garment made from goat skin or from the mane of a horse. Worn for
Treatise 5 page 9

had commanded me to do until I came to the foot of the most holy mountain which is in all the world, be it Sinai,¹ Zion² or Tabor.³ There she prostrated herself fully upon the ground which she kissed more than a thousand times and spread great torrents of tears and ardent cries came forth from her virgin's heart which she murmured most sweetly after the bitter sobs which her sweet throat gave forth so that even a heart of iron and of diamond would have cried. When she had spent some time in this rapture and ecstasy and when she had come back to herself and when she had arisen she poured out the following words: O poor pilgrim, and curious explorer who has been so fed vain and curious forms of knowledge, who has more confusion and vituperation rather than honour and profit, recognise that this divine grace has granted to you the opportunity to come to this holy place. This same grace first granted you, without any merits, in full measure, to enjoy the blessings of creation, conservation, baptism, sustenance and erudition in the catholic faith thanks to your progenitors, but innumerable peoples are deprived of such. By this same grace you were adorned and infused with all virtues so that by such gifts, blessings and spiritual fruits your creator took you for his most dear wife as shown by the reception of the amulette of faith and thus you rendered him the sacrament of fidelity. But like an unfaithful and disloyal adulterer

folio 98 verso

you put your love elsewhere and left the love of the one from whom comes all good and all joy. You have injured, despised, blasphemed and offended him

mortification of the flesh. Latin *haira*. R. Latham, *op. cit.*, 220a.

¹ Thenaud has *syna*.

סִינַי Name of the mount of law-giving in the J. tradition and especially in P. Given as זִיּוֹן in the E. tradition and especially in D. In Ac. vii 30, 38, and Ga. iv 24, 25 see ΣΛΥΑ. Over a dozen sites have been proposed. The clearest evidence of the location is found in Deuteronomy.

NASB has De. i 2:-

It is eleven days' journey from Horeb by the way of Mount Seir to Kadesh-barnea.

²Thenaud has *Zion*. Σ(ε)ΛΩΝ, זִיּוֹן, often called the City of David, had been the stronghold of the Jebusites. The term was used variously as a political description for Jerusalem, as the abode of the divine person, as the place of his worship, as the seat of the King and as the sanctuary.

³ Thenaud has *Thabor*.

Treatise 5 page 10

on all occasions so as to cause him offence through your vileness and abomination. And on his seeing that you were entering into the portals of hell and eternal death or misery, which you fully deserved, he immediately sent to you his kiss¹ by which he drew you to himself for without it you might never have come to him; you were worthy of hell and grievous punishment, but he however straightway gave you an embrace and a kiss. He showed you his love and only requires that you show him yours during this your habitation here; labour to do your duty, so that you may see him and enter into his secret counsels so that you may delight² with him and possess your true happiness, joy and spiritual pleasures. And so that you are not prevented from your contemplation I shall go a little distance from you and afterwards you can recount to me all that happens. When she had done all this as described I know not what happened to her but her doctrine, the sanctity of the place and the rapture and the attraction which derived from the summit of the holy mountain struck right to the centre of my heart, elevated my spirit so much and in such a manner that I remained for a longtime ravished and ecstatic. After this I addressed and made my prayer which was as follows.

O eternal and true sun engendered by the indescribable sacrament by the eternal and most profound light divine which was before Lucifer and before angels, times and ages were made, who is one in Essence with the Father and the Holy Spirit, but three in Persons. O life giving, harmonious and penetrating sun who was born in time of the holy virgin Mary to drive out our everlasting nights and shadows from hell, so that we have been given the day of grace of which it is said *Hec dies quam fecit dominus exultemus et letemur in ea*.³ O fruitful, joyous and illuminating sun who by your gracious and

¹Thenaud shows no overt awareness of the place of the kiss in Kabbalistic thought. For an assessment of Pico's view on this topic see C. Wirszubski, *Pico della Mirandola's Encounter with Jewish Mysticism*, Harvard, 1989, ch. 13 *Mors Osculi*, where he considers that the ultimate union of the soul with God is the Death of the Kiss and that Pico considered that contemplative activity was true *operari in cabala sine admixtione extranei*.

² Thenaud has *Condelector* from ecclesiastical Latin.

Vulgate has Ro. vii 22:-

Condelector enim legi Dei secundum interiorem hominem;

NASB has Ro. vii 22:-

For I joyfully concur with the law of God in the inner man.

³ Vulgate has Ps. cxvii 24:-

Hæc est dies quam fecit Dominus, exsultemus, et lætemur in ea.

Treatise 5 page 11

invisible rays surrounds, embraces and warms all the universe, even the blessed angels as well as the reasonable souls whom you ravish and transform into you, who gives life to mortal things, who makes the barren fruitful and decorates the arid places with flowers, may it please you

folio 99 recto

not to overlook me without consoling my wicked and miserable soul by a sweet visitation and reforming infinite deformities as well as correcting innumerable faults which are therein and then repairing so great a ruin which my slackness and malice have made. By your wisdom my fragile body is coordinated, suited and infilled with that harmony or supercelestial soul made in your image and likeness to which you have submitted all visible things so that by them it may show you forth, the Creator. By your goodness and clemency it has been washed by your precious blood whereby was paid to your justice all that was required in satisfaction for the guilt of our first parents. Sire, God, I have been ungrateful, not having recollection or memory of so many of the blessings and what is worse I have rendered to you evil for good by which the severity of your justice rightly pursued me, the knife uplifted; the bow drawn and so I knew not where to hide myself; death held me in its thrall, my conscience consumed me, my sin accused me, the world pursued me, the angels withstood me so that I could not find a place of safety neither in heaven nor on earth. However, I had heard that you had ordained that all injuries to your holy and precious body together with penitence like liberty and freedom or the above mentioned justice will not pursue me at all and at the same reckoning you will recall me one day by promises, threats, inspirations, examples and corrections. So it is for the sinful adulterer, the criminal robber, the public cut-purse, the apostate apostle, the persecutor of your disciples, the proud sinner, the adulterous king and murderers without number. It pleased you to show me what was the benign and sweet minded pastor who sought

NASB has Ps. cxviii 24:-

This is the day that the Lord has made, let us rejoice and be glad in it.

Treatise 5 page 12

the lamb that erred like a vagabond and wanderer¹ in deserts, forests, mountains, valleys, in danger of lions and wolves; when the soul is found, it is clothed with a new fleece,² borne on the shoulders and then united into the society of those others with whom there is great rejoicing. Moreover I was given to understand that you are the pitying father of the wicked and prodigal child, who had lavishly and prodigally consumed all his assets in a foreign country so that he had to keep the

folio 99 verso

pigs, with whom he ate. Then he returned naked, torn to shreds, starving and quite miserable. But you, notwithstanding all these misfortunes and acts of ingratitude, came with a heart filled with joy, eyes streaming with tears, arms outstretched and without a word of reproach or disapproval for his evil and abandoned life; without reprimand, without threat, you clothed him anew; after the kiss and embrace of a father, you put upon him the finest robe³, the best footwear and a ring of gold,⁴ then you made a banquet, for which the fatted calf was killed and then eaten, on account of which it is said *et placebit deo super vitulum nouellum cornua producentem et ungulas*.⁵ One would need to have a frozen and contracted heart or even to be brought up on the very milk of lions, tigers and wild beasts, or be harder than iron or marble to resist

¹ Thenaud has *foruoye*.

Latin *forus* what leads out of doors. C. Lewis, and C. Short, *op. cit.*, p. 774b.

² Modern French *la toison*, a fleece.

Thenaud may be making comment at the expense of Charles Quint, the enemy of Francis, by implication of the fleece. The *Ordre de la toison d'or* had been established by Philippe le Bon, Duke of Burgundy, in 1429, after the model of the golden fleece of Jason and the Argonauts. The *Ordre de la toison d'or* passed to the house of Austria on the death of Charles le Téméraire, 1477, then to Spain with Charles Quint, 1500-1558. It was the first order of chivalry in Spain.

³ Thenaud has *la premiere estolle*.

Vulgate, in the parable of the prodigal son, has, Lk. xv 22, *Dixit autem pater ad servos suos, Cito proferte stolam primam, ...*

Greek has *στολὴν τὴν πρώτην*.

⁴ *Lanel* see supra folio 90 verso.

⁵ Vulgate has Ps. lxxviii 31:-

Et placebit Deo super vitulum novellum, cornua producentem et ungulas.

NASB has Ps. lxxix 31:-

And it will please the LORD better than an ox or a young bull with horns and hoofs.

Treatise 5 page 13

running to your assurance and acceptance, O pitying Pastor, merciful Father, fountain of sweetness; I am the fugitive, the slave, the prodigal child, who has abandoned you and fled (I know that in you are all the delights of paradise) - to follow worldly and carnal vanities is to be next to the bitterness of hell. I am as decayed as Lazarus was in the sepulchre of my sins. I am the one who is immobile and paralysed without your aid. Domine ante te omne desiderium meum et gemitus meus a te non est absconditus.¹ I am the blind man without a guide who walks in the shadows at the peril of accident and at danger from whatever may occur, yet I desire unity not only in myself, but in you. I hope to lose myself here, to languish and to come to nought so that I may find myself, to fortify myself and to flourish in you spiritually, but I can do nothing of myself if your grace does not go before me, as it is written. Non est volentis nuqz currentis sed dei miserantis.² I hope to be rid of this old disgusting and carnal Adam to be transformed by love in you, to be transfigured in your glorious and divine spirit. This is a very great thing for me, wicked, veritable sea-snail,³ worm of the earth⁴ to desire. That is to be transfigured in you, but this grace which is given to men, you, O God, all powerful when it pleased you to become man and to take on our nature,

folio 100 recto

gave me this boldness. I pray you therefore and ask, not in any way on account of my virtues, which are non-existent, but on account of your holy, sacred and glorious names. By this infinite power, wisdom and goodness, which you have with your Father and the Holy Spirit. By this inestimable charity, fountain of our redemption, which drew you from the heights of heaven

¹Vulgate has Ps. xxxvii 10:-

Domine, ante te omne desiderium meum, et gemitus meus a te non est absconditus.

NASB has Ps. xxxviii 9:-

Lord, all my desire is before Thee;

And my sighing is not hidden from Thee.

²Non est volentis nuqz currentis sed dei miserantis.

³Thenaud has *Le vermet*, mollusc with an irregularly shaped shell, found attached to rocks.

⁴Thenaud has *lumbrique de terre*. Latin, *lumbricus*, an intestinal worm and thence an earth worm. Used as a term of abuse Plaut. *Aul.* 4,4,1. C. Lewis and C. Short, *op. cit.*, p. 1084b.

to the womb of the most pure Mary. By all the miseries, imperfections and sadness of the human nature, which you, O God, all powerful have taken for us. By this extreme poverty, which it pleased you to be born into, to live in, and to die in, by your fervent tears, which you shed for our sins. By your fasting, shackling, beating, crown of thorns, lance, sponge, nails, wounds, blows, beatings, buffetings,¹ and by other infinite pains that you have suffered and carried on your virginal body with the intolerable burden of my sins. By the royal victorious and life-giving cross which I venerate, adore and salute more than a thousand times with streams of tears and everlasting prostration. By your most precious death which your head of the church has endured for your members and for this most precious host of your divine body which you, O high priest, prefigured in Melchisedek, Abraham, and Aaron, have offered to God your Father, to reconcile human nature to him. By your immortality in which you wish us to participate. By the benefits of your spotless wife, the church. And finally for the depth of my iniquities, which call upon the depths of your mercy, which gives you opportunity to show mercy. I pray you and ask that it may please you not to leave and not to abandon me, your poor creature and lamb, that I may have recourse to, and safety in, your cross and holy passion as you commanded me to do; in which I desire to be elevated, attached and crucified without ever being separated therefrom and may it please you to pardon my sins and grant me such grace that I may never live, never slumber, never do a thing, without you. That I may be set ablaze and on fire with the fire of your love, spirit, sweetness, charity and continual memory. O good Jesus, you alone are my joys, my delight, my pleasure, my comfort, my friend, my good and my possession, my all. Stretch forth your good hand to reform your work

folio 100 verso

which I have disjointed and ruined. Never leave me separate from you, for in you I wish to live and to die and such as I am I do not wish to be mine, not in

¹Thenaud has *colaphizacions* from Latin *colaphizo* from Greek *κολαφιζω*, to box one's ears. Tert. *Adv Marc.* 5,12.

Treatise 5 page 15

the world, the flesh and the devil (which I renounce) and I declare you to be my God, my Creator and Redeemer, who reigns in glory for ever and ever. After these words I remained on my knees in front of this holy mount Calvary, and entered into a sleep, which was really only a repose for the body, but more rapt and ecstatic in which I saw on the holy mount what seemed to me to the entire celestial empire, all the angelic hierarchies drawn up like the concavity of the firmament in an order that I may not reveal or describe. In the midst of this concavity was an incomprehensible light, where I saw what seemed to me to be the image of the blessed Jesus as will be described below. With this I saw all the letters of our Latin alphabet, scattered here and there, in many places, which were united, joined, and assembled in all sorts of ways, making different figures. Moreover they presented me with many sentences, that were so theological, speculative and profound that no others like them can be found in the depths of the Paris Sorbonne. And quite suddenly I awoke and straightway returned to my own self but I only saw the walls and the stones of that church, which greatly surprised me. So I quickly went on my way to find Madame and Mistress Simplicity to tell her my vision.

How the pilgrim and disciple finds his mistress Dame Simplicity in the Oratory of Saint Helen, and recounts to her his visions, whose meaning she gives as interpretations and in first of them he sees the names of God written. Moreover she shows him that here is the true Kabbalah, and transposition of letters by which one finds at all times a sacred sign and character by which all miracles are done and were done in the past.

folio 101 recto

After many processions made by the above mentioned church in which I found people of every nation, that is to say Greeks, Indians, Armenians, Georgians, Nestorians,¹ Jacobites, Copts, Maronites and many others who

¹ Nestorius of Syria, circa 380 - circa 451. His belief that there were two persons in Jesus Christ was declared heretical, notably by the Symbol of Unity, which was based on a formula approved at Ephesus in 431. This doctrine became the official doctrine of the national church of the Sassanian Empire. The doctrine spread to Eastern Syria, Arabia, Transoxania and as
Treatise 5 page 16

were there to learn the true art of the Kabbalah under the celestial Dame Simplicity. I came finally to this most devout oratory of Saint Helen which is in the same church behind the high altar in a remote place ideally suited for contemplation where I found the selfsame dame before whom I prostrated myself. Then I said to her, O Mediator of God and man and inventor of every good thought. I have come to you to recount the deep lesson of theology which has been shown to me when I was at the foot of the holy mount Calvary where I saw secrets which cannot be understood by created spirit lest it be granted the ability to understand. Moses on Mount Sinai saw the pure light which was like a sky with the Hebrew letters scattered here and there, by whose composition and union he received the Law in every manner in which it can be received until he came to the forty-ninth gate of wisdom. But I saw on Mount Calvary the author and the creator of heaven surrounded with incredible glory, with charity from which all graces, virtues, sacraments, beatitudes and blessings proceed, which is written within and without in the following manner.

far as the Indus. Later it reached Mongolia and China. A 7th century stele at Sianfu near Hwang-ho, in China, records the most easterly known extent of this doctrine. F. van der Meer, and C. Mohrmann, *Atlas of the Early Christian World*, London, 1959, p. 182, figure 611. Despite the undoubtedly extensive spread of the Nestorians, they are, on doctrinal grounds, a surprising group to be included by Thenaud.

Treatise 5 page 17

folio 101 verso¹



See End Image 101 verso

folio 102 recto

After this vision I recalled the glorious apostle, virgin and evangelist, who had written Et vidi in dextera sedentis supra thronum librum scriptum intus et foris signatuz sigillis septem.² That is to say I saw in the right hand of the one who was on throne a book written inside and outside closed with seven seals and following that I saw a strong and powerful angel who cried out in a loud voice, Who is worthy to open the book and to undo the seven seals?³ And as no

¹This is a thumbnail sketch. See End Image 101 verso.

² Vulgate has Re. v 1:-

Et vidi in dextera sedentis supra thronum, librum scriptum intus et foris, signatum sigillis septem.

NASB has Re. v 1:-

And I saw in the right hand of Him who sat on the throne a book written inside and on the back sealed up with seven seals.

³ Vulgate has Re. v 2:-

Et vidi angelum fortem, prædicantem voce magna: Quis est dignus aperire librum, et solvere signacula ejus?

NASB has Re. v 2:-

And I saw a strong angel proclaiming with a loud voice, "Who is worthy to open the book and

Treatise 5 page 18

creature was found in heaven, on earth, and under the earth who was worthy to open that book, nor sufficient to read it I wept copiously, but a most honourable and ancient patriarch, clothed in white, who had a crown of gold on his head said to me There is no need at all to weep. This is the victorious lion of the line of Juda, who has power to open the book and its seals.¹ O, Dame (Simplicity), the brightness of the book as well as the glory of the letters and the sayings which are in it have blinded my eyes more than the eyes of the glorious apostle saint Paul, when he saw the glory of God near Damascus.² May it please you (for you have taken me under your tutelage, by your grace) to give me some illuminating eyesalve³ for my eyes and show me the book with seven seals for I firmly believe that all the sacred and secret treasures of science and divine wisdom as well as those of Paradise have been revealed to you for you to manifest them to your disciples. Then Dame Simplicity commanded me to be seated at the foot of her chair so that I could hear and learn her doctrine better. This I did in all humility, and she said to me these as follows: There is nothing so displeasing to God in this world as an ungrateful doer of wickedness whose sins cause harm to many others. Such a one is ungrateful for he forgets the benefits which he has taken. Such a one, moreover, is sovereignly ungrateful when he renders evil for good. And the greater the enjoyment of benefits, so the deeper and more perilous is the ruin

to break its seals?"

¹Thenaud, up to this point, follows the course of Revelation v though he omits the reference to the one indicated by speaker as being the *radix David* (Root of David) Re. v 5.

²Revelation v does not make any such reference to the divine appearance to Saul (Paul) on the road to Damascus in Acts ix. Thenaud had a considerable interest in Paul and his experiences of rapture, as evidenced in his *Troys résolutions et sentences, c'est assavoir de l'astrologue, du poète, et du théologue, sur les grandes conjonctions, moyennes et petites qui se font ou signe de pisces. L'an mil vcc iiiie*, Vienna, 1520, ms. 2645 Stadtsbibliothek, Vienne.

³Thenaud has *bon colire illuminatif*.

Re. iii 18, where the angel of the church Laodicea is told "I advise you to buy from me gold refined by fire, that you may become rich, and white garments, that you may clothe yourself, and that the shame of your nakedness may not be revealed; and eyesalve to anoint your eyes, that you may see."

Greek has Re. iii 18:-

συμβουλεύω σοι ἀγοράσαι παρ' ἐμοῦ χρυσίον πεπυρωμένον ἐκ πυρὸς ἵνα πλουτήσῃς καὶ ἱμάτια λευκὰ ἵνα περιβάλῃ καὶ μὴ φανερωθῇ ἡ αἰσχὺνὴ τῆς γυμνότητός σου, καὶ κολλυρίον ἐγγρῖσαι τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς σου ἵνα βλέπῃς. Vulgate Re. iii 18, for the closing phrase has, "...et collyrio inunge oculos tuos, ut videas."

This is a typical Thenaud-style attribution, to the beneficent female guide, of an angelic attribute.

Treatise 5 page 19

and blame of the one who falls into ingratitude. One must therefore, before all else, consider and know the sublime and sovereign benefits which the blessed Jesus has obtained for you among others, so that you may unceasingly express your thanks and graces. This is in the first place because he gives you knowledge of his faith and law, which

folio 102 verso

are so very glorious that if one wants to compare them against all others, there are first of all Rhadamantus, Eacus and Minos¹ who gave themselves out to be the children of Jupiter, so as to give themselves great authority. Or against Numa² and Ligurgus³ who claimed to have exceptional familiarity with the gods. Or against the knowledge of those weak ones who confronted Moses using so many superstitions, partial truths, murmurings and acts of violence, as they did at the start and who now are dead and entirely forgotten. If therefore one wishes to make a comparison, inasmuch as lies, misleading ways and fallacies which are to be found in the Mohammedan sect, then that is like comparing heaven to mud,⁴ the sun to the shadows, and God to the transient. For in all of these there is no spiritual joy, no consolation, serenity of conscience, true rest nor means of achieving felicity. This is why I advise the faith, law and doctrine in which you are brought up. Your Christian faith in which you are baptised, maintained and instructed, these instruct you succinctly how you should love, serve and worship God, your Creator. Also how you should, by good charity, love your neighbour, accommodate his imperfections, love him like yourself, desire from his hand what he would desire from yours and also never want to displease him. Your law commands Charity. Also it wants one to flee adultery, violence, murder, tyranny, treachery, falsehood

¹Folio 33 verso supra.

²Latin king. According to later historians, who often freely mixed facts with legend, Romulus was succeeded as king by Numa Pompilius (c.715-673 BC). Numa's reign was long and peaceful, and the foundations of Roman law and religious practices are credited to him. J. Linderski, *Grolier Electronic Publishing*, 1995.

³Probably Licurgus, the Athenian orator, traveller and politician who carried through state political reforms. This quasi-legendary figure is reputed to have lived in the ninth century BC.

⁴Thenaud has *lut*, derived from the Latin *lutum*, mud, mire, and by transfer, *potter's clay*, loam. *A Latin Dictionary*, C. Lewis, and C. Short, *op. cit.*, p. 1088a.

and the desire of corruptible things. If you live purely in these and if you have in your spirit and in your mouth the holy and sacred character which you saw and the admirable name that you have read, so that day by day you pronounce it as it has been translated and transferred, the powers, virtues, pacts and divine pleasures which formerly were in the ineffable name of God, of which the servant and Hebrew captive boasted so much, you may here, as a true Christian and instrument of the divine word, do all nature of miracles and things which exceed the whole of nature and which exceeds all that which was known to Plato or Hermes Trimegistus. I needed to give you a month of instruction about the holy and sacred figure painted above when I started to instruct you on the three theological virtues; these would require a very large book. But by the letters scattered all around which you saw scattered here and there on Mount Calvary, I want to show you in six more figures how you may have knowledge and contemplation

folio 103 recto

of six things. Firstly, about the angelic world. Secondly, about the celestial. Thirdly, about the elementary world. Fourthly, about the reparation of the microcosm. Fifthly, about the graces that emanate from the supercelestial world for the conservation and reparation of this microcosm, which is man. And finally, about the song by which the blessed angels and glorious saints united and joined together in the city of eternal beatitude praise God for ever and ever. The above mentioned Latin figures are taken from the above mentioned Maurus, whom I have translated according to the doctrine of Simplicity, to show how in the Latin scriptures, which are as ancient as the Hebrew or Greek ones, and more full of mystery than the others. And this is apparent in sacramental sayings.

folio 103 verso

How one can see and understand the angelic world in the book of the cross

Treatise 5 page 21

In the holy sacred character of the cross
The holy angels are the true nine orders
Who thereby have the great victory
Over Lucifer pursuing him from the glory
Of heaven's empire, together with his malice
As is written in the Apocalypse
Whom they have defeated by the blood of the lamb
So that they adore this sign with an ardent¹ heart,
For by it there are also acts of purging,
Perfecting and enlightening.
They also have not ceased to serve with zeal
Him, whose is the blood which sanctifies,
And from whose birth, just as Saint Paul's
Well-known tale reports,
Was heard finely sung Gloria
In excelsis Deo et in terra.
After his fasting in the desert he went
And they cared for him
Then gave him comfort for his passion
And appeared at his resurrection

Below and at the cross the angels form
One letter and in another are archangels
Inspiring us and guarding us in every place
Showing forth God's holy secrets,
And who has made known to us Emanuel,
This is the angel of God and of the most high council
Who just as Isaiah, heretofore,
Prophesied, coming from Paradise
In great sweetness and humility
To announce peace and tranquillity
Down here on earthly home

¹Thenaud has *ignel*, to rhyme with *aignel*. Compare Latin *igneolus*, for *fiery*, in post classical Latin. C. Lewis and C. Short, *op. cit.*, p. 880 b.

To the sweetest of people who are of good will
The cross with arms and sides as well
Has Virtues¹, and Principalities²
Powers³ and Dominations⁴
Whose office and operation
Is to remove all evil spirits
Who ever wish to win the prize

folio 104 recto

Against us try to make us
Rebel against the sovereign monarch.
These angels are the ones who lead us on to recognize
The eternal king at whose powerfilled right
Has confounded this false and evil host
So that of God's right it is said

Thrones and then the cross stand at the centre
So that God is seated in the very chair
And thus he makes his judgement
Which are sermons and preachings
In fervent praise⁵ of the son of man,
Before whom will finally appear
In judgement each and every creature
Who is capable of having future glory
Or damnation hearing as his sentence
As it is written in effect and in substance.

In the highest place of the cross Cherubins
Are summoned, as are the Seraphins,

¹*les vertuz.*

²*les principautez.*

³*Les potestatz.*

⁴*dominacions.*

⁵Latin *collaudo, conlaudo*, to praise or to commend very much. C. Lewis and C. Short, *op. cit.*, p. 365 c.

Treatise 5 page 23

Signifying the all powerful Christ
 All knowing and all comprehending
 In whom are all the treasures of knowledge
 Of God and also all wisdom
 In praise of whom these latter never cease
 To address this verse in his honour
 Sanctus Sanctus Sanctus dominus deus Sabbaoth¹
 For from these come his authority
 Pre-eminence and his high-exalted name
 And also it is evident that this holy character
 Of the cross is the most excellent mystery
 Revelation and Kabbalistic art
 That one may find in the high angelic world.

The figure follows

folio 104 verso²

¹ NASB has Is. vi 3:-

Holy, holy, holy, is the LORD of hosts.

Vulgate has Is. vi 3 :-

... Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, Dominus, Deus exercituum; ...

Vulgate has Re. iv 8:-

Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, Dominus, Deus omnipotens, ...

Hebrew has Is. vi 3 (part):-

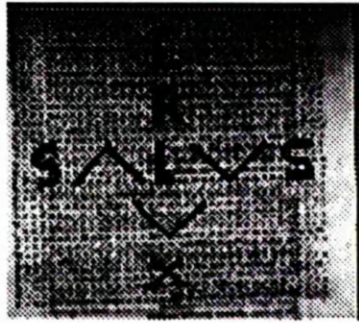
קְדוֹשׁ | קְדוֹשׁ קְדוֹשׁ יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת

Showing that Thanaud is nearer to the original with his retention of the term Sabbaoth. It is also to be noted that Thanaud does not enlarge on the use of the *trisagion*, either in support of a doctrine of the Trinity, or in conjunction with his theory of numbers. Cp. *The Pythagorean notion that numbers were the principle of all things; but the Scriptures, according to which God created the world in twice three days by ten mighty words, and completed it in seven days, teach us that God is the first principle of all numbers.* Keil-Delitzsch, *Commentary on the Old Testament*, vol. 7, Eerdmans, 1980, p. 193.

Thanaud is not deflected from his intent of placing the *trisagion* in a soteriological light.

²This is a thumbnail image. See End Image folio 104 verso for a study of this image in comparison with Rabanus Maurus' original.

Treatise 5 page 24



See End Image folio 104 verso

folio 105 recto

So let us come to recognise and to learn
How one may discover and understand
By the true Kabbalistic art and science profound
In the cross the celestial world.

The ancient astrologers unwittingly
In the Zodiac perceived twelve signs
Under which the seven planets move
Which some have called erratic And they
Sometimes did change themselves and vary
In their effects depending on how they move
In different ways by signs given above
By which are numbered and devised
The months of the year in twelve divisions
Likewise we too see the cross
Which has been preached and announced
And by the twelve apostles elevated¹
Who made twelve articles of faith
Prefigured in the ancient law
By twelve holy and renowned patriarchs
Just as the precious stones

¹Thenaud has *exaulcee* from *Exaucer*, to satisfy someone by meeting their demands, or to welcome that which is demanded, derived from Latin *exaltare*.

On Aaron's breastplate,¹ and not in vain
 We hold the twelve² (stones) taken from the Jordan
 The twelve bulls³ are also an example
 As they support the cleansing bowl⁴ in the Temple
 Just as twelve lions⁵ were
 Under Solomon whose temple had
 The twelve loaves of offering⁶
 And twelve conduits⁷ were added on
 And in a day there are twelve hours complete
 With as many in the night as well, and then twelve prophets.
 Moreover at Elim we have twelve fountains
 And a full measure full of other dozens
 Which we could find in this cross
 And even more if one includes
 Twelve portals and twelve foundations
 And twelve anglets⁸ which are the ornaments
 Of the heavenly city of Jerusalem
 Of which scripture clearly states
 In the cross we recognise this order
 And from which we have the whole of numbers.

folio 105 verso⁹

¹Ex. xxxix 14.

²Jo. iv 3.

³I Ki. vii 25.

⁴Thenaud has *lauacre*, from Latin *Lavacrum*, in post-classical Latin, a *bath*. See also Titus iii 5 ...*per lavacrum regenerationis et renovationis Spiritus sancti*, and I Ki. vii 23.

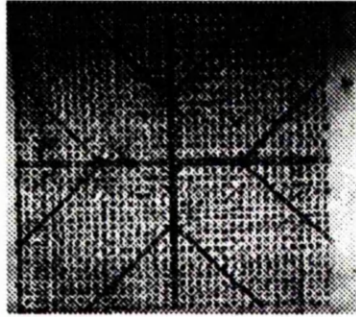
⁵I Ki. x 20. The reader is also referred to the revealing discussion in the Introduction pp. 136 ff. *supra* concerning the lions in the temple of Solomon and the tale of the theft of the divine name by Jesus.

⁶I Ki. vii 48, though the number twelve is not given.

⁷Thenaud has *vens*. Latin *vena* a pipe, channel, conduit, blood-vessel. C. Lewis and C. Short, *op. cit.*, p. 1966 b.

⁸*Anglet* - a rare French word also used in English. A little angle or corner. *OED*, p. 327 b.

⁹This is a thumbnail image. See End Image folio 105 verso.



See End Image folio 105 verso.

folio 106 recto

The fourth figure shows how the holy cross is figured in the four elements and in many other quaternaries.

One now passes on to consider this scripture

Within the cross the fourth figure
Shows how the elementary world
Is renewed by this holy quaternary
For if the cross is held up the top
Represents and denotes the heat of fire
As highest of all elements
And then the base by true direction
Signifies and denotes to us the earth
For in infernal regions it has delivered the hardships of war

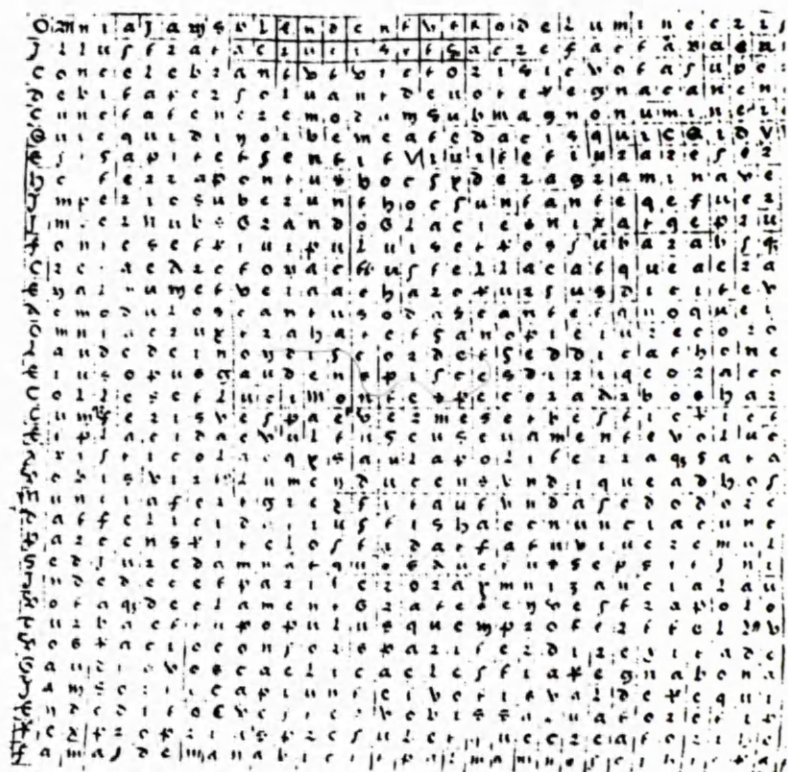
The two sides, to right and left,
Of air and water signify the middle state
Then on the other hand if the cross we repose
We touch the four parts of this world
This is the Orient to which turns to start
The dawn of day with the spring
South after it to which one adds the Summer
And the midday and then the other side
Is the Occident to which reason attributes
The evening of the day together with the time of Autumn

Treatise 5 page 27

North follows to which is linked
The Winter and midnight as well
 This is the cross which by its shape
Wants to show to all the nations
That they should follow in its faith and culture
By which every creature
Elementary, angelic and celestial
Must be ready to adore the cross
By which is restored without discord
Man who is of all the created ones the accord
And for this must everyone be incited
Humbly to recite this Benedicite
 And thus if every creature
Should thereto devote most careful cure
And hold thereto beyond compare
The Christians by clearest reason
For by it they are glorified
Made into priests, christs, and kings magnified.

folio 106 verso¹

¹This thumbnail image was obtained by the author from the text microfilm ms. 5061 9504795 705/95, because folio 10 verso is omitted from the colour transparency microfilm ms. 5061 ICR 1114 9611494 190796. See End Image 106 verso for a full discussion of this folio.
Treatise 5 page 28



See End Image 106 verso.

folio 107 recto

How the holy cross, home of the celestial and spiritual Adam, has repaired the old and corrupt Adam, together with all his posterity, who were corrupted in him.

Adam gives us the fifth figure

Which is the beginning of the human creature

And the first propagator of man

The minor world, otherwise the microcosm

This selfsame Adam on the sixth day had

Been made And the figure was

Of the good Jesus who came to humble himself

Down here in the sixth millennium
 Of years after the creation
 As mentioned in this script
 Factus est primus adam in animam viuentem
 Nouissimus autem in spiritum viuificantem¹
 Primus homo de terra terrenus
 Secundus homo de celo celestis²
 This name in the form of a cross is made by reason
 For all alike from one originating spark
 All of the human race have been engendered
 And also it has been regenerated
 By the second by whose induction
 Prefiguring our redemption
 Could not be better figured
 Than by the one who first procured
 All the blame and stain original
 Which has been the cause for which
 The necessary immolation was the crossing
 Of God and man in the tree of the cross
 And to this point it has four letters
 Signifying the regions of the earth
 The four parts named by the Greeks
 Anatolia then Dysis next

¹ Vulgate I Co. xv 45:-

Factus est primus homo Adam in animam viventem; novissimus Adam in spiritum vivificantem.

The first phrase follows the closing phrase of Vulgate Ge. 2 vii:-
 ... et factus est homo in animam viventem.

NASB I Co. xv 45:-

So also it is written, "The first man, Adam, became a living soul." The last Adam became a life-giving spirit.

² Thénau omits Vulgate I Co. xv 46:-

Sed non prius quod spiritale est; sed quod animale, deinde quod spiritale.

The NASB has I Co. xv 46:-

However, the spiritual is not first, but the natural; then the spiritual.

Thénau gives the Vulgate I Co. xv 47, which the NASB has as:-

The first man is from the earth, earthy; the second man is from heaven.

Thénau's omission of verse 46 removes any possible confusion over the question of superiority being related to priority.

Treatise 5 page 30

Third is Arthos And then comes Messambrya
Also the cross has such a fine shadow
That it is shed upon the four quarters
Where the sons of Adam have gone
It was placed right in the middle of the world
And what is more as anyone may wish or try

folio 107 verso

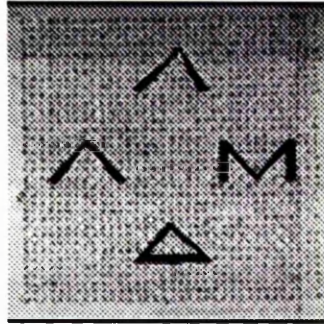
To Kabbalize the selfsame letters
Just as they are rightfully recorded
So the Hebrews by agreement make
This A worth one
And D is four, And then A again is one
M is worth forty and so
One comes to forty-six in total
Which is the time that the fruit of the child
Requires in the womb for its fruition
By natural organization

And one knows that the body of Jesus was
In an instant organized and had
Its living form. But otherwise
Did the Jews believe saying brutally
But of his body which had had its seed
From Adam's body he intended this temple

Once more let us take these same four letters
And of the cross the letters four as well
Apply them to the cardinal virtues
Of which they are the principles
Other virtues follow and are recorded
Love, joy, benignity

Peace, patience, and faithfulness¹
 With many others also one should live
 Those who desire to dwell in the shadow
 Of this cross and fruitful tree
 And who are near the tempestuous waves
 Of waters running through this mortal life
 As the prophet so amply testifies.

folio 108 recto²



See End Image folio 108 recto.

folio 108 verso

How in the tree of the cross there are seven flowers which are the seven gifts
 of the Holy Spirit together with the seven sacraments

From the holy cross the most reverend tree
 Has given us the most delicious flower
 Wherein the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit are found
 Which have there fullness from everflowing grace
 As can be seen in this figure here
 Of which the Song also recites

But these gifts are so ordained
 That in this cross one may easily
 By simple steps progress from the lowest or the least

¹ Thénau abridged the list given in Vulgate Ga. v 22:-
 Fructus autem spiritus est caritas, gaudium, pax, patientia, benignitas, bonitas, longanimitas,
 mansuetudo, fides, modestia, continentia, castitas. ...

² This is a thumbnail image. See End Image 108 recto for a full discussion.

Up to the highest climb or ascend

The lowest gift, the least, is fear¹ and doubt²
Of being damned and destined for the infernal regions
Which evil man should well avoid
And the highest which we should seek
Is understanding³ love⁴ and joy⁵
Of the divine and holy wisdom
In which and by which in fact
All powerful God all things has made
Thus is it linked to the cross
This gift of love was always preached by the saints

To move therefore from fear to love
The second gift shows us the way
It is of pity bringing good to all
Returning good for harm and no harm to anyone

Third gift is knowledge⁶ which discerns and elicits
Good from ill as one has read
Force is the fourth which prosperity
Makes to despise without fearing adversity
So that before shifting fortune
Man is constant firm and invariable
Counsel⁷ is fifth by which one despises
His soul and self for a life more exquisite
To find elsewhere in a place beyond corruption
By this counsel every debt offence
Rancour and hatred of one's neighbour
Pardoned at the end when likewise

¹*crainct.*

²*doubte.*

³*congnoissance.*

⁴*amour.*

⁵*ioyssance.*

⁶*science.*

⁷*conseil.*

We appear before God And then understanding¹
Is the sixth gift which makes one wholeheartedly

folio 109 recto

Put one's heart thought intention
Desire hope and all affection
In God alone and not in any other
As the prophet in the scripture wrote
That should a false or vain thought arise
Prophetically it is to be expelled

Wisdom² is the seventh gift which man
Who first of all like
A pauper fearful full of pusillanimity
Was transformed into magnanimous offspring
Connatural and most beloved heir
And does to his Father and God so tightly cling
So that desires, worldly riches
Passions, distractions, prisons, torments and tortures
None of these or a thousand deaths by night or day
May separate him from divine love

These gifts twice are written in the figure
Once vertically and once across
By charity showing both the parts
In union without divorce
The vertical we attribute to God
The one across reaches out and stretches to the neighbour

Likewise the seven flowers signify
Seven sacraments which purify the soul
In which divine grace and favour
Are unfailing and unfaltering aids

¹*entendement.*

²*sapience.*

Lest there be any further impediment
And of these ones I shall speak more fully
If I instruct thee in Virtues Theological
Which we find in this holy tree as well

O how precious and worthy is this holy
Form and figure in which is imprinted
And which comprises all divinity
Knowing¹ power² and spirituality.³

folio 109 verso

See End Image 109 verso.

folio 110 recto

The seventh and final figure of the cross which contains the two songs by
which almighty God is praised and thanked by the blessed angels and saints
in paradise.

Finally the sacred names in which
Is praised God of the saints, angels in the skies
Which are Amen and Alleluia
As well in the Revelation
They are in the most holy cross in which
Our praise and universal glory
Has its origin and destiny
And by which hope is given
Of reigning in the glorious reign
By which the church in melodious chant
At Easter time in joy and celebration,

¹*scavoir.*

²*pouvoir.*

³*spiritualite.*

Joins in praise¹ with unceasing song
 So also one may all other sciences
 Therein find through true experiences
 From which it appears there is no other Kabbalah
 More revealed, natural or principal
 Than the very great triumphant character
 Which is the holy cross to which is adjoined its mystery
 The name of Jesus which is presently
 In all climates publicly proclaimed
 And preached abroad and freely so
 For without this latter no work can prosper
 Brought before Emperors
 Monarchs, kings, princes, chiefs and lords
 In their shields and on their standards
 To repulse every hostile dart
 Without which hardly anything may start
 Without this holy sign and high name claimed
 That which over all is well adorned
 Our Emperor and Prince debonair
 The King Francis for in devotion
 Full adoration is made to him
 By all his country and his land
 By which I hope he may have grace to gain
 From humble Mohammedans and Turks
 That they may adore like all good worshippers

folio 110 verso

The selfsame cross and holy name of Jesus
 If you, O God, who reign on high
 Alpha and O, God Almighty, Creator,

¹ Latin *conlaudo*, *collaudo*, to praise or commend very much, extol highly. C. Lewis and C. Short, *op. cit.*, p. 365 c.
 Treatise 5 page 36

Who formed heaven and earth
 Who gives us being and in whom we live
 Who sustains us and through whom we die
 By this sacred and victorious sign
 Of the holy cross, character most worthy
 And this high name of Jesus admirable
 Which in this holy time of Easter is acceptable
 And who always seeks to guard
 To hold, to have, to govern and to defend
 Our good King Francis most august
 His dear wife and most illustrious Queen
 And make prosper their royal line
 In happiness, good estate and loyal growth
 Likewise may your good pleasure
 Be to grant the fullness of the wish and heart's desire
 To his most dear and illustrious parent¹
 To give as well your unalloyed favour
 To the honoured head, his sister most serene
 And to save the royal blood sublime²
 The people also keep from adversity
 So that in peace and in tranquillity
 Under this name of Jesus, king of kings
 And the standard of his holy cross
 We may down here obtain the victory
 Against Satan and merit the glory
 Of paradise where you my sovereign, sire,
 Reign without end in everlasting empire.

¹*parente*. The mother of Francis was Louise de Savoie, 1476-1531.

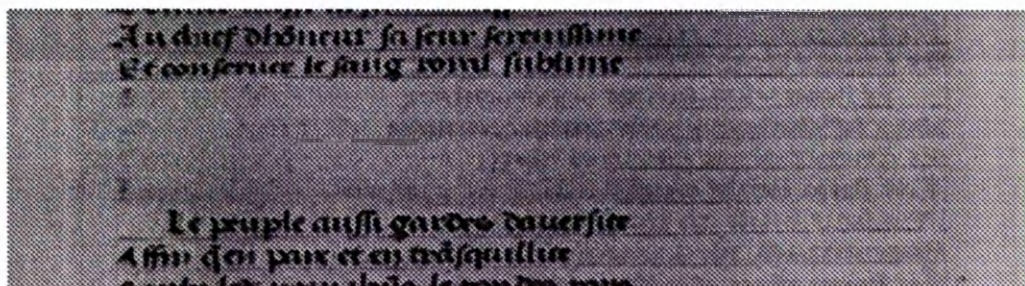
²ms 5061 has four lines eliminated at this place, as may be seen from the following reduced image of the whole:-

Treatise 5 page 37

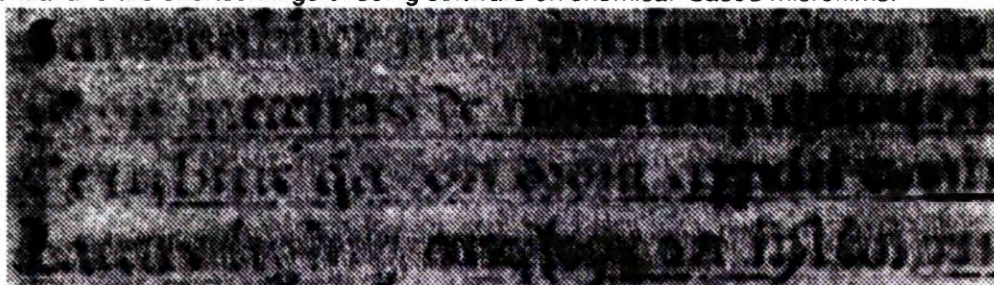
La peur qui doit être inextinguible et exister à l'égard de ses collègues et assistants aussi, ailleurs, plusieurs personnes se trouvent en multiples des terribles théologues au point de vue.

Treatise 5 page 38

The figure which should be here,¹ together with the others given above, corrected and amended as well as several others are in the Triumph of Theological Virtues in the Treatise on Faith.



Use of computer software on the missing four lines illustrates at one and the same time the potential and the shortcomings of using software on chemical- based microfilms.



The first line has "Sans oublier mon princ ..." although the last word is doubtful.

The second line has "Roy mecenat de mon ..." although the last word is doubtful.

The third line may start with "Combien"; this is followed by "q'a", probably followed by "on mon ..."

The fourth line may have "La croix Auguste ..."

A clearer series of images could be obtained using digital equipment of the SOBER type devised by the author, which would provide four images for compilation. (Recto and verso by reflected light and by transmitted light.) Unfortunately ms. 5061 has not yet been imaged by the SOBER process. Nevertheless this image is the first time that these missing lines have been (partly) deciphered.

¹See End Image folio 110 verso.

Treatise 5 page 39

Curiosity finds her student outside the church and says the following to him.

Sixth treatise. How the angelic world influences the celestial world.

First chapter.

Just as every body has its dependence on the heaven under which it is, so also every aspect of knowledge,¹ virtue² and spirituality³ has its dependence on the intelligences (not only the rational ones, which are ours) but the angelic ones which know, in their light and in the divine light, through excellence of knowledge without error, labour and time truly that which can be known and which it is appropriate for us to know and to understand by labour and effort. So it is that all our knowledge and science is physical, mathematical or divine.⁴ We come to the physical and natural by external sense and experience, to the mathematical by fantasy and imagination and to divine by understanding and revelation. And so each and every virtue which is in a body depends and participates in those which are in the heavens, and all sciences and knowledge flow from and descend from angelic and intellectual lights, which angelic

¹ *cognoissance.*

² *vertuz.*

³ *spiritualite.*

⁴Thenaud here follows Reuchlin's argument that the acquisition of knowledge through observation and examination of the physical world and of mathematics was inadequate. Typically Reuchlin stated that we cheerfully delude ourselves *ut nobis ipsi molliter blandimur* that we may arrive at the truth by means of some self-evident demonstration *demonstratione*. *De Arte Cabalistica*, folio 5 recto. Reuchlin equates this with the Hebrew מופת normally translated firstly as *wonder, sign or portent* (Ex. vii 9) and secondly as *sign* or *token* of a future event (Is. viii 18). As to the physical realm, man was not even able to name everything in the universe, let alone define their properties, conditions, strengths, ways of working and operating *proprietates, conditiones, uires, mores & operationes*. As to mathematics, Hebrews (Abubacher) and classicists agreed that even the great Aristotle and his successors did not comprehend mathematics. Reuchlin here has:-

כי הלמודים לא נשלמו בזמנו:

As may be seen from the following image from folio 5 recto:-

nobis attestatus antiq̃s eo sæculo etiã usq̃ Ari stotelis post, tempora
nō plene Mathe, matica sciuisse, Ait em̃ sic **כי הלמודים לא**
נשלמו בזמנו i. q̃ Mathematica scientiæ non erant tempore
Aristotelis perfectæ, cum igitur, ut Salomon inquit, cunctæ res sint diffi

essences, without movement and without ceasing, by their nature and of their will send forth and produce rays in perfect conformity with themselves, which are angelic, mathematical and natural, united and joined together without confusion, without mixture, which we call Composed Numbers.¹ Thus after the number Most Simple² and the Simple numbers³ it is appropriate to tell you of these Composed ones which are those whose units are derived by composition. The Composed Numbers are separated and divided into four, that is to say into Virginals,⁴ Masculines,⁵ Feminines⁶ and Adulterated ones.⁷ The virginal numbers are grouped into three, that is to say, into two quaternaries of which the first is called Power.⁸ The second is Cumulative.⁹ And thirdly in a seven celibate and virginal.¹⁰ The quaternary Power is the invisible, imperceptible and virtuous efflux and accords with the four hierarchies, which are the four highest orders, that is to say with the hierarchy of Seraphin,¹¹ Cherubin,¹² Throne¹³ and Power.¹⁴ For from the Seraphin you are to see how

folio 111 verso

from the Orient emanates and descends a spiritual ray which is called Corruscante Light,¹⁵ which comes in a circular and round manner towards the South and there it is joined to the unity and to the ray which is produced by the first Cherubic unity which is called Demonstrative Providence¹⁶ and the light is strengthened there and then is sent to the West where it joins itself with the ray and efflux from the Thronal unity¹⁷ which is called Equal information¹⁸ and this light is tempered there so that it becomes susceptible to formal form.

¹ *les nombres composez.*

² *le nombre tressimple.*

³ *les simples.*

⁴ *virginalx.*

⁵ *masculins.*

⁶ *feminins.*

⁷ *adulteres.*

⁸ *Puissant.*

⁹ *Cumulatif.*

¹⁰ *ung sept celibe et virginal.*

¹¹ *Seraphin.*

¹² *Cherubin.*

¹³ *Trosne.*

¹⁴ *Poteste.*

¹⁵ *Corruscante lueur.*

¹⁶ *Providence demonstrative.*

¹⁷ *unite thronique.*

¹⁸ *Egale informacion.*

Then it is returned to the ray of the first Power, which is called Conservation of the unformed thing¹ which orbitally is like in form to a circle or sphere sent back to the primary and oriental source, which is Corruscant light, and this is how the plurality returns to its first unity. These virtuous and most powerful effluxes are never joined or united to bodies, nor to corporeal things, but they are received by the second quaternary. The second Cumulative quaternary is the active and virtuous efflux of the four first angelic virtues, which join themselves to the efflux of the quaternary Power mentioned above which receives these virtues then goes in a circular and spherical manner from the East passing through the South to the West and then to the North and finally returns to the East. These two effluxes united, joined and fortified are never joined or united with bodies, but are sent to archangels and angels which move the heavens into which they are fused. Therefore the first intelligence of the angelic virtues receives as if from the Orient the corruscant light of the first Seraphin and by its radiant effluxes these reverberations increase so that from two is made the first unity of this quaternary, which is called Virtuous Irradiation² and this is the first door of invisible light by which all things are disposed towards generations and productions. This is sent to the second angel of the Virtues in the South which receives it and there it is strengthened for it receives in its rays Demonstrative Providence³ from the Cherubin and there it is united as well as strengthened and augmented so it is said to be and is called Deliberation Sign⁴ and here things inclined to generation

folio 112 recto

increase invisibly. The third virtuous unity, which is where the West receives the above mentioned sign of liberation, increases (due as much to its radiant efflux as to those from the thronal and superior intelligence which it receives) in itself, so that this third unity which is joined there is called Confirmation⁵ which tempers, corroborates, conserves and keeps in place things engendered which have grown up to their due height⁶ and growth. Then they send back

¹*Conservacion de la chose informee.*

²*Irradiacion vertueuse.*

³*la providence demonstrative.*

⁴*signee deliberacion.*

⁵*Confirmacion.*

⁶Latin *proceritas* a high growth, height, tallness. C. Lewis and C. Short, *op. cit.*, p. 1451 b.

the whole to the fourth unity of the angelic virtue, which is in Aquilon¹ or Septentrion which increases all of them as much by its rays as by those of the Power² which it receives, so that this fourth unity is called Consummation.³ So it is that these eight intelligences, that is to say the first Seraphin, Cherubin, Throne, Power and the four angelic cardinal virtues, have their foundation upon a quadrangle, which is made of eight triangles or points, so that the four lower or base ones are enclosed and shut within the superior ones. And all of these, like others in their heavens, are never joined to bodies. But just as many a parent, desirous of leading the celibate and contemplative life, marry off their children and hand over to them the administration of their goods and worldly affairs so also the eight above-mentioned intelligences, by virtuous and mental aspiration and illumination, despatch their wishes and radiant spirits in like manner into the lower and corporeal things in marital intelligence so that they may the more contemplate more and more the blessed trinity. And these angelic intelligences together with the archangels wearing robes of clear and radiant light are married and joined in the heavens which they govern and rule by the means of which all that is here below in the elementary world takes place. One should however note that the person who wishes to descend, or to pass from God into the soul and from the soul into God, must pass by the angels. But the person who wishes to descend or ascend to God on earth or in the elements must pass by the heavens. The above mentioned quaternaries together with the four married ones and the disposition of the heavens is given in the following figure.

folio 112 verso

Treatise vi How the angelic world governs the celestial⁴

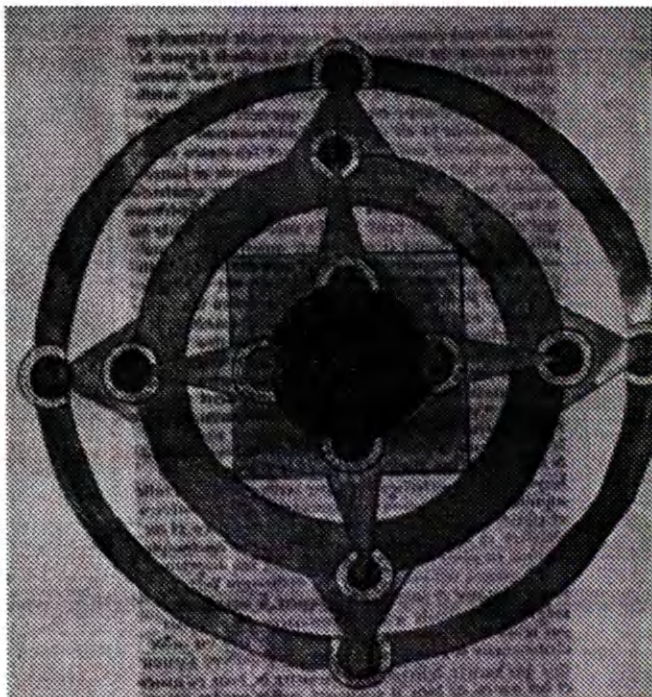
¹ French *L'aquilon*, the North wind, from Latin *aquilo*, possibly from *aqua* bringing wet weather, or from *aquilus*, dark as bringing lowering and stormy weather, literally the North wind and by extension the North.

Thenaud had made use of Rabanus Maurus' *Figura* about the wind, but does not exploit the connection with *aquilon*.

² *poteste*.

³ *Consummacion*.

⁴ This is a thumbnail image. For a colour image see End Image folio 112 verso.



End Image folio 112 verso.

folio 113 recto

Concerning the virginal septenary which receives the influx of the quaternaries.

Second chapter

The virginal or celibate septenary is made up of the princes of the seven first orders of the angelic heaven. For under the seven hierarchies are seven princes in whom all the infinite multitude of the order is united and accumulated. And the seven princes are in three angelic units. These three make up a triangle so that they may better conform themselves to the glorious and blessed trinity; from these three is produced the ray and marvellous efflux of the complete order which is sent to the final and lowest ternary of the cumulative virtues and from these virtues it is sent straight away and transmitted to the archangels and angels of the seven planets. This conjunction and reduction of many into seven from seven into three and thence into one triangle shows forth its supreme activity and perfection. For we see that the things which are joined and united are far more virtuous than those that are separate. Example:- the army which is united is more powerful than one that is divided. Likewise for fire, as well as for the sun whose power is greater than that of all the planets. The first radiant efflux which proceeds from the first triangle of the three unities is called Seraphic light which is like a seed of light

full of a gentle humour¹ so that it may be preserved from dryness which is the source of the first and the source of all the inferior and lower actions and acts. The second radiant efflux, which produces the cherubic discretion, is called Determination from the above mentioned seminal light and acts so as to produce divers effects which by means of tempered warmth treat it as if it were like a seed which wants to emerge. The third which issues and comes from the thronal force is fortification and strength; this is from the above mentioned determined and distinct light which disposes it to ardour. The fourth is from the Potestative action which according to the diversity of forms and sovereign examples inclines the above mentioned determined light to warmth and dryness; perfective light causes generations. The fifth, which flows from the shining beauty of the princes, paints and ornaments with the different figures and paintings all essences in this diversity and proportion

folio 113 verso

which the beauty of the universal requires of it. For (according to the Arithmeticians) the above mentioned dry heat would perish if it were not maintained by the humidity which the princes irradiate as is the case for the fruit in the maternal womb. The sixth efflux of the Dominations gives, by its imperceptible and hasty movement and by Mercury, visibility to all things invisible. And just as this impetuous movement, which is the cause of created light, would extinguish and suffocate by its ardour the created forms it emanates and engenders, from the virtues, which are like the moon of the angelic world, a coldness (in as far as this world can bear the term) which moderates and tempers this ardour; thus the multitude of forms is conserved, established and permanently joined to its term and period. And it is not necessary to imagine that these things are in a particular place or in the angelic world any more than qualities, which are things appertaining to corruptible bodies, are in these angelic units but only give rise to aspirations and effluxes which, on account of their spiritual spirituality, cannot be understood or named by us, for they work in the spirits of bodies and in those celestial lights which I have described to you as married and conjoined intelligences. I know that no one has imagined this total cumulation of forms to be on the first mobile, for the above mentioned qualities are found in the elements or in the elemental things in innumerable

¹ *doux humeur.*

diversities and proportions which constitute the celestial bodies. For never is a purely spiritual thing joined or united to the corporeal and it cannot affect it without some means which belongs to and which participates in the nature of the two extremes. Thus is the soul united to the body; that is to say it is united by the humours, blood, warmth and spirit. These influxes therefore of the above mentioned intelligences, accumulated and united in the virtuous rays, have effect on the heavens and on the bodies of the planets. For first of all the seed of light is nourished in the heaven of Saturn by gentle humour of the planet of that heaven. But this is a very small effect. Then secondly it pauses in the heaven of Jupiter where it receives from the planet the first rays of warmth which chase away the mortal cold if any such were in this

folio 114 recto

gentle humour, so that this light may be nourished. Thirdly, in the heaven of Mars it joins itself to an ardent and dry heat which purifies Jupiter's humidity. Fourthly, its form is engendered and stamped with the luminous lamp of the sun which fifthly is informed by the temperate heat and humidity in the heaven of Venus. Sixthly the impetuous movement of Mercury gives it visible form. Finally the existence and permanence is assembled in the virtuous septenary of the Moon which by its temperate coldness conserves the things thus assembled. It therefore appears that the first source and fountain of existence and being is light¹ from which is the stream or light.² The movement of light is angelic intelligence as much on souls and spirits as in bodies; this is heaven. The perfection of light for our elementary world is the visible form. The nourishing of perfect light is humour tempered by heat. The source and fountain of humour is the exhalation of cold and that of heat is movement. The fountain of cold is immobility. And thus it appears that mobility and immobility are (after light) causes of the existence down here. And the one comes from the other. For from immobility comes exhalation and from exhalation movement and from movement warmth and warmth fortifies movement; from warmth and coldness is humid tepidity which is the nourishment of light. From this it is necessary to conclude that the immobility of the virtuous septenary,³ which is immobile and sterile in all numbers according to all philosophers, influences

¹ *lueur.*

² *lumiere.*

³ *vertueux septennier.*

the body of the moon in the form of virtual cold¹ in the same way that which is immobile in the one is cold in the others and from this comes the sterility of the one and of the other. And I know that the Moon moves itself with such debility that it can produce no heat. But merely by this selfsame movement it exhales a humour which it can despatch to Saturn by which the seed of light is watered and by which also is retrogradation of the Moon and Saturn and this seed declines if Jupiter does not regard Saturn directly. Then at the end it comes to its perfection or imperfection according to the dispositions of heavenly bodies.

folio 114 verso²

Treatise vi. How the angelic world governs the celestial.



End Image folio 114 verso.

folio 115 recto

**Declaration of the foregoing chapters and how the influx of the world
and the angelic one is reduced to a quaternary.**

Chapter three.

The conjoined, united and married numbers are divided as appears in the two preceding figures into Quaternaries and Septenaries. The Quaternaries are joined together and married to the first mobile and to the firmament in which are found the fixed stars, as the Septenaries are to the seven heavens and seven bodies of the seven planets. These Quaternaries are the efflux which

¹ *une froideur virtuelle.*

²This is a thumbnail image. For a colour image see End Image 114 verso.

the four principal units and intelligences of the archangels initiate and terminate in the heaven of the stars. The first is called the doorway of light¹ which by means of illumination and light² unites and joins the seminal and causative light of all other celestial and elementary light which is united and assembled with the seraphic splendour and virtuous irradiation in the firmament so that shadows, vacuities and whatever follows them may be chased away and thereby divine providence appears. The second is called and named meridional flame³ which by the link of Evidence⁴ augments this light. Likewise the Cherubic demonstration and virtuous deliberation have been in accord so that an end is achieved and Period is given to that united light which it will not exceed. And by this means fate is procreated and the fatal laws are ordained and established by means of which heavens, elements and elemental things are governed, as to movements, generations, conservations and corruptions. The third efflux, opposite to the first, is called occidental execution of all fates,⁵ which by the means of time, which is the measure of movement, executes and achieves that which the information of thronal intelligence and virtuous confirmation have appointed and accorded. Time, which is the link of that intelligence and of the firmament which is lead and directed by fate (which is as good as saying that the order and union of effective and productive causes of all that exists), is so joined and united in celestial and elementary things that they may never be separated from it. Time is so powerful and changeable that it changes, moves, destroys, varies, consumes and ruins all things, even such as glories,

folio 115 verso

triumphs, lives, cities, sceptres, reigns, crown, empires, deeds of reknown, lands, cities and other such things which are subject to it. Time measures light and shadows; it dispenses judgements and for this it is the seat of thronal disposition in the sovereign canton of the source of justice. The fourth and final efflux of this quaternary is called Northern Continuation of light, of fate

¹*lumiere.*

²*lueur.*

³*flambe meridionale.*

⁴*le lyan de Evidence.*

⁵*execution occidentale de toutz fatz.*

and of time,¹ which by means of Shadow,² which is its consummate and perfect link with the firmament, so acts that the conservative power³ and consummate virtue have united and are at the heart of Shadow; they share and participate between light and shadows. But there is excess of light. For shadow is never without light. From this conjugal quaternary are made up the twelve aspects, sights⁴ and tables of the sun, by which are increased and augmented the virtue of the planets, which they view according to the twelve months of the year. Also by it are divided the Spring, the Summer, Autumn and the Winter. Thus you can know how the celestial world is ruled and governed by the rays, which are the wills of the angelic intelligences, which never stray from the divine and first will. And so also precious and healing stones, like flowers or roots, emanate invisible and unknown virtues and qualities by which one is preserved from ageing, illness, bad fortune and many adversities. Also much more virtuously the heavens have and receive light, movement and their virtues and powerful effects from all causative qualities from the spiritual world. And in this way the one depends on the other in true order (as universal perfection requires) - the inferiors on the superiors. Example. The star which is in the heart of the sign of Scorpion depends and has its virtue from its intelligence, so just as it is, this star influences Mars. Under these are the demons and war lords together with certain countries. Then there are many animals, such as scorpions.⁵ Then there are herbs, such as Asterion,⁶ which is like a star and shines at night, which is of the same quality as the rose which is most beneficial for relieving the pains and ailments of the genitals. Another example.

folio 116 recto

Under the celestial sign of the serpent imagined in the ninth sphere, and figured in the eighth, is a part of Saturn where there are demons which often

¹*Continuation septentrionale de la lumiere du fat et du temps.*

²*Umbre.*

³*poteste.*

⁴*regards.*

⁵Thenaud makes no allusion to the widely held mediæval connection between scorpions and Jews. This subject is fully evaluated in M. Bulard, *Le Scorpion, symbole du peuple juif dans l'art religieux des xiv, xv et xvi siècles*, Paris, 1935.

⁶OED, p. 520 b. Asterion. *Name of a plant of doubtful identity.* Greek ἀστέριον, starry. Latin uses the word for a form of a spider; Pliny 29, 4, 27, § 86.

take the form of serpents, men serpents, the plant which is called serpentine,¹ toadstones,² and serpents tongues. Under the star Sirius belonging to the Sun are the solar demons which often appear in the form of lions or cockerels.³

¹ A name for certain plants reputed to contain an antidote to the poison of serpents. e.g. dragonwort and fenugreek. 1400 *Stockholm Med. ms* ii 651 in *Anglia* XVIII, 323. 1526 *Grete Herball* ccccx (1529) Yijj *Powdre of serpentyne put alone in to ye eye is good to clense the eye of the pynne & webbe*. OED p. 504 b.

Latin *Serpentina* c. 1200 dragonwort. R. Latham, *Revised Medieval Latin Word List from British and Irish Sources*, Oxford, 1989, p. 435 b.

² Latin *crapaudinus*, *crapodinus*, *orapondina*, toadstone in R. Latham, *op. cit.*, Oxford, 1989, p. 120 b.

³ A cock, labelled '*Ales Mercurii*', (bird of Mercury) is shown triumphing over a lion in BN. ms. lat. 8396 folio 1, as may be seen from the following image.



BN. ms. Lat. 8396 folio 1.

A-M. Lecoq, *op. cit.* p. 129.

The significance for the present study is that this manuscript of three pages not only has the cock and the lion, but is a paradigm for many of Thenaud's most prominent motifs. For instance it shows how a saintly female guide, in this case Saint Agnes, directs the splendidly attired hero (Francis, who at the time of the work - 1512 - was duc de Valois) to the source of Truth, Christ on the Cross). The facing page has a Latin text '*Francisci Ducis Regi ad Christum obsecratio*' (A Prayer to Christ, by Francis, Royal Duke). Furthermore the Bible references include one of Thenaud's favourites, Ps. lxxi '*In te Domine speravi, non confundar ...*' The third page has a Latin poem by Thenaud's fellow Poitevin and mentor, Francis

Also the solar men, various beasts such as crocodiles,¹ ostriches, swans, lions, cockerels, ravens and sea cows whose skin worn around the midriff is effective against kidney ailments and is effective against storms. Under this star and the planet of the sun are likewise many trees such as the laurel which preserves one from thunder, the palm and the ash² together with many plants even those which follow the sun which open to its light and which close at its going down; the Peony which heals and preserves one from hault-mal. Numerous stones such as *Ætites*,³ *Loeil du soleil*, the carbuncle⁴, the *Panthaure*⁵ which has in itself the virtue of all other stones and *Elytropy* which is found in the cockerel, and which makes anyone who puts it in their mouth invincible. Gold among the metals. And just as the heaven gives greater quality, virtue, efflux and degree under one same sign and planet to one rather than to another so much more here below the one rules over the other for the lion fears the cockerel, yet I know that both are solar. Iron flees magnetic material. I know that they are under the influence of the star Ursa. It appears therefore that these three worlds are as joined and united the ones to the others just as the celestial things are to the earth; but the terrestrial and the terrestrial things are of heaven; and the celestial and all celestial and elementary things are, by manner of life and idea, of the eternal divine and hidden intelligence and of the angelic realms. Moreover one is to conclude that the human spirit which is above all heavens due to its spiritual nature can, by means of fasting, prayers,

Demoulins. This poem, *Ode monocolos*, is dedicated to the welfare of the duke and his family. This small manuscript does indeed encapsulate many of Thenaud's themes.

¹'cocodril' in A. Tobler- Lommatzsch, *Alt Französische Wörterbuch*, Berlin, 1925, t. 2, p. 515.

Godefroy has *Crocodillee* - a medicine which is good for the eyes, after J. Desmouls, *Comm. de Matth.*, 1579, p. 249.

²Latin *fraxinus* in C. Lewis, and C. Short, *op. cit.*, p.778 b. Modern French *le frêne*. *Thesaurus linguæ latinæ*, Lipsius, 1926, col. 1277, t. 6.1, vol. F, has the following list of other European uses:- Italian *frassino*, Spanish, *fresno*.

³Latin *Ætites* Greek ἀετίνης appertaining to the eagle. Hence the eagle stone, a hollow nodule or pebble of argillaceous oxide of iron, having a loose nucleus, which derived its name from being fabled to be found in the eagle's nest, and to which medicinal and magical properties were ascribed.

Tobler- Lommatzsch *op. cit.*, t. 3, quotes *Echites* as *Adlerstein*, derived from *Marb. Lap. in Lapid.*, s. 53, '*Echites tiennent des plus chieres Numree entree les autres pieres.*'

⁴Latin *carbunculus*. A red toph-stone; probably comprising the ruby, carbuncle, hyacinth, garnet, etc. C. Lewis, and C. Short, *op. cit.*, p. 290 c.

French *L'escarboucle*, has the first meaning of the red stone and the second meaning is heraldic. It is used for the heraldic device of a centrally placed precious stone from which emanate eight rays. Each ray terminates in a fleur-de-lys. Curiously Thenaud does not exploit this motif, which could have been of considerable value to his theme. *Le Petit Larousse*, p.

394 b.

⁵See folio 82 verso where the *Panthaure* is credited with the properties of all precious stones.

letters,¹ sacrifices and other observances acquire such a high degree of amity and familiarity with the angels who govern

folio 116 verso

the heavens, the stars and the planets that they can divert the fatal laws and heavenly effects, soften the inevitable power of divine laws and false elements which exceed all the works of nature just as our ancient patriarchs and prophets did. But inasmuch as these matters are the most secret things in our holy Kabbalah and natural magic which you other Christians regard as superstitious and damnable, so I now make an end to revealing to you any further things concerning this celestial world.

End of the Kabbalah and of the state of the angelic or spiritual world.

¹*carathères.*

Thenaud's philosophy was firmly located in the Middle Ages.¹ To be more precise he remained, intellectually, in the age prior to 1492. The year 1492, the year of the final expulsion of the Jews from Spain, is to be regarded as a watershed.² Reuchlin acknowledged not only the significance of that year for the Jews but also the impact which those refugees made on their new hosts. At the commencement of *De Arte Cabalistica* Reuchlin had Philolaus and Marranus imploring Simon the Jew to explain to them the philosophical method of the Kabbalah. Simon and Marranus considered that the Kabbalah was something to be highly commended and desired.³ Philolaus then declared that the fame of the Jew had gone before him:-⁴

They are well aware of you in both places. About twenty-three years ago (in 5238 according to your way of calculating from the Creation), 420,000 Jews were expelled from Spain. They scattered in all directions, but some of these exiles came to us. They assured us that there was much one could learn from you in the arts. Your wide knowledge of letters, your keen mind, and useful clarity of expression, and not least your ability in the field of kabbalistic speculation, excite universal admiration. In the eyes of those who long for learning you are a guiding light.

Thenaud, who was heavily dependent on Reuchlin, expressed similar appreciation of kabbalists. Thenaud did not follow Reuchlin slavishly but diverged from him in significant ways. An example of this would be Reuchlin's use of the Pentagrammaton⁵ as the true wonder-working Word which was not followed

¹Introduction supra pp. 147-164.

²According to Hans Aarsleff 1492 marks a watershed year not only with regard to the Jewish Diaspora from Spain, but in the history of linguistic philosophy - for in the spread of the Jews from Spain the popularity of Jewish Kabbalism and its esoteric view of language influenced the thought of western Europe. H. Aarsleff, *From Locke to Saussure: Essays on the Study of Language and Intellectual History*, London, 1982, pp. 281-2.

³*De Arte Cabalistica*, folio 1 verso. *uisum est & colenda & expetenda*.

⁴M. and S. Goodman, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

⁵יהשוה

by Thénault who rather adopted Rabanus Maurus' utilisation of the form of the Cross.¹ In some respects Thénault remained rooted in a traditional Christian perception of the comparative importance of the scriptural languages; early on in his work he refers to Hebrew as the divine language, but later he notes that not only was the Vulgate as old as the Greek and Hebrew scriptures, but that it was better fitted as a vehicle of mysteries.²

The prime reason for Thénault's obscurity is that his manuscripts were not readily suited to publication. It would be wrong however to conclude that his kabbalistic work had no continuing appeal. My discovery of the late date of the watermark of the Nantes manuscript clearly indicates the interest of French scholars in the seventeenth century.³ Recent work and particularly A-M. Lecoq's important volume,⁴ have gone some way towards restoring Thénault's position in history of French literature. Lecoq's book however failed to assess the kabbalistic work of Thénault and it has been the purpose of this work to fill

1510 manuscript of *De Occulta Philosophia* adopted the Pentagrammaton direct from Reuchlin. However by the time of the 1533 second edition the three letter form of the name, *יהו* was declared to be the form of the divine name which was to be invoked. P. Béhar *op. cit.*, p. 37, suggests that the change was due to von Nettesheim's study of the fourteenth of Pico's *Conclusiones Cabalistæ*.

¹Introduction supra pp. 13,14.

²Ms. 5061 folio 60 verso and 61 recto.

Les lettres grecques latines degipte ou darabie ont este inuencions dhommes ou de femmes si comme des phenices de Cadmus de Ysis oy de Nycostrate mais les lettres hebraïques (esquelles est

folio 61 recto

contenu et comprins celluy langage dont dieu et ses anges ont parle a Adam a Noe Abraham Moyse a tous les patriarches prophetes et saints des la creacion du monde et qui plus est par lequel il crea diuisa et orna la machine mondiale et dont noz peres ont use sont si tressainctes quelles doibuent estre adorees et les dictions noms et oracions saintes composees par icelles ne doibuent mye estre transmues en aultre langue affin quelle ne perdent leurs puissances et diuines vertuz qui leur sont adioinctes

Ms. 5061 folio 103 recto:-

Les susdictes figures latines sont prinses du sus nomme Maure que lay translatees selonc la doctrine de simplicité pour monstrier qu'es escriptures latines qui sont autant antiques que les hebraïques ou grecques est autant et plus de mistere que les susdictes.

The enduring adhesion of the Roman Catholic church to 'the authentic Latin' has been noted above in connection with Gregory Martin. See Introduction supra pp. 20-30, especially n. 2, p. 24.

³Introduction p. 54 ff., where it is dated in the second quarter of the seventeenth century.

⁴*François I^{er} imaginaire Symbolique & politique à l'aube de la Renaissance française*, Paris, 1987.

this lacuna. This study has indicated that Thenaud was an innovative writer who skilfully adapted his sources so as to present his view of the Kabbalah for his royal reader. Unwittingly Thenaud recorded Hebrew kabbalistic material concerning the distribution of the 37 groups of endings of the names of the 72 angels.¹ He also had access to Jewish kabbalistic sources previously unrecorded in Christian circles.²

¹Introduction p. 104 ff..

²Introduction p. 136 ff..

A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF JEAN THENAUD'S
Kabbalistic Manuscript
Arsenal ms. 5061

Ian Russell CHRISTIE-MILLER BA (Hons.)

PhD Submission

School of Oriental and African Studies

Volume 2



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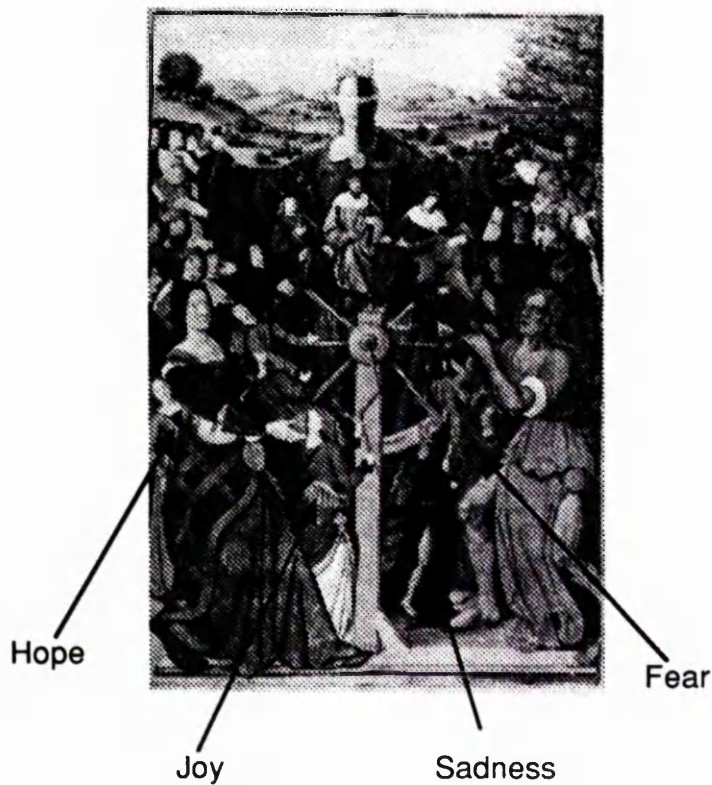
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It has been shown in this study that Thenaud took as his starting point for the various discourses in ms. 5061 material which was already familiar to Francis and his family. It will now be shown that Thenaud used this same method with the four aspects of Fortune, viz. *Joie* (Joy), *Douleur* (Sadness), *Espérance* (Hope) and *Crainte* (Fear). Furthermore Thenaud's references to the good fortune of Francis (and the house of Angoulême) would immediately have been contrasted with the ill fortune of his predecessor Louis XII (and thus all the Valois) who had died without a male heir in 1515. Louis himself, as we shall now describe, had been made aware of these four aspects of Fortune and so had Francis' mother, Louise de Savoie.

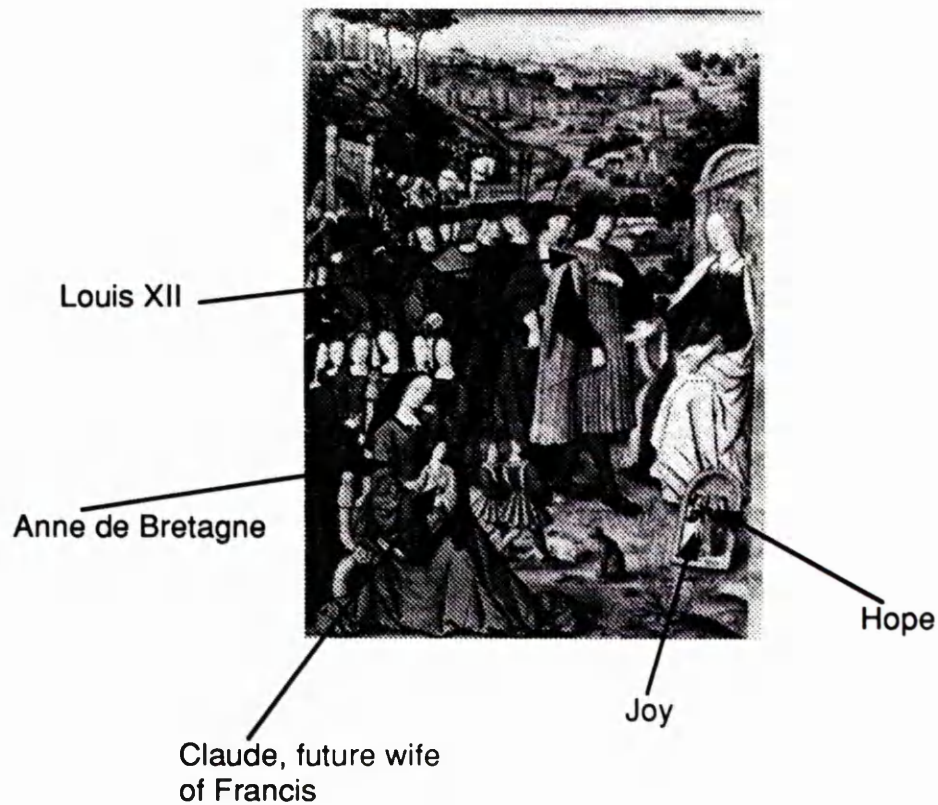
The work which informed Louis of the effects of Fortune is a manuscript from Rouen which was presented to him in 1503 or 1504 and which was retained in the royal library (BN. Fr. 225). As may be seen from the following image, *Fortune*, between *Prospérité* and *Adversité*, dispenses good fortune to the ecclesiastics, the royalty and to the citizens on the left of the picture but dispenses ill fortune to those on the right. The king himself is at top dead-centre. The positions of Joy, Sadness, Hope and Fear are indicated.



BN ms. Fr. 225 folio 1

The entire work is derived from Petrarch's *Remedies* which dwelt upon the consequences of having a male heir. For Louis this topic was pointed, personal and hard for he had no male heir. (Petrarch, who favoured either an elected monarch or a republic, did however point out the drawbacks of having a male heir, such as the possibility that such a successor might turn out to be evil. Furthermore the birth and education of a male heir could distract the King from caring for his real 'child' - his people. Such considerations were cold comfort for Louis in his declining years.)

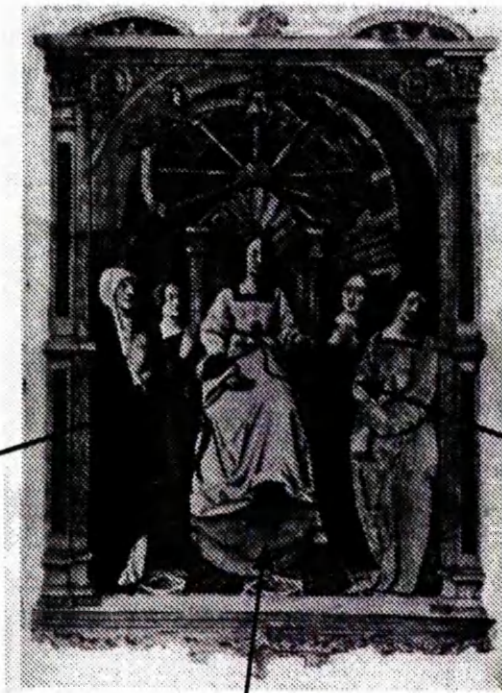
The following image from the same ms. Fr. 225 shows a despondent Louis approaching Reason, at the right. At her feet is a painting which depicts Joy and Hope.



Petrarch, *Remedies*
BN. ms. Fr. 225, folio 165

The work which informed Louise de Savoie, the mother of Francis, of the effects of Fortune was a copy of this work. It also originated in Rouen and was presented to Louise in 1503. (At which time her son Francis was seven). The following image shows Fortune surrounded by Hope, Joy, Sadness and Fear.

Hope and Joy



Fear and Sadness

Fortune

BN. ms. Fr. 224 folio 2
Petrarch, *Remedies*

It can therefore be concluded that when Thenaud produced Arsenal ms. 5061 some eighteen years later, by which time Francis was married to Claude, and when his mother Louise still had ten years of life ahead of her, the imagery described above would not have been forgotten and the wheel of Fortune would be recognised as turning decisively in favour of the house of Angoulême.

Geneva ms. Fr. 167 folio 144 recto introduces Treatise 4 chapter five 'How Hebrew letters signify four things ...' and follows the Arsenal ms. 5061 closely until the point at which the Hebrew alphabet was given. Thereafter ms. Fr. 167 inserts five pages which are given below in translation with appropriate images included.

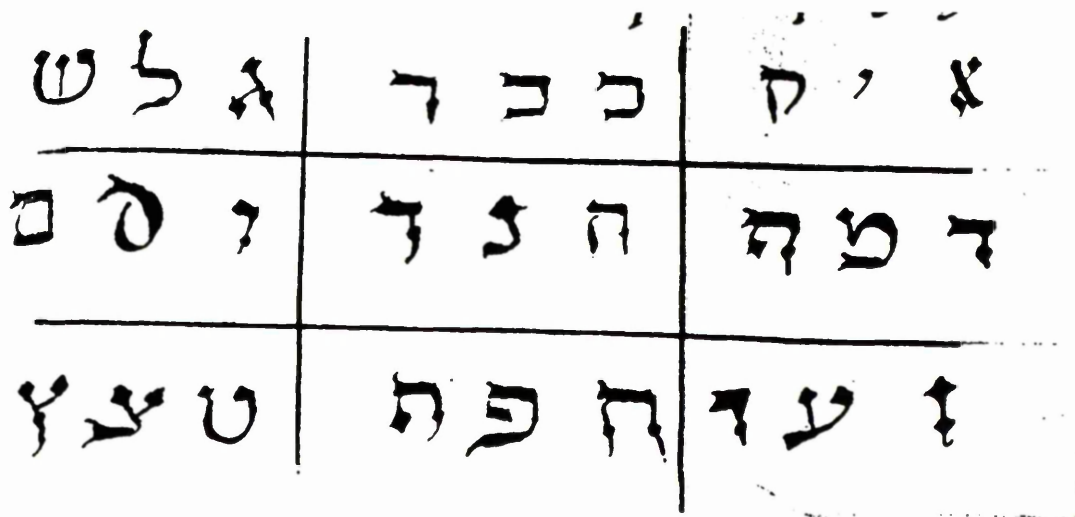
These extra pages show that by 1536 Thenaud had more knowledge of the cryptographic potential of Hebrew than was evident from Arsenal ms. 5061.

Folio 144 verso:-

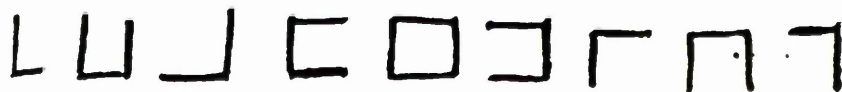
These letters are still in use. They are attributed to Ezra and are divided into three classes as is evident above. For in each line there are nine letters. These three classes are divided into nine Chambers made and formed by the intersection of four

folio 145 recto

straight lines parallel and similar to those given below:-



These nine separate Chambers constitute nine figures as follows:-



And the shapes¹ of the Chambers are characters of their letters

¹figures.

which are denoted by two or three points. For one point signifies the first letter of a Chamber. Two signifies the second and three the third. Example. When one wishes to write Michael as it is



written in Hebrew, when it is abbreviated it may be

done so in five letters as follows



which may be abbreviated into three as follows



which is as if I wrote in Latin



folio 145 verso

There is another manner for giving characters which God or the angels has revealed to men, which have marvellous powers and effects by means of their numinosity and spirituality, which are unknown to us. These were, among others, the four signs revealed below. The first was revealed to Antiochus Sother. This was in the form of a pentacle² which had five angles. This turned into letters became the Greek³ which is to say Health in virtue and

¹Under the word "latin" there is a further figure as shown below:-

in latin-



²penthacule.

³The image available is difficult to decipher. It is taken from the right hand margin and is as End Note Geneva ms. Fr. 167 Insertion Divine Characters page 2

trust in this sign.¹ He achieved most glorious victories over his enemies. The second sign was revealed to the famous Judaeus Macchabeus when he went to war with Antiochus Eupater, by the virtue of which he defeated first of all fourteen thousand armed men, and then thirty-five thousand. This sign is representative of the divine name of four letters and symbol, by numerical means, of the seventy-two letter holy name of God,

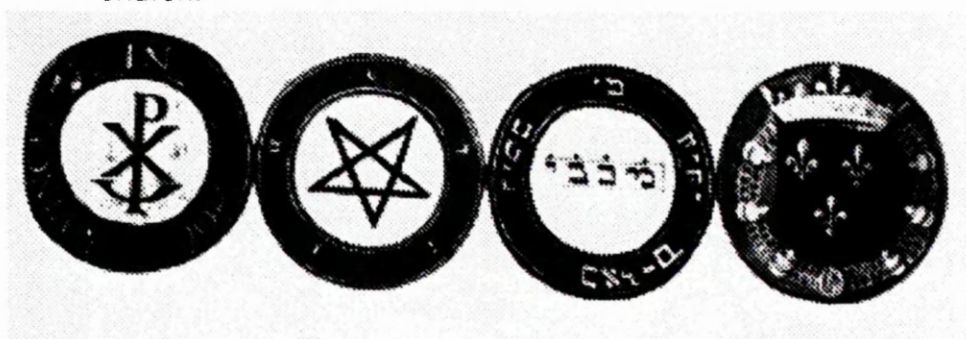


whose Hebrew expression is

which in Latin means *Quis sicut tu in fortibus Tetragrame*. By means of this symbol the above mentioned Judas, surnamed Hasmonean,² got the name of Macchabee.³ The other and the third character was divinely given to the Emperor

folio 146 recto

Constantine, which some say was the sign of the cross. The fourth and final was given by God by the mystery of a good angel to the most illustrious and famous Kings of France, which is the fleur de lys of gold on a field of azure, which renders the French invincible if they use it for holy purposes with good faith, courage, magnanimity and fervent faith towards God and his church.



Porphyry has written in his book of Responses that the gods and

follows:-

grecque

¹ *Sante en la vertu & fiance de cestuy signacle.*

² *Asmonay.*

³ *Machabe.*

goddesses have revealed to men the means, the prayers, sacrifices and images which are agreeable to them and the ceremonies by which propitiation may be made. Also the goddess Hecate¹ revealed how one was to make her simulacrum² and to cover it with small berries³ and before it one was to place a number of domestic rats as well as to burn myrrh storax⁴ and other things. The oracle was as follows. Quale michi facias simulacrum aduerte docebo. Silvestri Cape nata loco atque absinthia circum Ponito tamen totum celato & pingito mures Qui soleant habitare domos, pulcherrima sunt Hec ornamenta atque animo gratissima nostro. Tum myrham Thustyracem ipsorumque cruorem

Conterito pariter murum sacra desuper inde

Verba cane, & tot vero adhibe muresque repone

Quot mihi tu esse vides formas: tu sumito laurum

Exque eius trunco vaginam aptato piasque

Tunc effunde preces simulachro & debita solve

Vota hec si facias persompnum meque videbis

Thus in olden times Devils, Cacodemons⁵ and evil spirits sought to deceive humans by whom they wanted to be adored; I know that they were unable to do them anything but evil and harm. They could be easily expelled, cast out and proscribed entirely and their malice could be discovered by means of holy words, by sacraments, by blessed water, exorcisms, special prayers, by

¹ In Greek mythology, Hecate Ἑκάτη was a goddess of the underworld and an attendant of Persephone. She was the only descendant of the Titans to retain her powers after the defeat of the Titans by Zeus, whose special favor she enjoyed. Accompanied by baying hounds, Hecate was a terrifying figure who represented the powers of darkness and evil. She was considered the patron deity of witches and sorceresses, and secret rites associated with magic were performed at crossroads under a full moon to appease her. In later mythology, she was sometimes considered a fertility goddess who sent up crops to men from under the earth. In art, she was represented with three faces. Also OED p. 183c.

² An image of a deity to which worship is offered. OED, p. 68, a. Also found in English, such as Wyclif, 1382, I Jn. v. 21, 'Litil sones, kepe ye fro simulacris.'

³ Thénau has 'assince'. Latin *acinus* as in modern French. Obsolete form of English *acin*, *acine*. OED Vol. A, p. 79 c. Used to denote the shape of small clusters of berries and grapes.

⁴ A resinous gum, derived from *Styrax officinalis*. Greek στύραξ. OED Vol. S, p. 1033 c.

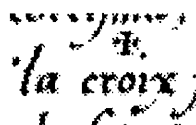
⁵ Evil geniuses. Greek κακαϊδαίμων.

the holy sign of the cross¹ according to you other Christians and by invocation of the holy name of IESUS Athanasius wrote that there is no word which they fear more than the start of the sixty-seventh psalm which starts *Exurgat deus & dissipentur inimici eius & ...*² That letters, words and scriptures have marvellous and singular virtues was proved by the Pythagoreans who say that many words and scriptures heal souls and bodies from many maladies. Orpheus, one of the Argonauts, brought peace through some verses

folio 147 recto

to a grievous and horrible tempest at sea, which I have seen a Jew accomplish. Pausanias wrote that in two cities in Lydia which was HieroCaesarea and Hypepis there were two temples dedicated to the goddess Persic and in each one of them there was an altar, and when one wanted to make a sacrifice on it one put dry wood, and then a magus came who sang certain songs, whose words he held in his hand, over that altar, and without anyone adding fire the aforementioned wood caught fire and was consumed and made a most bright and clear flame. Serenus Samonicus recounts how among other medical precepts if one wrote this name Abracadabra and all the time one reduced it by one letter at a time, starting at the final letter one would find in ten or twelve days a slackening of fever and of all other curable maladies, provided that one carried on with that motto written on a clean card.

¹Note the superscript cross:-



²NASB has Ps. lxxviii 1:-

Let God arise, let his enemies be scattered;

And let those who hate Him flee before Him.

End Note Geneva ms. Fr. 167 Insertion Divine Characters page 5

a	b	r	a	c	a	d	a	b	r	a
a	b	r	a	c	a	d	a	b	r	
a	b	r	a	c	a	d	a	b		
a	b	r	a	c	a	d	a		di	
a	b	r	a	c	a	d			que	
a	b	r	a	c	a				si	
a	b	r	a	c					ou	
a	b	r	a						en	
a	b	r							une	
a	b								exorcisee	
a	b								en	
a									la	
a									nom	
									de	
									Dieu	
									de	
									&	
									en	
									la	
									partie	
									nostre	

But the Hebrews, even Rabbi Hama in the Book of Speculations, say that one is to write on a golden plate, or with ink which has been exorcised on the first part of a clean card the four letter holy name of God as given below, and on the reverse the other holy name of God which is Araritha, as it is written on folio one hundred and eighty three.

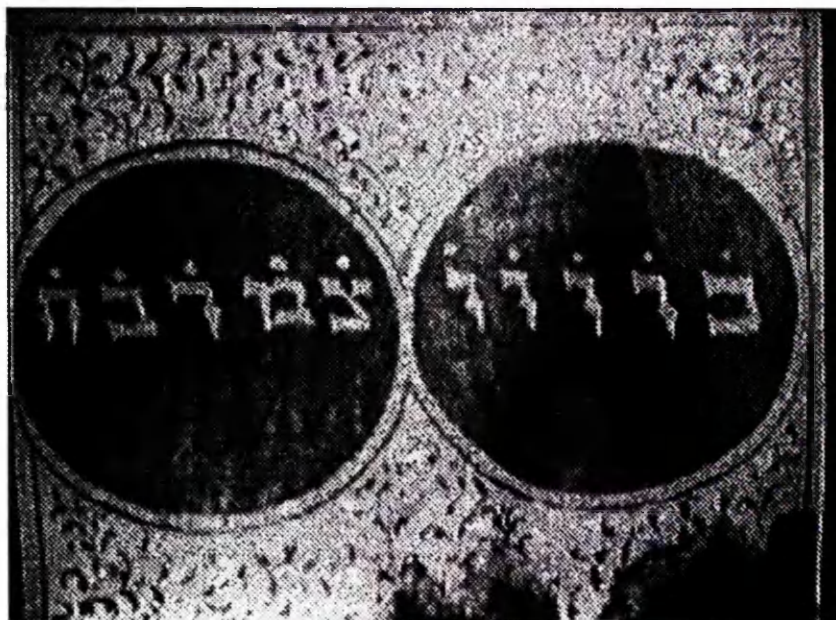
And if the above mentioned holy and sacred signs are carried in a holy pure way, then they will be effective against all maladies, adversities and troubles. If also one makes as detailed above a holy and sacred sign as described here which consists of the initial and the final letters of the five first verses of the book of Genesis,¹ which is the symbol of the creation of the world and if

¹Hebrew has Ge. 1 1 to 5:-

1:1 בְּרֵאשִׁית בָּרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶת הַשָּׁמַיִם וְאֶת הָאָרֶץ: 2 וְהָאָרֶץ
הָיְתָה תֹהוּ וָבֹהוּ וְחָשֶׁךְ עַל־פְּנֵי תְהוֹם וּרוּחַ אֱלֹהִים מְרַחֶפֶת עַל־פְּנֵי
הַמַּיִם: 3 וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים יְהי אוֹר וַיְהי־אוֹר: 4 וַיֹּרֶא אֱלֹהִים אֶת־
הָאוֹר כִּי־טוֹב וַיְבָרֶךְ אֱלֹהִים בֵּין הָאוֹר וּבֵין הַחָשֶׁךְ: 5 וַיִּקְרָא
אֱלֹהִים לְאוֹר יוֹם וְלַחֹשֶׁךְ קָרָא לַיְלָה וַיְהי־עֶרֶב וַיְהי־בֹקֶר יוֹם
אֶחָד:

As may be seen from the following image here there is an image which shows two circles side by side within a rectangle. The right hand circle is inscribed בוֹוֹי which is correct. The left hand circle is inscribed צַמְרָכָה.

one carries it on oneself in purity and if one abstains from sin, one will be preserved from all one's enemies, both invisible and visible in all places and at all times, and in battle, conflict, adversity or enmity one will rest victorious. The Psalm Qui habitat in adjutorio Altissimi¹ said in the morning, at mid-day and in the evening has exceeding great power.



The left most character ought to be the final letter of verse 5, which, as may be seen from the copy immediately above, is \aleph . Reference may also be made to the discussion in this study of the *Nezad - Nezach* question. See Treatise 4 folio 80 recto.

¹NASB has Ps. xci 1a:-

He who dwells in the shelter of the Most High ...

End Note *Geneva ms. Fr. 167 Insertion Divine Characters* page 7

Troys résolutions et sentences, c'est assavoir de l'astrologue, du poète, et du théologue, sur les grandes conjunctions, moyennes et petites qui se font ou signe de pisces. L'an mil vcc xxiiiie.

The work Vienna ms. 2645 has been attributed to Thenaud by Lecoq, and this attribution can be safely maintained.¹ It consists of three dialogues, and, typically for Thenaud, the whole is in the form of a dream. The pilgrim, again a favourite of Thenaud, encounters, in his dream, first, the astrologer, who fears the great conjunction predicted for 1524.² Then he meets the poet and the theologian (St Paul) who lay claim to having comprehended the secrets of God.

The work opens in an earthly paradise where France is likened to a garden (... *ung grant et delicieux jardin* ...) where the Fleur de lys (... *le sacre liz de france* ...) exceeds all other plants of the earth, and under whose *ombre et odeur* all the other nations of the earth which have ever been, dwell in peace and felicity. Skillfully Thenaud pictures the flowers and branches forming the two triangles made familiar in his other Kabbalistic works. He then relates this imagery not only to France, but to the royal family.³ It is especially noteworthy that the cosmology which Thenaud elsewhere attributes to the Kabbalah is

¹A-M. Lecoq, *op. cit.*, p. 403.

²Ms. 2645, folio 1 verso has:-

... *le general deluge et uniuersel cathaclisme qui deuoit infalliblement venir a son dire en lan Mil cinq cens vingt quatre. pour la grande coniunction de Saturne et Iupiter ou signe de pisces qui est signe aquee. Ensemble pour aultres maintes coniunctions.*

³Folio 3 verso:-

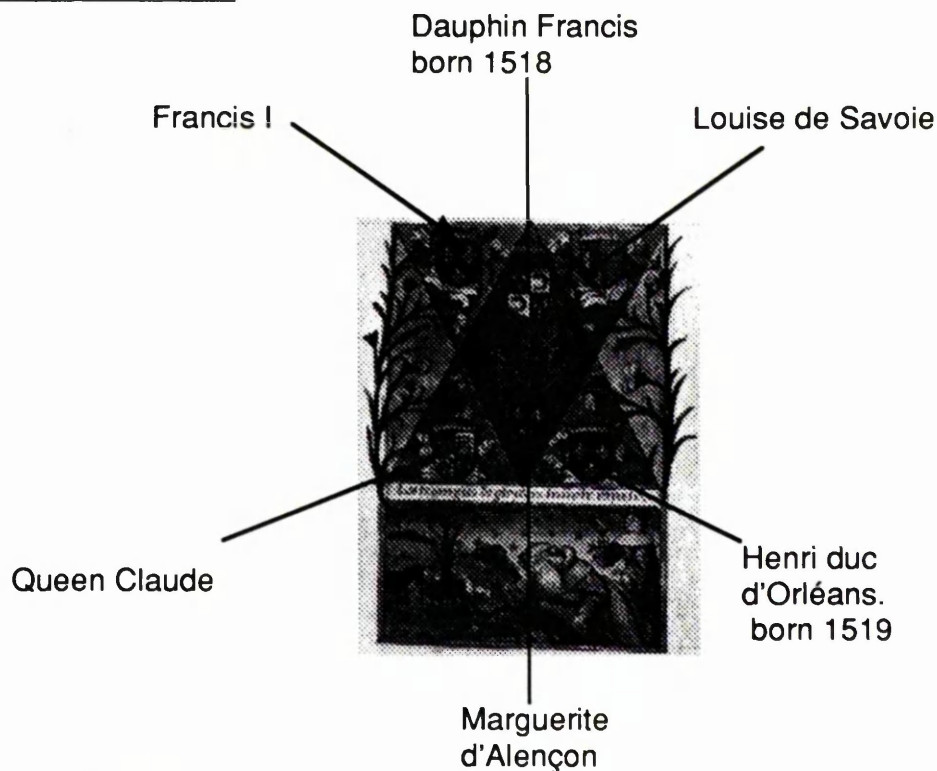
... *Je vy les fleurs et branches dudict lyz par ouuraige diuin sy tres bien entrelassees quelles faisoient deux triangles moult semblables at conformes a ceulx de gloire et triumphe qui sont es cieulx surimperiaulx esquelz estoyent six escuz de liz. Desquelz resultoit le tresparfaict plusque pur et argente quadrangle de pardurable amour et inseparable unyon royalle. Lequel quadrangle estoit semence de celestes hermynes prouidence au Roy Lepreux Arthus de bretagne.*

here related to Francis. The margin has:-⁴

*Toutes les graces et influz des mondes angelic et celestes
descendent en lesprit et corps de notre tresserenissime Auguste
et Roy francois*

The text adopts the same cosmology found in the earlier Kabbalistic works.⁵

The sleeping pilgrim rebuts the case presented by the astrologer using in the main the arguments of Agostino Nifo's *De falsa diluvii prognosticatione*. This work had appeared in December 1519 in Naples. Thenaud's use of the work illustrates his efficiency in analysing the work, and in adapting it for his own similar purposes. Thenaud also translated and used Lucian's *True Histories* and *Icaromenippus*.⁶



⁴ Folio 4 recto.

⁵ Folio 4 recto.

... les benoistz seraphins influoyent charite et grace surceleste. Les Cherubins sapience. Les throsnes equite et iustice. Les potestes magnanimite et prouesse. Les principautez foy et religion. et les dominations perseuerance et stabilite ...

⁶ Folio 14 recto opens with reference to:-

La nauigation de Iucaromenip ensembles les merueilles quil trouua tant en la
End Note *Trois Résolutions* page 2

The closing section from folio 42 relates the explanation that Saint Paul gave concerning his elevation to the third heaven, in II Corinthians xii 2-4. Paul explained⁷ that not only are there three heavens, but that they are to be understood in three different manners.⁸ Significantly for the present study it is the final description that rehearses the cosmology that Thénau regards as Kabbalistic.⁹ He presented Saint Paul as recognizing the three worlds of the Elementary, the Celestial and the Angelic. Paul acknowledged Gamaliel as his teacher, as well as acknowledging the Kabbalists as authoritative. This is a tantalising glimpse of the approach that Thénau undoubtedly took in his lost work on the letters of St Paul.

The extent to which Thénau has maintained the Kabbalistic cosmology emerges from folios 47 onwards. Thus in the first heaven God is in his creatures, and in creatures there are nine heavens.¹⁰ In the second, all things are in God, and live in God.¹¹ In the third heaven God is in himself incomprehensible.¹² The strictly hierarchical nature of his cosmology is summarized in the penultimate comment which has:-¹³

mer que es Isles. ...

Folio 33 recto has:-

Ici commence le voyage celeste de lucaromenip.

⁷ Folio 45 recto.

⁸ Folio 45 recto has margin:-

Les trois cieulx esquelz saint pol fut rauy se entendent en plusieurs facons.

⁹ Folio 46 recto:-

... Ou ces troys cieulx te signiferoit les troys mondes qui sont lelementaire le celeste et langelic. Desquels as sceu maintz secretz par mon precepteur gamaliel et par les cabalistes. ...

¹⁰ Folio 50 verso to 51 recto.

¹¹ Folio 51 recto to 52 verso.

¹² Folio 53 recto interestingly has "soymesmes", and the text "luyemesmes".

uel ie by
luyemesmes
cōprendre

ou .3^e. ciel. dieu
est en soy mesmes
incomprehensible.

¹³ Folio 54 verso.

*Les cieulx Les elemens ensemble toutes choses celestes et
elementaires obeissent au vouloir des saintz et des benoistz
anges qui sont obeissans a cil de dieu*

The closing remarks which Thenaud puts in the mouth of Paul, (who addresses the pilgrim as *Imbecille pelerin*) describe the manner in which one may be preserved from the flood and from the evil effects of planets, heavens and stars, and, typically for Thenaud, include a plea for prayer for Francis, who has been *supercelestially given on the first day of Janus*.¹⁴

The conclusion to be drawn from this assessment of Vienna ms. 2645 is that Thenaud's cosmology was the driving force behind this work, and that he regarded his cosmology as Kabbalistically valid.

¹⁴ Folio 57 verso:-

Supercelestement donne ou premier jour de Janus ...

Pseaulmes troys

The three psalms¹ specified by Thenaud in ms. 5061 folio 73 verso and folio 74 recto also appear in his earlier Kabbalistic work, BN ms. Fr. 882, where they are prescribed for the benefit of Francis. They are also prescribed for the same purpose in the treatise on 'Force' in *Triumphes des Vertuz*.² The relevant lines from BN ms. Fr. 882 are given below transcribed and translated. folio 57 recto line 7

*Puis quant auras ton cœur totalement
Mys a laymer diras deuotement
Ung chascun iour entre tes oraisons
Des pseaulmes troys quen diuerses saisons
Maintz gens de bien dient en ta faueur
Mais trop meilleurs seront si par ferueur
Ils sont offerts de la bouche royalle
Pour acquerir grace tresespecialle
Exaltabo te deus est premier
Pour dieu louher et le remercier
Pour le salut de ton ame aussi bien
Et pour ce est il par singulier moyen
Tant exalte des hebreux cabalistes
Quen le disant de cueurs non ypocrittes
Par chascun iour et layant en memoire
Lon acquerra beatitude et gloire
Lautre pseaulme est pour conseruation
De ta personne a la confusion
De tes haynneux que dauid punctua
Cest Domine in virtute tua*

¹ Pss. xxix (xxx), xx (xxi) and lxxi (lxxii).

²M. Holban, *Le vrai Jean Thenaud, L'Humanisme français au début de la Renaissance*, (XIVe Colloque intern. de Tours), pp. 193-205. See also p. 195 where she says that in 1514 Thenaud wrote a work, anonymously, titled *Domine in virtute tua laetabitur rex*. She claims that the motive for the work was the January / February 1513 appearance of the *Trois soleils* and the *croix blanche*. No reference is given for this work.

End Note *Pseaulmes troys* page 1

*Letabitur rex Et puis le troysiesme
Fait impetrer enuers dieu et son presme
Presentement et pour laduenir paix
Victorieuse et durable a iamais
Tant a ton filz et trescher successeur
Comme aussi bien a ses freres et seur*

folio 57 verso

*En le disant de bonne intention
Et est nomme Deus iudicium
tuum regi da plain de diuins misteres
Et doys sauoir quil ny a caracteres
Arifmantiqs ny seings themanticqs
Quelconques soient fust des cabalisticqs
Tant bien soient ilz regardez ou portez
Qui donnent plus de eurs et felicitez
Ne plus despoir que les pseaulmes susditz
Desquelz dauid faisoit son paradis*

...

folio 57 recto

*Then when you have your heart totally
Directed to love you will say with devotion
Every single day among your prayers
Three Psalms, which in divers seasons
Many a good man may say in your favour
But which are far better if with fervour
They are offered by the royal mouth
So as to acquire a very special grace
Exaltabo te deus¹ is the first
To praise God, and to thank him*

¹ Vulgate has Ps. xxix 2:-

Exaltabo te, Domine, quoniam suscepisti me, nec delectasti inimicos meos super me.

NASB has Ps. xxx 1:-

I will extol Thee, O LORD, for Thou, hast lifted me up,

And hast not let my enemies rejoice over me.

End Note *Pseaulmes troys* page 2

*For the salvation of your soul as well
 And for this it is by singular means
 Greatly exalted by the Hebrew Kabbalists
 When said from non hypocritical hearts
 Each day and holding the same in memory
 So one acquires beatitude and glory
 The other Psalm is for conservation
 Of your person from confusion
 Of those who hate you which David gave
 As Domine in virtute tua
 Letabitur rex¹ And then the third
 Makes one entitled before God and his entourage²
 For now and for the future peace
 Both durable and victorious for ever
 As much for his son and most dear successor
 As well as for his brothers and sister*

folio 57 verso

*In saying it with good intent
 And it is called Deus iudicium
 tuum regi da³ full of divine mysteries
 And is to know that there are no characters
 Arithmantic or signs themantic
 Whatsoever like the Kabbalistic
 So well are they regarded or held*

¹ Vulgate has Ps. xx 2:-

Domine, in virtute tua lætabitur rex, et super salutare tuum exsultabit vehementer

NASB has Ps. xxi 1:-

O LORD, in Thy strength the king will be glad,
 And in Thy salvation how greatly he will rejoice!

² Compare Thénault's ... *donner la baste a son prochain* .. (battre son prochain) (to beat one's neighbour) in *Triomphe de Prudence*, at the end of the address by St Jerome, vol. 1 Leningrad State Library Seltikov-Chtchedrine, ms. Fr. F.V.XV.I .

³ Vulgate has Ps. lxxii 2:-

Deus, iudicium tuum regi da, et iustitiam tuam filio regis;
 Judicare populum tuum in iustitia, et pauperes tuos in iudicio

NASB has Ps. lxxii 1:-

Give the king thy judgements, O God,
 And thy righteousness to the king's son.

End Note *Pseaulmes troys* page 3

*Which give such joy and felicity
Or more hope than these listed Psalms
From which David made his paradise*

...

These lines from the 1519 manuscript show that Thenaud continued in the 1521 work to make use of this selection of psalms. In ms. 5061 they were however less prominent.



Sephiroth

Thenaud only uses the word *Sephiroth* once in ms. 5061. Nevertheless the topic merits particular attention on two grounds. First the *Sephiroth* were central to Kabbalism.¹ Secondly Thenaud relates the ten *Sephiroth* to the ten names of God to which he gives considerable attention in his fourth treatise.

This note considers the uses made by Thenaud's stated sources (Pico, Reuchlin and Ricius), notes the attitude of some of Thenaud's other contemporaries and concludes with remarks on the enduring impact of the *Sephiroth*. Additional information, which concerns Rabanus Maurus and Thenaud's dependence on him in this matter, is in *End Image 109 verso*.

Pico gave a significant place to the *Sephiroth*. For instance in *Opera* I, 111 No. 48 he connected them with planets. In *Opera* I, 113 No. 66 they are connected with psychology. Pico's sources have been examined by Wirszubski²

¹The Kabbalists developed distinctive doctrines of creation and of redemption. Their doctrine of creation was built on a theory of emanations and asserted that the world derived from the transcendent and unknowable God (*En Soph*) through a series of increasingly material manifestations (*sephirot*). The manifestations were repeated, in some versions of Kabbalah, in four interlocking series or "worlds": emanation (*atzilut*), creation (*beriah*), formation (*yetzirah*), and action or making (*assiyah*). By the sin of Adam and the later sins of humankind, the immanent aspect of God, or the *Shekhinah* (divine presence), was exiled in the final *sephirah*, *malkhut* (kingdom). The sexual imagery of Kabbalah treats *Shekhinah* (the word is feminine in gender) as the female aspect of divinity; it symbolically expresses the idea of the restoration of harmony (*tikkun*) as the reunion of the male and female aspects of the divine, that is, as the reunion of divine transcendence and immanence.

²C. Wirszubski, *Pico della Mirandola's Encounter with Jewish Mysticism*, Harvard, 1989, p. 64 claims that Pico was dependent on the following for his first set of Conclusions,;- *Conclusiones Cabalisticæ numero XLVII secundum secretam doctrinam sapientiam Hebræorum Cabalistarum*, Opera Omnia Basel 1557 pp. 80-83 the following:-

Menahem Recanatli's *Commentary on the Pentateuch*.

Joseph Gicatilla's *Portæ Iustiti* cod. Chigi.

Comentum Sepher Iesire Vat. 191.

Expositio Decem Numerationum Vat. 191.

The Book Bahir Vat. 191.

Liber Combinationum Vat. 190.

Abraham Axelrad's *Corona Nominis Boni* Vat. 190.

The sources of the second set of theses *Conclusiones Cabalisticæ numero LXXI secundum opinionem propriam*, Opera Omnia Basel 1557 pp. 107-113 were the following:-
End Note *Sephiroth* Page 1

and Pico's work was the basis of Reuchlin's which was extensively used by Thénau in his 'The Practice of the Kabbalah'. In ms. 5061 this starts at folio 78 verso and deals with *The ten other names of God, which signify first his unique essence, triune in persons and his principal attributes and glorious vestments by which he shows himself and is manifested to his poor creatures; which names are reduced to one sole name which is yet more glorious, terrible and marvellous.*

This intention to concentrate on ten names and conclude with the focus on one name follows the method used by Reuchlin in *De Verbo Mirifico*.¹ It is to be noted that whereas Reuchlin did follow that intent, he diverged from it in *De Arte Cabalistica*² as did Thénau in ms. 5061. The variation that Thénau introduced was that his final focus was not on the name of Jesus as a Pentagrammaton to take the place of the Tetragrammaton. Thénau, by his use of Raban Maur's *De Laudibus Sanctæ Cruce*, puts his final focus on the cross.

Thénau relates the ten names to the ten Sephiroth which he said :-³

... are like interior and exterior emanations, or are like precious

The lost translation of Menahem Recanati's *Commentary on the Pentateuch*.

Liber Combinationum Vat. 190.

Abulafia's *Quæstiones super Decem Numerationibus*.

Liber de Radicibus.

Recanati's *Liber de Secretis Orationum*.

Abulafia's *Liber de Secretis Legis*.

¹ Sig. b 4^r.

... we ourselves are producers of marvellous works above human powers, and although at the same time constituted in nature, we hold dominion over it, and work wonders, portents and miracles which are signs of the divinity - by the one name, which I have been eager to explain to you.

² Folio 78 verso.

... All that the Kabbalists can do through the ineffable Name with the signs and characters you have just shown us, can be done in a much stronger way by faithful Christians through the effable name IESV with the sign of the Cross that belongs to it. They believe that they have much the best pronunciation of the Name of the Tetragrammaton in the name of YHSVH, the true Messiah, and to this end they cite what your people have written in Midrash Tehillim: "Rabbi Joshua ben Levi said in the name of Rabbi Pinhas ben Yair: Why do Israel pray in this world and are not heard? Because they do not know the Semhama phores, that is, the Tetragrammaton." ...

³ Ms. 5061, folio 78 verso.

End Note *Sephiroth* Page 2

ornaments, in which God is clothed, adorned and by which he makes himself known in infinite glory to the multitudes of the blessed angels, the holy saints and the reasonable spirits.

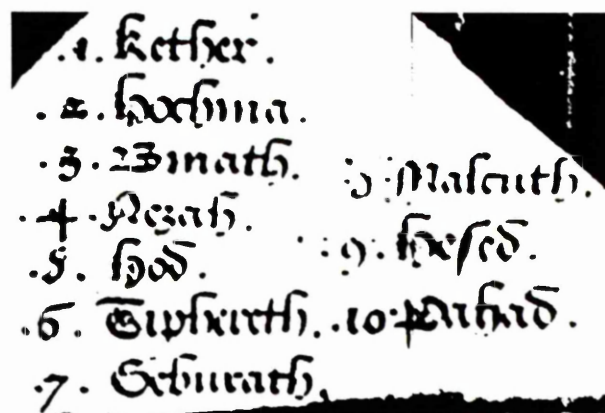
He lists them numerically as:-

1. Kether
2. Hochma
3. Binath
4. Hesed
5. Geburath
6. Tiphereth
7. Nezaḏ
8. Hod
9. Malcuth
10. Pahad

The first observation to be made is that this order is at variance with that found in Thenaud's 1519 kabbalistic work which has:-¹

1. Kether
2. Hochma
3. Binath
4. Nezaḏ
5. Hod
6. Tiphereth

1



BN. ms. Fr. 882 folio 26 verso detail.

End Note *Sephiroth* Page 3

7. Geburath
8. Malcuth
9. Hesed
10. Pahad

Comparison may also be made with the list given by Reuchlin:- ¹

1. Corona
2. Sapientia
- 3 prudentia / intelligentia
4. Clementia / bonitas
5. Grauitas / severitas
6. Ornament'
7. Triumph'
8. Confessio laudis
9. Fundamentum
10. Regnum

The most remarkable difference is that whereas Thenaud has *Malcuth* (= KINGDOM) 9 and 8, Reuchlin, as is the invariable order elsewhere, has KINGDOM (= *regnum*) at 10 . This raises the possibility that Thenaud's source was not Reuchlin's *De Arte Cabalistica*.. Furthermore Reuchlin's 9 (סוד' *fundamentum* = FOUNDATION) is not present in Thenaud's list at all. Thenaud's replacement is his 10 (*Pahad* = FEAR). The possibility that Thenaud did not use *De Arte Cabalistica* is confirmed when reference is made to folios 61 verso and 62 recto of *De Arte Cabalistica* given below. It can be seen that Reuchlin gave the Hebrew and the Latin, but not the Hebrew transcribed. Thenaud, as noted above, did use Hebrew transcriptions.

**Ex sūt decē diuina nōia q̄ nos mortales de deo cōcipim⁹, uel essentia
lia, uel p̄sonalia, uel notionalia, uel cōia, & noiantur sic כתר. i. corona,**

¹*De Arte Cabalistica* folio 61 verso, folio 62 recto.

Folio 61 verso detail.

These are the ten divine Names that form the mortal conception of God, whether they be part of his essence or attached to him specifically, and whether they be conceptual or actual. The names are: "Crown," ...

חכמה .i. sapientia בינה .i. prudētia siue itelligētia חסד .i. dēmētia
seu bonitas גבורה .i. grauitas uel eueritas נצח .i. or. nax נצח
.i. triūph. יתירה .i. cōfessio laudis יסוד .i. fūdamētū מלכות .i. regnū
Supra coronā uero ponit אין סוף .i. infinitudo, & est abyss. נ

folio 62 recto detail.

Line 1 - "Wisdom," "Prudence" or "Intelligence," "Loving Kindness"

Line 2 - or "Goodness," "Seriousness" or "Gravity," "Ornament"

Line 3 - "Triumph," "Confession, Praise," "Foundation," and "Kingdom."

Line 4 - Above the Crown is placed En Soph—"Infinity," which is the Abyss. ...

In addition it may be seen that whereas Reuchlin (correctly) had נצח (= *Nezach*) at the end of line 2 for *Triumph*, Thenaud quite clearly wrote *Nezad*:- (number 7) in ms. 5061, though ms. Fr. 882 did have *Nezah* (number 4).¹

¹

.4. Nezaḥ.

Le pere des cieulx et
Nezad qui est a di
vng magnanime.

Ms. 5061 folio 80 recto.

Nezad is repeated in the Geneva ms. folio 161 recto:-

cieulx & soleil le
Nezad . qui ^{est} a d
vng magnanime

This repeated error of *Nezad* for *Nezach* requires consideration. Thenaud also had access to Reuchlin's *De Verbo Mirifico* which has sig. d5 verso:-

BN. ms. Fr. 882 folio 26 verso detail. enlarged

End Note *Sephiroth* Page 6

te ipsa est spiritus in
gentiam. De Neçah
imum uocatis: Tri
K I -

Thenaud might therefore have been expected to have *Nezah*, though in fact he wrote *Nezad*.¹ This error clearly demonstrates the lack of Hebrew and of kabbalistic awareness of Thenaud's scribe, though it may be conjectured that he had a manuscript source in which the spelling of *Nezach* נצח appeared as נצד.

As to the use of Hebrew transcriptions it is immediately evident that Thenaud might have used *De Verbo Mirifico* which has *Kether*,² *Hochma*,³ *Binah*,⁴

¹See also End Note *Geneva ms. Fr. 167 Insertion Divine Characters* p. 7 n. 1.

²
:Kether.:

Page 58 detail enlarged.

³
Hochma

Page 58 detail enlarged.

⁴
Binah

Page 58 detail enlarged.

End Note *Sephiroth* Page 7

Neçah, *Hod*,¹ *Tiphereth*,² *geburah*,³ *Malchuth*,⁴ *Hæsed* ⁵ and *Pahad*.⁶ This order corresponds exactly to ms. Fr. 882, though there are variations in spelling. The conclusion to be drawn is that although Thenaud did use *De Verbo Mirifico* for his listing of the Sephiroth in ms. Fr. 882 variations occurred in ms. 5061.

Thenaud also quoted Ricius as a reliable authority, so it is appropriate to

¹ **Hod**

Page 58 detail enlarged.

² **Tiphereth.**

Page 59 detail enlarged.

³ **geburah.**

Page 59 detail enlarged.

⁴ **Malchuth:**

Page 59 detail enlarged.

⁵ **Hæsed.**

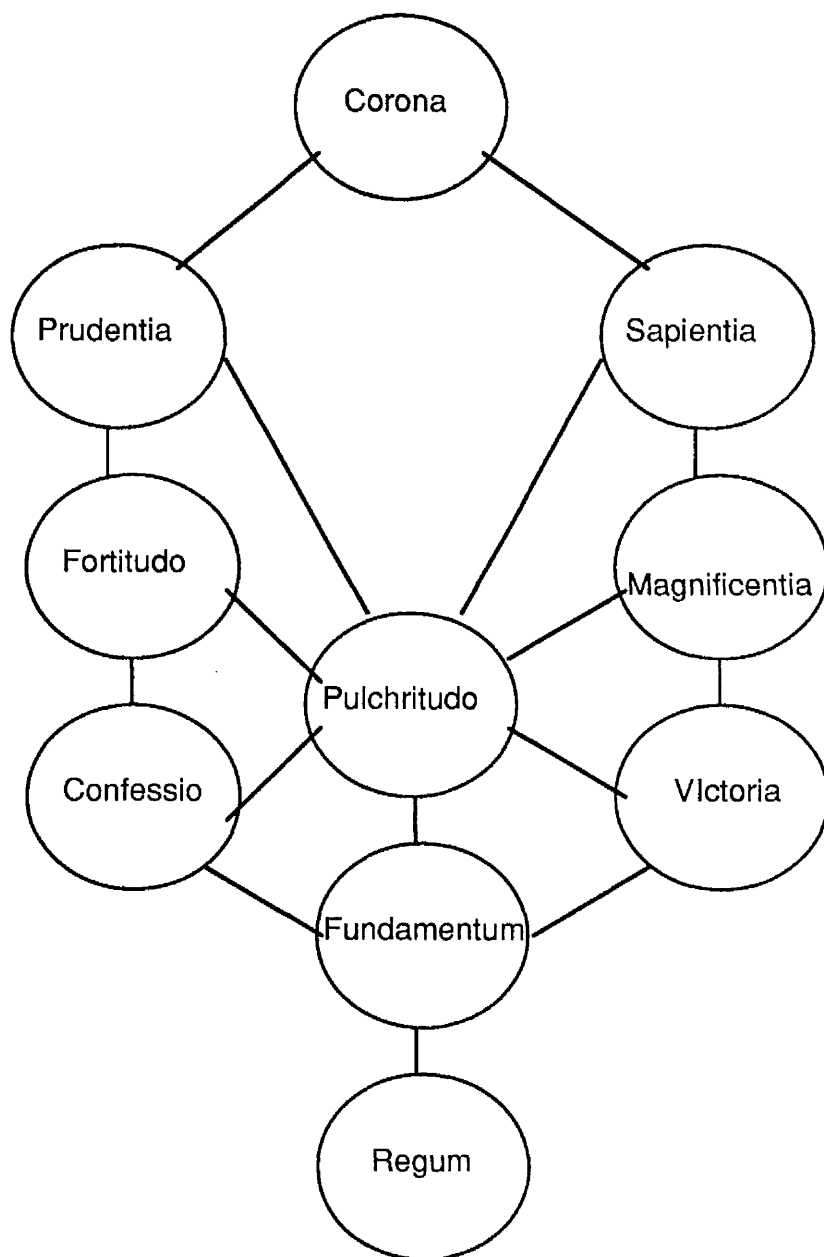
Page 59 detail enlarged.

⁶ **Pahad:**

Page 59 detail enlarged.

End Note *Sephiroth* Page 8

examine Ricius' description of the Sephiroth. In Ricius' *Portæ Lucis* there is a diagram of the Sephiroth which is copied below:-



Clearly this cannot have been the source for Thenaud's Hebrew transcriptions for several reasons. Firstly transcriptions are not given by Ricius. Secondly Ricius places *Regum* last, whereas Thenaud, as we have seen, put it in penultimate and ante-penultimate positions. Thirdly whereas Ricius has

Fundamentum (= כּוּסֵם = FOUNDATION) and does not have *Pahad* the converse is the case for Thénau. A further reason for doubting that *Portæ Lucis* was a source for Thénau is that the fourfold grouping of elements which Ricius employed was quite ignored by Thénau. This may be illustrated from Ricius' fourfold listing of variations on the Tetragrammaton, the signs of the Zodiac, the months of the Jewish year and the tribes of Israel. In the light of Thénau's lifelong interest in astrology and his appreciation of the significance of the number four, the fact that he did not employ this device of the fourfold lists is a further argument showing that he did not use Ricius here.¹

The growth in interest in Hebraica, particularly the Kabbalah, in non-Jewish circles in France in the sixteenth century included the Sephiroth. For instance Blaise de Vigenère² (1523-1596) in his *Traicté des chiffres ou secretes manieres d'ecrire*³ after stating his belief that all Hebrew characters have a double sense - one which is obvious and one which is hidden⁴ - and before passing on to acknowledge the importance of prayer in the Zohar, noted the importance of the Sephiroth.⁵

Similarly Guy Le Fèvre de la Boderie⁶ (1541-1598) in *La Galliade* makes

¹ P. Ricius, *Portæ Lucis*, Augsburg, 1516, folio LII. For example the first four are:- כּוּסֵם, Aries, Nissan, Iuda.

Reference should also be made to *End Image 109 verso* for an assessment of Rabanus Maurus' contribution to Thénau's understanding of the Sephiroth.

² De Vigenère was nominally a Catholic. In his writings, all of which date after his fiftieth birthday, he gave credit to Genébrard and to la Boderie. He had major interests in alchemy, astrology and Kabbalah. He supported the view that each world had its vulgar and its mystical partner. So for the Intelligible there was Theology / Kabbalah, for the Celestial there was Astrology / Magic and for the Elementary there was Physiology / Alchemy. He was secretary to the duke of Nevers and Secrétaire de la Chambre to Henry III. He was Ambassador to Rome in 1566. See footnote 165 page 272 in Reuchlin's *De Arte Cabalistica* tr. F. Secret, Paris, 1973. For la Boderie see Introduction supra page 32.

³ B. de Vigenère, *Traicté des chiffres ou secretes manieres d'ecrire*, Paris, 1586.

⁴ B. de Vigenère, *op. cit.*, p. 37 right margin 'Tous les chiffres Hebraïques ont double sens, l'un appert, & l'autre caché.'

⁵ B. de Vigenère, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

⁶ With his brother Nicholas he translated Pico's *Heptaplus*, and Giorgi of Venice's *De Harmonia Mundi* as *L'Harmonie du monde, divisée en trois cantiques. Oeuvre .. traduit & illustré par G. Le Fèvre de la Boderie*. Paris, 1579. Guy was the author of *Dictionarium Syro-End Note Sephiroth* Page 11

extensive use of kabbalistic allusions when relating the theory upon which that work was founded, namely that Gaul is the especially favoured depository of all true arts and sciences.¹ Notable mention is made of the ten Sephiroth in connection with Guy's theory of numbers, based on ten, and music.²

*Iadis le Chantre & Roy Profete des Hebrieux
Sur les dix Sephiroth, qui sont sur les dix Cieux,
Accorda les accords du parfait Decachorde.*

Interest in the Kabbalah among Thenaud's fellow Franciscans is well illustrated by the work of Francesco Giorgio,³ (1466-1540) one of whose works, as noted above, had been first translated into French by the above mentioned Guy Le Fèvre de la Boderie. The first French imprint of Giorgio's *De Harmonia Mundi* in Latin was in 1545, but the first Venice edition in Latin was dated 1525. This kabbalistic work is therefore later than our ms. 5061, but nevertheless shows the contemporary concern with the Sephiroth. For instance Giorgio, in his introduction, noted the parallels firstly between Pythagoras and the Kabbalists,

Chaldaicum - cum Grammatica Chaldaica Biblia Sacra, Hebraice, Chaldaice, Græce & Latine tom. 6, Paris 1569, of *L'Encyclye des secrets de l'éternité*, Paris, 1570 and with his brother was involved, at the instigation of Philippe II, with the Anvers polyglot Bible , **קדתיא**

דיתיא H KAINH ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ, 1584.

¹G. Le Fèvre de la Boderie, *La Galliade ou de la Révolution des Arts et Sciences*, Paris, 1578. For instance Cercle 4 page 77 claims that all the ancient philosophers of note were to be considered as Gauls, and that all the true arts had their source and destiny in Gaul:-

*Bref par vous Galien, Auicene, Auerrois,
Arabes, Grecs, Latins sont deuenus Gaulois
Viuez donques tousiours vous qui faites reuiure,
Presque les hommes morts & scauez si bien suiure
Les Druydes experts, honneur de nos Citez,
Que leur science & eux auez resuscitez,
Pour en Gaule fermer la rondeur de la corse
Du grand fleue des Arts qui en Gaule eut sa source.*

²Le Fèvre de la Boderie, *op. cit.*, p. 83 recto.

³Giorgio was attached to the Franciscan convent of San Francesco della Vigna in Venice. He was consulted about the legality of the divorce of Henry VIII. See British Library ms. Arundel 151 for letters on this subject.

The Venice first edition of *De harmonia mundi totius cantica tria* was in 1525.

End Note *Sephiroth* Page 12

and secondly between ten Sephiroth and the ten Aristotelian categories.¹ Later in *De Harmonia Mundi* he claimed that Luna corresponded to the hierarchy of Angels and to 'Malchuth', or the Kingdom, among the Sephiroth.² The enduring influence of Giorgio's Kabbalism has been brilliantly traced by Yates as far as Spenser's writings.³ She showed that in Giorgio's cosmology there were three worlds which influenced the little world of man.⁴ God's celestial influences were directed by means of the stars, which for Giorgio comprised the planets and the signs of the Zodiac. As to freewill, the celestial influences could only take effect if they were properly received.⁵ This cosmology is closely similar to Thenaud's.

The interest in the Sephiroth was to continue and to be developed as may be seen from the following image which is from the 1653 *Œdipi Ægyptiaci*.⁶

¹F. Giorgio, *Francisci Georgii veneti ... De harmonia mundi totius cantica tria. Cum indice ... nunc recens addito*, Paris, 1545, p. ii recto.

²F. Giorgio, *op. cit.*, French I 4 xiii, Latin 71.

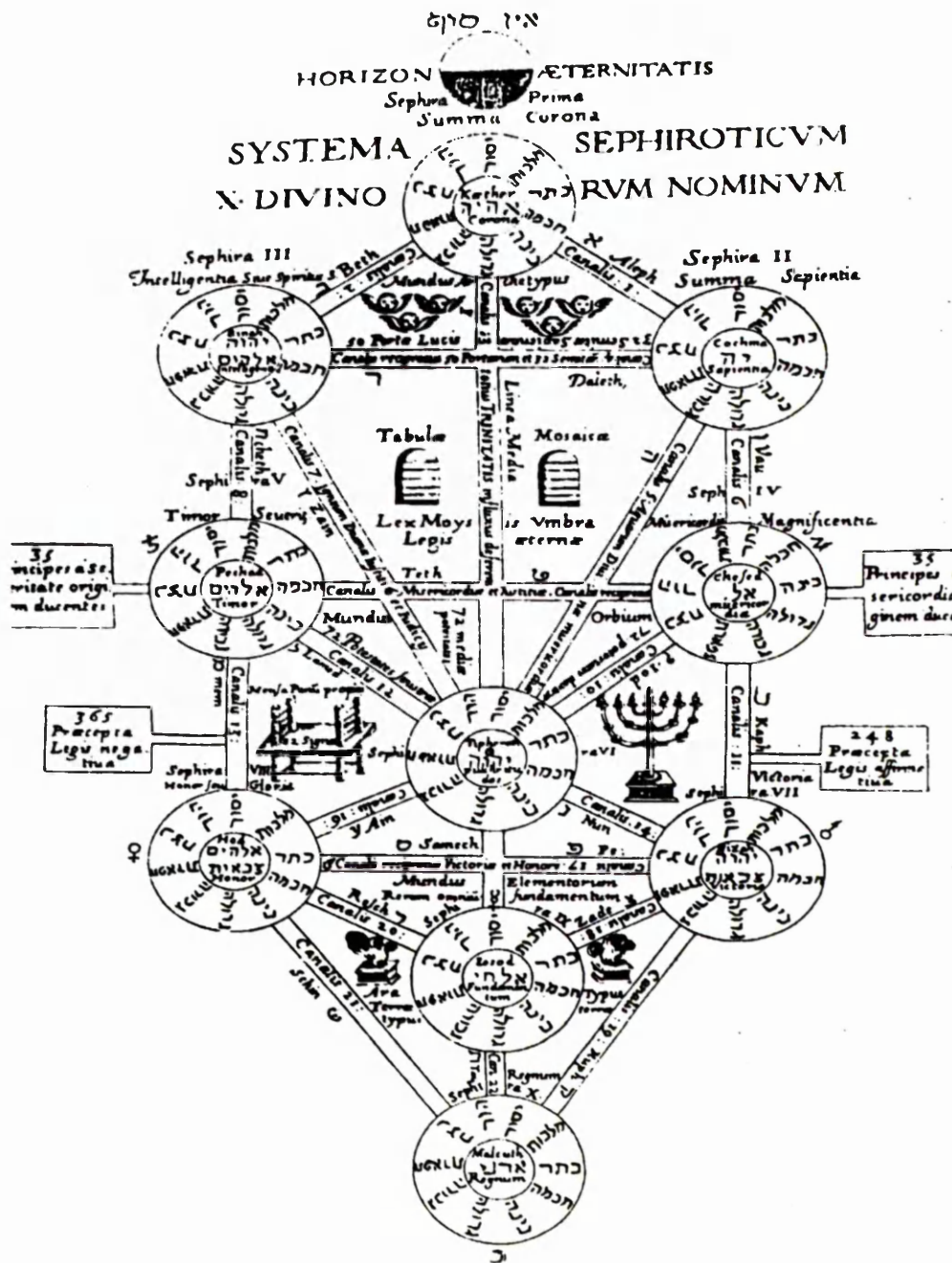
Quomodo deuique Luna coaptetur cum angelis.

³F. Yates, *Elizabethan Neoplatonism Reconsidered: Spenser and Francesco Giorgio*, London, 1977.

⁴F. Yates, *op. cit.*, p. 8 on Spenser; '...It is his grasp of the basic ideas, his understanding of the numerology of universal harmony, of the perfect templar proportions of the great world of the universe and the little world of man, which gives that Renaissance quality of harmony to Spenser's poetry.'

⁵F. Yates, *op. cit.*, p. 9, 'The three levels for Giorgi meant that the celestial influence came via the stars, which for him meant the seven planets and the signs of the Zodiac. "All the influences of the stars are good as they pour down from the divine Creator." It all depends on the reception they were given.'

⁶D. Hirst, *Hidden Riches. Traditional Symbolism from the Renaissance to Blake*, London, 1964, Diagram of the Sephiroth from A. Kircher, *Oedipi Aegyptiaci*, Rome, 1653, no page given.



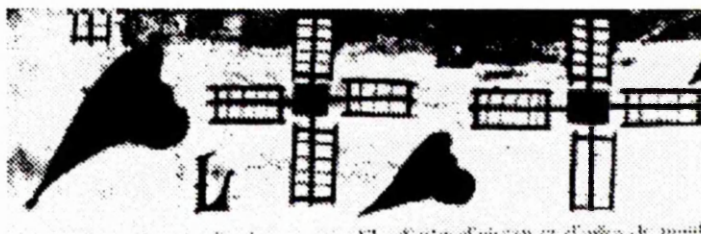
Monogramme 'F'

The image below, from ms. 5061 folio 75 recto, illustrates the manner in which Thenaud drew particular attention to the initial 'F' of Francis.

Diminucion lon y trouue vne aultre parfaite sentēce
Exemple en ces motz qui sensuyuent ~~francoys~~ par
la grace de dieu roy de france est cōteuu
par **F** la grace de dieu roy de france est cōteuu
En Claude royne de france filx et mere de roys C'est

The age of Francis was particularly rich in imagery, and this has been fully studied in Lecoq's *François I^{er}. Symbolique & politique à l'aube de la Renaissance française*. The range of images was extensive; for our purposes here it is sufficient to note that beside the initial letters of the names of the members of the royal family other popular images were the salamander, flames, fleur-de-lys, and for Louise of Savoy, wings, which were normally those of a bird, but which could even be those of a windmill.¹ These images were found in various combinations. The following image from an undated manuscript, *Pour le Roy et l'église gallicane* shows just such a mixture of images - the arms of France, the order of St Michael, the closed crown, the numerous fleur-de-lys, letters F and flames.

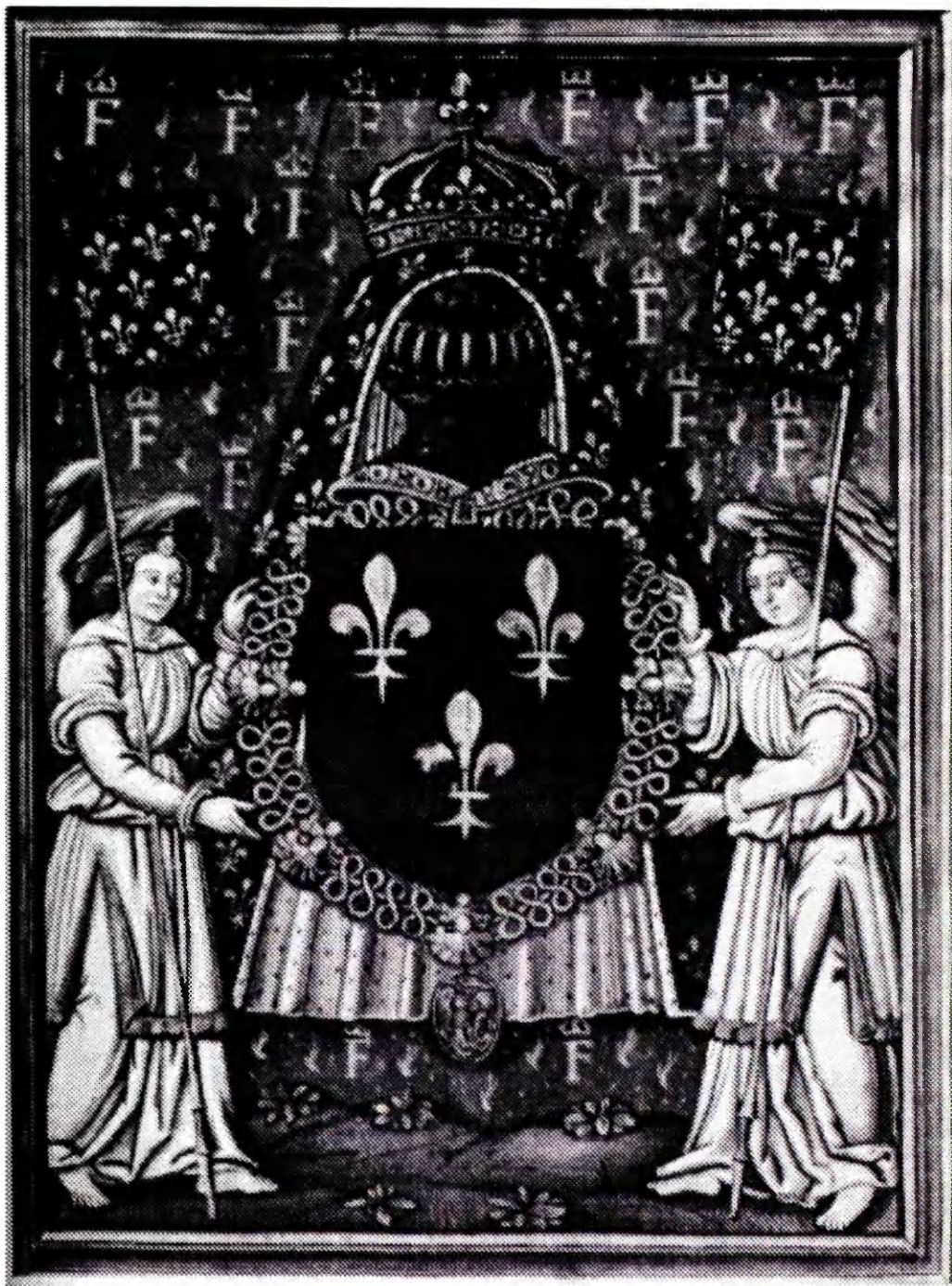
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BN ms. Fr. 873, folio 55 verso.

A-M. Lecoq, *op. cit.*, p. 471.

End Note Monogramme 'F' page 1

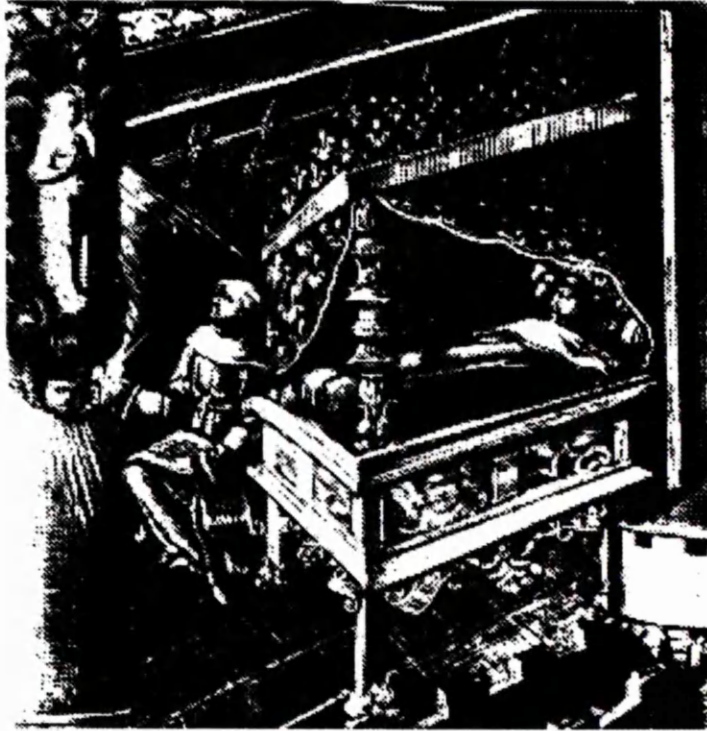


BN. ms. Fr. 5213, folio A verso.

Thenaud made considerable use of these images. The salamanders appear in ms. 5061 at the very start, with tongues of fire.¹ The salamanders appear, with the fleur-de-lys, and with the initials 'F' for François, 'L' for Louise and 'M' for

¹Folio A recto. See also *End Image folio A recto*.
End Note *Monogramme 'F'* page 2

Marguerite at the very start of ms. 882, as may be seen below.



BN. ms. Fr. 882 folio 2 reduced.

The initials "F", "L" and "M" can be seen, in the detail below, on the panelling behind the bed.



The pseudo-letter from Charles VIII to Francis, which concerned imperial succession, has also been attributed to Thenaud.¹ The detail below shows the initials 'F' and 'L' combined.

¹ A-M. Lecoq, *op. cit.*, p. 465.
End Note Monogramme 'F' page 3

In these ways our Franciscan exploited to the full every fortuitous opportunity afforded by the initial 'F'.

Fifty Doors of Intelligence

Fifty was significant in its own right and as a constituent. In its own right it was connected to the notion of Jubilee, as in Leviticus xxv, where the Sabbath of Sabbaths (7 times 7 = 49) is prominent. The mysterious connection between the Jubilee, fifty and one thousand was a topic which Thenaud had become aware of through *De Arte Cabalistica* :- ¹

These ten modes of essence and understanding, multiplied by five, are the fifty open gates by which we enter creation's secret lairs, following the clues given in the work of the six days grasped fervently by the Kabbalists. By these means it is easy to solve the ingenious difficult puzzle posed by Mirandola in his Nine Hundred Conclusions. He put it thus: "He who would know the denary number in formal arithmetic, and understand the first circular number, will know the secret of the fifty gates of intelligence, and of the great jubilee, and of the thousandth generation, and of the kingdom of all ages. "

Fifty was also significant as a constituent. When added to 22, the number of letters in the Hebrew alphabet, the result was the highly significant number 72.

Reuchlin in *De Arte Cabalistica* explained the origin and the importance of the

¹Folio 52 verso, M. and S. Goodman, *op. cit.*, p. 249.
End Note *Fifty Doors of Intelligence* page 1

fifty gates of intelligence as follows:-¹

SIMON: I don't know this thing that you choose to call Pythagoreanism. But I do know that what I have put forward so far is Kabbalah, handed down from the earliest Kabbalists, and all included in Hebrew religious Law. From this is derived the calculation of fifty gates of understanding on which so much Kabbalistic attention and effort has been focused. What Moses, the servant of God, received by divine inspiration was handed down to posterity in an interpretation by him of the nature of the universe. "Our Masters said: Fifty gates of understanding were made in the world, and all were handed down to Moses save one, for it is said, 'You have made him a little less than the gods.'"

Thenaud followed Reuchlin, though the subsequent mentions of Joshua differ. Thenaud treated Joshua as the hero who stopped the sun and the moon, divided the river Jordan, overcame thirty-one kings and shared out the holy land. Reuchlin admitted Joshua as successor to Moses, but dwelt on his inferiority:-²

The appearance of Moses was like the appearance of the sun and the appearance of Joshua was like the appearance of the moon.

¹ J. Reuchlin, *De Arte Cabalistica*. tr. M. and S. Goodman, New York, 1983, p. 247. folio 52 recto.

² Reuchlin, *op. cit.*, p.345.

End Note *Fifty Doors of Intelligence* page 2

It is to be noted that the pagination of the printed edition of the 1517 *De Arte Cabalistica*, is curious. The oddities are as follows:-

1. two folios are paginated xxi (21) and there is no folio paginated xxii (22).
2. two folios are paginated xliv (44), and there is no folio paginated xlv (45).
3. there is no folio paginated xlix (49).
4. two folios are paginated lli (52).

Bearing in mind the attention that has been drawn to the numbers 22,¹ 49 and 50 above these 'discrepancies' are highly intriguing.

What is even more striking is that the three books which constitute *De Arte Cabalistica* start on the following folios:-

Book 1 folio 1

Book 2 folio 22 (not marked)

Book 3 folio 50 verso

It therefore appears entirely probable that the pagination was "fixed" to allow Book 2 to start at the significant number 22 and to allow Book 3 to start at the significant number 50. This is a previously unrecorded aspect of the printed

¹ The significance of 22 had been exploited by Augustine and Rabanus Maurus. Augustine had organised his *City of God* into 22 books. There were 2 groups of 5 devoted to refutation, and 3 groups of 4, resembling apostolic evangelisation, given to positive argument and exposition. Rabanus similarly implied that the sum total of knowledge was contained in the 22 books of his treatise, *De Universo*.

End Note *Fifty Doors of Intelligence* page 3

edition of Reuchlin's *De Arte Cabalistica* . It furnishes a striking insight into the manner in which the importance of the numbers 22 and 50 was accorded, even though the subtle application of it has remained unnoticed.

Thenaud was probably quite unaware of the significance of the pagination of *De Arte Cabalistica* but he was fully aware of the information concerning the fifty doors of intelligence as referred to in that printed work.

Kabbalistic Sources of the 72 Angels Names

The following table gives further information on the names of the seventy-two angels. The references to M. Schwab are to the pages in *Vocabulaire de l'Angelologie d'après les manuscrits hébreux de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Archè, Via Medici, 15 Milan, 1989.

<u>no</u>	<u>poetry</u>	<u>prose</u>	<u>Schwab</u>	<u>Hebrew</u>	<u>BN ms 603</u>	<u>BN ms 835</u>	<u>Sefer Raziel</u>	<u>Remarks</u>
1	Vehuiah	Vehuiah	229	והו	19a	6b		acrostic for והוה ווה ויהוה numerically 17 והוה Qneh Binah 26a and in the same ms acrostic for והוה הצדיק ומצמק numerically 17 ב"ה Qneh Binah 27b and as a shortened form of Jehovah see also 49 below
2	Jeliel	Jeliel	260	ילי	19a	6b	25b28 a30b2 6b29a 31a	acrostic for יהבך לעד י"י numerically 50 לילב ערבה Qneh Binah 26a

3	Sitael	Sitael	309	סיט	19a	6b	25b28a30b	acrostic for סיד י"י שמו numerically 79 עדה Qneh Binah 26a
4	Elemiah	Elemiah		עלם	19a	6b	25b28a30b	acrostic for עודו לעד מקים numerically 140 וכבוד אליהו Qneh Binah 26a
5	Mahasiah	Mahasiah	279	מהש	19a	6b	25b28a30b	acrostic for מיה הוא שמו numerically 345 ללב ערבה Qneh Binah 26a
6	Jelael	Jelael	275	ללה	19a	6b	25b28a30b	acrostic for לו לבדו הממשלה numerically 65 הלל Qneh Binah 26a
7	Achaiah	Achaiah	165	אכא	19b	6b	25b28a30b	acrostic for אחד כסא אחד numerically 22 טובה Qneh Binah 26a

8	Kahethel	Cahethel	265	כהת	19b	6b	25b28a30b	acrostic for כתר הראש תפלה numerically 425 דאלאי קדישא Qneh Binah 26a
								acrostic for הדר זוהר יברה numerically 22 Qneh Binah 26b
9	Haziel	Haziel	223	הזי	19b	6b	25b28b30b	acrostic for אמרתו לדור דורים numerically 35 יהודי Qneh Binah 26b and in Amtahath Biniamin f 6a אגלא
10	Aladiach	Aladiah	168	אלד	19b	6b	25b28a30b	acrostic for לו אדיר ונדולה numerically 37 דגל Qneh Binah 26b and ibid., acrostic for לשמו אחדות ומלוכה numerically 37 להב
11	Lauiah	Lauiah	271	לאו	19b	6b	25b28a30b	

12	Hahaiah	Hahaiah	221	ההע	19b	6b	25b28a30b	Qneh Binah 26b acrostic for היה האלהים עליון numerically 80 אב מל
13	Jezaiah	Jezabel	258	יזל	19b	6b	25b28a30b	Qneh Binah 26b acrostic for יהוה זכרו לעצ numerically 47 יזל
14	Mebahel	Mebahel	277	מבה	20a	6b	25b28a30b	Qneh Binah 26b acrostic for מפואר בהור המלאכים numerically 47 יזאל

15	Hariel	Hariel	227	הרי	20a	6b	<p>acrostic for הכבוד ראש ישיבות numerically 215 אדיך</p> <p>Qneh Binah 26b lit. 'The mountains of God' This name is found in the orders of Oznian. It is to the right of the fourth door of the fourth celestial level. Zohar vol. 2, folio 252a. Cordoveros Pardes Rimmonim, I, xxiv, s. 4, folio 177 b</p>
16	Hakamiah	Hakamiah	226	הקם	20a	6b	<p>acrostic for האל קדוש מלך numerically 145 אל תנון</p> <p>Qneh Binah 26b</p>
17	Louiah	Louiah		לאו	19b	6b	<p>acrostic for לו אדיך ונדולה numerically 37 דנל</p> <p>Qneh Binah 26b and also ibid., acrostic for לשמו אחדות ומלוכה numerically 37 להב</p>

18	Calliel	Caliel	267	כלי	20a	6b	26a28a30b	<p>acrostic for כתרו לעד יתרום numerically 60 ילך Qneh Binah 26b also כליה or כלה</p> <p>acrostic for לעד ולעלם ועד numerically 42 ידידי Qneh Binah 26b</p>
19	Leuuiah	Leuuiah	273	לוי	20a	6b	26a28a30b	<p>acrostic for פאר הצדקה לבוש numerical equivalent 115 חזק Qneh Binah 26b</p>
20	Pahaliah	Pahaliah	330	פהל	20a	6b	26a 28a 30b	<p>acrostic for נסתר למעלה כבודו numerical equivalent 100 ימים Qneh Binah 26b</p>
21	Neschael	Nelchael	299	נלך	20b	6b	26a,28b,31a	<p>acrostic for יה ידוד ידיד numerical equivalent 30 יהיה Qneh Binah 26b</p>
22	Jeiaiel	Jeiaiel	259	יי	20b	6b	26a,28b,31a	<p>acrostic for מלכותו לעולמי העולמים numerical equivalent 75 נכונה Qneh Binah 26b</p>
23	Meiahel	Melahel	285	מלה	20b	6b	26a,28b,31a	

24	Haiuiah	Haiuiah	238	החז	20b	6b	26a,28b,31a	Qneh Binah 27a	<p>acrostic for חקק היצר והאב</p> <p>numerical equivalent 19</p> <p>החזק 19</p> <p>acrostic for נגד תמונתו העבודה</p> <p>numerical equivalent כלזה נפשי לישועתך</p> <p>Qneh Binah 27a</p> <p>also occurs as name derived from the interversion of the letters of a verse in Isaiah xlii</p> <p>1. ms hebr BN 770 119a</p>
25	Nithhaiah	Nithhaiah	304	נחה	20b	6b	26a,28b,32a	Qneh Binah 27a	<p>acrostic for הוס ארין האדנים</p> <p>numerical equivalent 7 ;</p> <p>Qneh Binah 27a</p> <p>acrostic for יהרין רומבו תהילה</p> <p>numerical equivalent 610</p> <p>אחרת 610</p> <p>Qneh Binah 27a</p> <p>acrostic for שמים ארין הודם</p> <p>numerical equivalent 306</p> <p>אב הרחמים</p> <p>Qneh Binah 27a</p>
26	Haaiah	ABSENT	219	האא	20b	6b	26a,28b,31a	Qneh Binah 27a	
27	Jerathel	Jerathel	263	ירת	20b	6b	26a,28b,31a	Qneh Binah 27a	
28	Seheiah	Seeiah	363	שהה	20b	6b	26a,28b,31a	Qneh Binah 27a	

29	Reiaiel	Reiaiel	359	ר"י	21a	6b	26a,28b,31a	Qneh Binah 27a	acrostic for רחב יספר ישועה numerical equivalent 220
30	Omael	Omael	158	אום	21a	6b	26a,28b,31a	Qneh Binah 27a	acrostic for אומר ועשה מלאכי numerical equivalent 47
31	Lecahel	Lecabel	274/5	לכב	21a	6b	26a,28b,31a	Qneh Binah 27a	acrostic for לנצח כבודו ברוך numerical equivalent 52
32	Vasariah	Vasariah		השר	21a	6b	26a,28b,31a	Qneh Binah 27a	acrostic for ואלפים שאני רבתי numerical equivalent 506 עליו לשבח
33	Jehuiah	Jehmah	258	יחו	21a	6b	26a,28b,31a	Qneh Binah 27a	acrostic for יחשי חבאונו וסודו numerical equivalent 24 דודי

34	Lehaiah	Lehaiah	273	להיח	21a	6b	26a,28b,31a	<p>acrostic for לעלם הוא חי</p> <p>numerical equivalent 43 Qneh Binah 27b</p> <p>Also from the introversion of letters of a verse in Isaiah xlii 1.</p> <p>ms hebr BN 770 119</p>
35	Chauakiah	Cauakiah	266	כיק	21b	6b	26a,28b,31a	<p>acrostic for כבוד ואמונה קדוש</p> <p>numerical equivalent 126 Qneh Binah 27a</p>
36	Manadel	Manadel	287	מנד	21b	6b	26a,28b,31a	<p>acrostic for מחנה נורה דירדון</p> <p>numerical equivalent 94 Qneh Binah 27a</p>

37	Aniel	Aniel	176	אני	21b,130a	6b	26a,28b,31a	BN 602 124b
38	Haamiah	Haamiah	226	חאם	21b,130a		26b,28b,31a	numerical equivalent 118
								acrostic for
								ראשון הוא עשה
								numerically 275
								ידוה מפור
								Qneh Binah 27a
								Invoked by Moses
								ben Nachmanides
								during his voyage
								to Palestine. ms
39	Rahael	Rehahel	357	רהע	21b,130a	6b	26b,28b,31a	hebr BN 602 124b

40	Jeiael	Jeiazel	259	י"ז	21b	6b	26b28b31a	acrostic for יתברך יתרום זכרו numerically 27 יך Qneh Binah 27a Invoked by Moses ben Nachmanides during his voyage to Palestine. ms hebr BN 602 124b
41	Hahael	Hahael	221	ההה	21b130a	6b	26b,28b,31a	acrostic for האל הגדול תבור הוד 15 numerically 15 Qneh Binah 27b Invoked by Moses ben Nachmanides during his voyage to Palestine. ms hebr BN 602 124b

42	Michael	Michael	283	מִיכָאֵל	22a130a	6b	26b,28b,31a	מיכאל Who is like God Daniel xii 1 Psalm cxxi 4/5 acrostic for מִי יַעֲרֹךְ כַּעֲרֹכִי numerically 70 Qneh Binah 27b Invoked by Moses ben Nachmanides during his voyage to Palestine. ms hebr BN 602 124b acrostic for וְהָיָה וְהוֹלִיל לַעֲד numerically 42 יְהוּדִי Qneh Binah 27b acrostic for יֵאָמֶר לֹ הַגְדֻלָּה numerically 45 יְהוּדָה בְּאֶחָד Qneh Binah 27b Invoked by Moses ben Nachmanides during his voyage to Palestine. ms hebr BN 602 124b
43	Veualiach	Veualiah	229	וֵאל	22a	6b	26b28b31a	
44	Jelahiah	Jelahiah	260	יֵלָה	22a100a	6b	26b28b31a	

45	Selaiah	Sealiah	305	סל	22a100a	6b	26b28b31a	<p>acrostic for סוד אדני ליראיו numerically 91 היכל יהוה Qneh Binah 27b Invoked by Moses ben Nachmanides during his voyage to Palestine. ms hebr BN 602 124b</p>
								<p>acrostic for עירין רבותים ישמש numerically 280 ניכר Qneh Binah 27b Invoked by Moses ben Nachmanides during his voyage to Palestine. ms hebr BN 602 124b</p>
46	Ariel	Ariel	328	ערי	22a130a	6b	26b29a31a	<p>acrostic for עשרת שמות לו numerically 400 הגון ורחמים יהוה Qneh Binah 27b</p>
47	Asaliah	Asaliah	329	עסל	22a130a	6b	26b29a31a	

48	Mihael	283	מִיחֵה	22a 130a	6b	26b29a31a 25b28a30 b26b30b2 6b29a31a	<p>acrostic for מכתב ידי הנביאים numerically 55 Qneh Binah 27b Invoked by Moses ben Nachmanides during his voyage to Palestine. ms hebr BN 602 124b</p> <p>acrostic for יהודה יהודה ויהודה numerically 17 Qneh Binah 26a see also 1 above</p> <p>acrostic for דגלו נרשם ידוד numerically 64 Qneh Binah 27b דניאל one of the fallen angels who mixed with mortals before the Flood. See the Book of Enoch, ch. vii end p.3 and ch. lix p. 38</p>
49	Vehuel	229	והוה	19a	6b		
50	Daniel	217	דַּנִּי	22b	6b	26b29a31a	

51	Hahasiah	Hahasiah	223	החש	22b	6b	26b29a31a	acrostic for החיות חילי שביבין numerically 313 שובה Qneh Binah 27b
52	Imamah	Imamah	324	עמם	22b	6b	26b29b31b	acrostic for עזר מן מושיע numerically 150 Qneh Binah 27b
53	Nanael	Nanael	300	ננא	22b	6b	26b29b31b	acrostic for נאור נשכ אלים numerically 101 חלון Qneh Binah 27b
54	Nithael	Nithael	304	נית	22b	6b	26b29b31b	acrostic for נעח יתר תפארתו numerically 460 כתם Qneh Binah 27b

55	Mebaiah	Mebahiah	277	מבה	20a	6b	25b28a30b	Qneh Binah 26b	acrostic for מעלה בכבוד היחוד numerically 47 מובל Qneh Binah 27b acrostic for מפואר בהוד המלאכים numerically 47 יואל
56	Poiei	Poiei	331	פוי	23a	6b	26b29a31b	Qneh Binah 27b	acrostic for פאר ועז יקות numerically 96 מלכו
57	Nemamah	Memamah	299	נמם	23a	6b	26b29a31b	Qneh Binah 27b	acrostic for נערץ מכל מקדישין numerically 130 סני

58	Jeialel	Jeialel	259	י"ל	23a109a	6b	26b29a31b	<p>acrostic for יהוה יתרום לעד numerically 50 דילן</p> <p>Qneh Binah 27b Invoked by Moses ben Nachmanides during his voyage to Palestine. ms hebr BN 602 124b</p>
59	Harahel	Harahel	227	הרח	23a	6b	26b29a31b	<p>acrostic for הוא רב היילות numerically 213 אביר</p> <p>Qneh Binah 27b</p>
60	Mizrael	Mizrael	291	מצר	23a	6b	26a29a31b	<p>acrostic for מלך צדקות רבות numerically 330 שבחך</p> <p>Qneh Binah 27b</p>
61	Vinabel	Vinabel	230/1	ומב	23a	6b	27a29a31b	<p>acrostic for ומחנות מעלה ברוכל numerically 48 מאז</p> <p>Qneh Binah 27b</p>

62	Jahhael	Jahhael	253	יהה	23a	6b	27a,29a,21b	acrostic for היא האל הי numerical equivalent 20 Qneh Binah 28a
63	Anauel	Ananel	325	ענו	23b	6b	27a29a31b	acrostic for עשרת נורא תשנב numerically126 על יהוה Qneh Binah 27b
64	Mehiel	Mehiel	281	מחי	23b	6b	27a29b31b	acrostic for מקוללות חסידים יסודות numerically 58 חן Qneh Binah 28b
65	Damabiah	Damahiah	216	דמב	23b	6	27a29b31b	acrostic for דירתו מעלה בוראות numerically 46 אלהי Qneh Binah 28a
66	Mauakel	Manakel	288	מנק	23b	6b	27a29b31b	acrostic for משכן ניהו קדשו numerically 190 קן Qneh Binah 28a

67	Eiael	Eiael	164	אֵיֵל	23b	6b	27a29b31b	<p>acrostic for חסיד ברוך ומבורך numerically 16 אב אחד Qneh Binah 28a and is acrostic from Job xx 15 חיל בלע ויקראנו invoked in the liturgy for protection against accidents at night. Amtahath Biniamin f 25a</p>
68	Habuiah	Habuiah	237	חֲבוֹי	23b	6b	27a29b31b	

69	Roehel	Roehel	355	ראה	23b	6b	27a,29b,31b	acrostic for ראה אמונת האלוקים numerical equivalent 206 Qneh Binah 28a
70	Jabamiah	Jabamiath		יבם			numerical value 52	ראהוואל Raahu El; God has seen, a name given to avoid accidents. ms hebr BN 602 128a. ראיאל ראויל See also this name on a terracotta vase in the Musée des antiquités orientales, Louvre coll. Dieulafoy; and Schwab <i>Coupes à inscriptions magiques</i> p. 40, 61
71	Haiael	Haiael	224	היי	24a	6b	27a29b31b	acrostic for כה יורע יוצר יעורים numerically 25 Qneh Binah 28a
72	Mumiah	Mumiah		מום	24a	6b	27a29b31b	acrostic for מלך וממליך מלכים numerically 86 הוא דיין Qneh Binah 28a

Thenaud's use of Na

Thenaud uses *Na* as one of the names of God. Here are images from the Arsenal and the Geneva mss.

Isht qui est a dire dieu et homme Maran Atha qui signi-
fie dominus noster venit Na qui est mys a la fin de
Osanna qui est vng nom de dieu que lon reclame en
ses grandes aduersitez et tribulacions qui est a dire
translate en latin Obsecro Pour ce disoit moise Di-
mitte Na peccatum populi tui Aussi ou nous lisons on
pseaulme O domine saluu me fac o dñe bene prospe-
rare les hebreux lisent A na domine saluifica me A na
domine fortunifica me Sabbaoth est vng aultre nom

Ms. 5061 folio 81 recto.

*est dict Sabbaoth. Oultre ces deux dizeines nous
auons plusieurs aultres noms de dieu sicomme Isht.
qui est a dire dieu & homme. Maran Atha. qui si-
gnifie Dñs noster venit. Na. qui est mys a la fin
de Osanna qui est vng nom de dieu que lon reclame
en ses grandes aduersitez & tribulations qui est a dire*

Geneva ms. Fr. 167 folio 162 verso.

translaté en latin Obsecro: pour ce disoit Moysé: ^{Dimitte} Na
 peccatum ppli tui. Aussi nous lisons on pseaulme
 O dñe saluum me fac o dñe bene prospectare. Les hebreux lisent,
 Ana dñe saluifica me: Ana dñe fortunifica me. Sab.
 baoth. ■ est ung aultre nom duquel lon vse cōmune

Folio 163 recto

The same term is used by Reuchlin in de verbo mirifico:-

animi molestia turbationibusq; utimur. Sicut Moyses in numeris: Dimitte Na
 peccatū populi tui: quod uos interpretatū habetis: Dimitte obsecro. Et psalmo
 centesimo ac decimoseptimo: A na domine saluifica na. A na domine fortuna/
 tifica na: quod uos elegantius sic: O domine saluum me fac: o domine bene pro/
 sperare. Nam & lab in Halleluiab legitis: & Zabaoth in sacrificijs: & Adonai in
 Exodo: & El in Immanuel: & Ischyros quod est Sadai. Et ante solem Innon no/
 men eius: quod uos dicitis: Permanet nomē eius. Elion quoque & q̄ plurima nō
 ualde usitata: ut est Macom & Capha. Sed & angelorum sane generatim uoca/
 bula permulta sunt: ut Hasmalim: Haiotb: Ophanim: Tharsisim: & reliqua. De

sig. e7 verso.

Reuchlin states that the name is from Psalm cxvii - *Et psalmo centesimo ac decimoseptimo*. This numbering is according to the Vulgate and the Septuagint, rather than the Hebrew Bible where it is Psalm cxviii.

Reuchlin attributes these words to Baruchias, the Hebrew, who gives his version - *A na domine saluifica na. A na domine fortunatifica na:* and then the Latin *quod uos elegantius sic: O domine saluum me fac: o domine bene prosperare*. The second part follows the Vulgate.

Thenaud reverses the order. He gives the Vulgate first, and follows it with *les hebreux lisent A na domine saluifica me A na domine fortunifica me*. The

End Note Thenaud's use of Na page 2

difference between *fortunatifica* and *fortunifica* is to be noted. Another noteworthy feature is evident from a study of the variant spellings of *Ana*. Reuchlin has *A na* as separate words (supra). So does Thénau in Arsenal ms. 5061 (supra), but in the Geneva copy they are written as one word. Notwithstanding these variations Thénau has clearly used *De Verbo Mirifico*.

The sound *na* occurs four times in the verse. It opens and it closes both phrases in Hebrew. Thénau only employs it at the start of each phrase. Consider the use of the word *Ana* אָנָּה which starts each phrase.¹ (The word which ends each phrase is *na* נָּה). Thénau with *A* and *na* as separate words, follows the pattern given by Reuchlin in *De Verbo Mirifico*. It is to be noted that the word *Ana* in both instances is accented on the last syllable - *Milra'*. In the second occurrence of the word the separation of the two sounds, and hence the writing of *A na* as two words, may be accounted for by the *Methegh*.² This bridling mark accounts for the separation of *A* and *na*. The fact that the Arsenal ms. preserves this separation might indicate that the scribe was aware of the significance, but a more likely explanation is that Thénau was following the separation observed by Reuchlin. The fact that the copyist of the Geneva ms. did not preserve the separation indicates that he had no idea of the significance of *Methegh*.

It is to be noted that Reuchlin does not mention *Hosanna*, / *Osanna*. Thénau however has *Na qui est mys a la fin de Osanna qui est ung nom de dieu que lon reclame en ses grands aduersitez et tribulacions qui est a dire translate en latin Obsecro*. This mention of adversities and tribulations follows Reuchlin with his mention of *quo in animi molestia turbationibusque utimur*. On one

¹ Hebrew אָנָּה. In II Ki. xx 3, Is. xxxviii 3, Jon. i 14; iv 2, Ps. cxvi 4; cxvi 16, it is written אָנָּה.

It is a strong form of entreaty. In the Bible it is used only once as an entreaty directed towards a man - to Joseph in Ge. i 17. Elsewhere it is directed to God - Ex. xxii 31, or to the LORD (Lord).

² *Methegh* or 'bridle' is the small vertical stroke to the left of a vowel, as in אָנָּה. The purpose is to cause the reader to pause.

End Note *Thénau's use of Na* page 3

hand Thenaud has followed Reuchlin closely.¹ On the other hand he has, by this use of *Osanna*, demonstrated once again a measure of independence. For this reason the claim that the *na* of *Osanna* refers to a name of God merits attention. The final two words of the opening phrase give rise to the term *Osanna*. The first word הוֹשִׁיעָהּ is the Hiphil Imperative of the verb יָשַׁע , to deliver. The second is נָא, which Thenaud uses as *Na* , a name of God.²

¹ Reuchlin did not refer to *Na* as a name of God in *De Arte Cabalistica*. This shows that Thenaud here was reliant on *De Verbo Mirifico*.

² Vulgate has Ps. cxvii 25:-

O Domine, saluum me fac; o Domine, bene prosperare;

LXX has Ps. cxvii 25:-

ὦ κύριε, σῶσον δι᾽,

ὦ κύριε, εὐδόωσον δι᾽.

Hebrew has Ps. cxviii 25:-

אָנָּה יְהוָה הוֹשִׁיעָה נָא אָנָּה יְהוָה הַצְלִיחָה נָא:

NASB has Ps. cxviii 25:-

O LORD, do save, we beseech Thee;

O LORD, we beseech Thee, do send prosperity!

End Note *Thenaud's use of Na* page 4



End Image Folio A recto



The following image shows that the lines at the base have been left incomplete. The illustrator, as may be seen from the enlarged portion has inserted the words 'Et cetera.'



This surprising omission in a magnificently illustrated manuscript can now be accounted for in a way that also reveals the source used by the illustrator. Reference should now be made to the next image which shows a ninth century copy of the Rabanus Maurus' *De Laudibus Sanctæ Crucis*.



BN. ms. Lat. 2423, folio 1 verso.

It is immediately evident that the 'Et cetera' are placed in the same position

End Image D verso page 3

as the damage which may be seen in ms. Lat. 2423. It is therefore highly likely that Thénau's illustrator had this manuscript as the source for his work. It will therefore be used as the basis for comparison hereafter.

Thénau personalized the picture for Francis by the addition of the three fleur-de-lys and as has been noted above he gave the figure a closed Imperial crown. Furthermore whereas the ninth century picture shows Louis the Pious with a halo, the figure in ms. 5061 has no halo which would of course not have been appropriate for Francis. Reference to the colour image provided above shows the familiar colours of gold and azure on the shield.

There are numerous extant copies of this work of Rabanus Maurus as listed in H. Müller, *De Laudibus Sanctæ Cruce*, Düsseldorf, 1973 but the evidence produced above concerning the hole damage in BN. ms. lat. 2423 is firmly in favour of proving that this is the copy used as basis for ms. 5061.

Nantes ms. 521 Fr. 355 does not have images, but Geneva ms. Fr. 167 has the following image:-

.



folio 6.

It is evident that the copist of this Genevan edition did not have use of ms. 5061. The lacuna has been completed, the halo has been restored, there is no open crown, there are no fleur-de-lys and no colours. It is equally evident that his source was the Pforzheim 1503 printed version of Raban Maur's *De Laudibus Sanctæ Crucis*, as given below:-

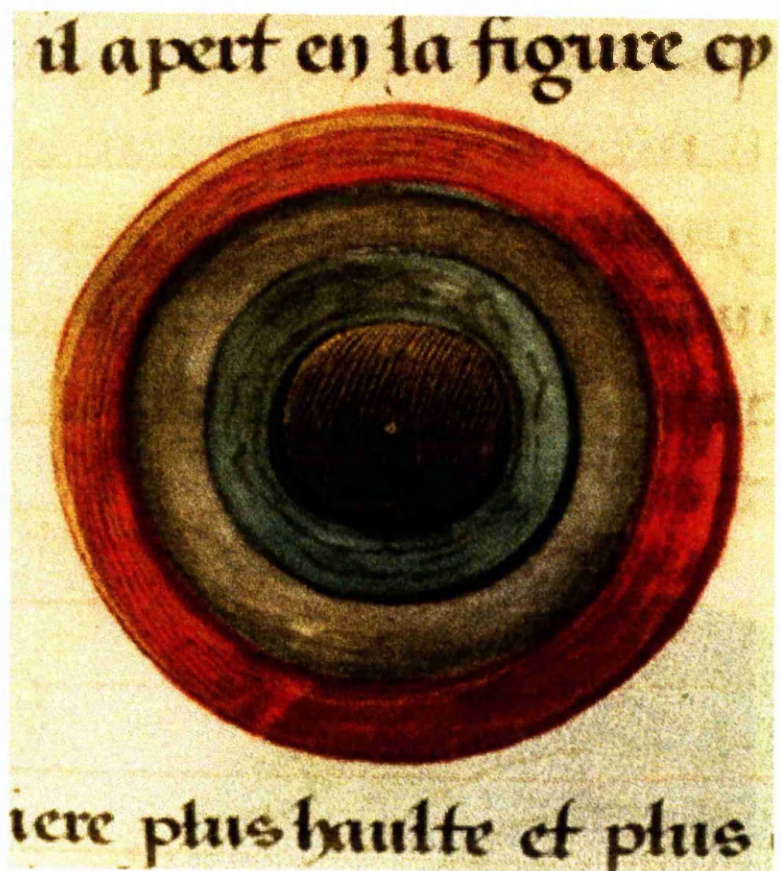


folio Bd 1 verso.

The number *four* with its reference to the Tetragrammaton was held by Thenaud to be Kabbalistically significant. In connection with this image it is to be noted that the dedicatory epistle associates four virtues with the Christian life and that the figure is armed with four elements - helmet, lance, shield and cuirasse.



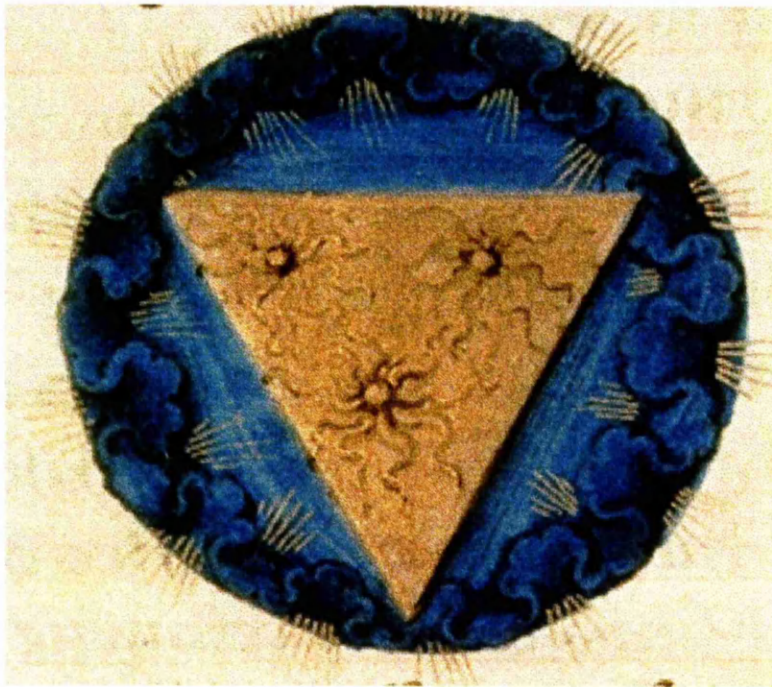
¶ Auant euz bien parfondement pense en



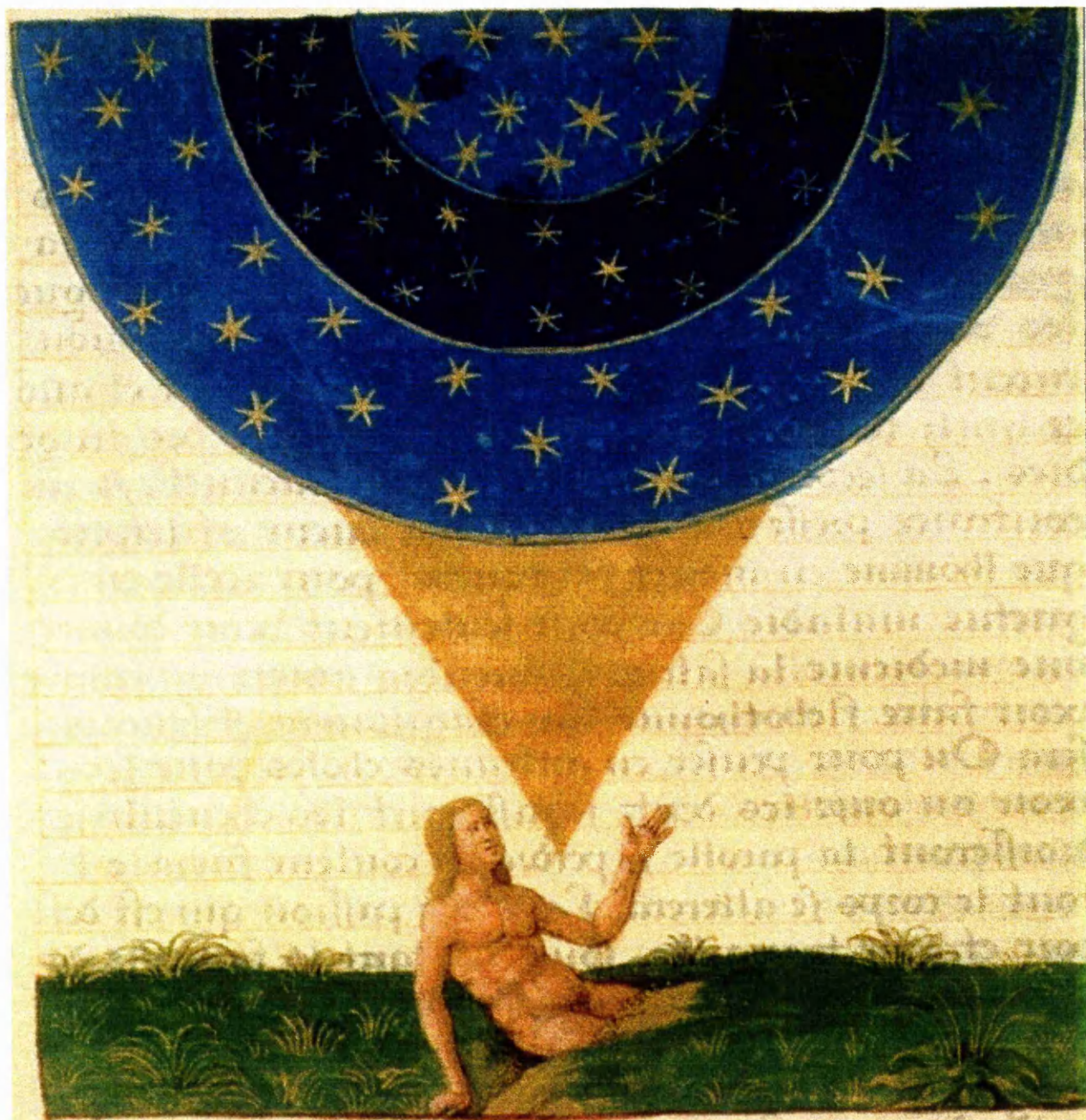
End Image Folio 4 recto



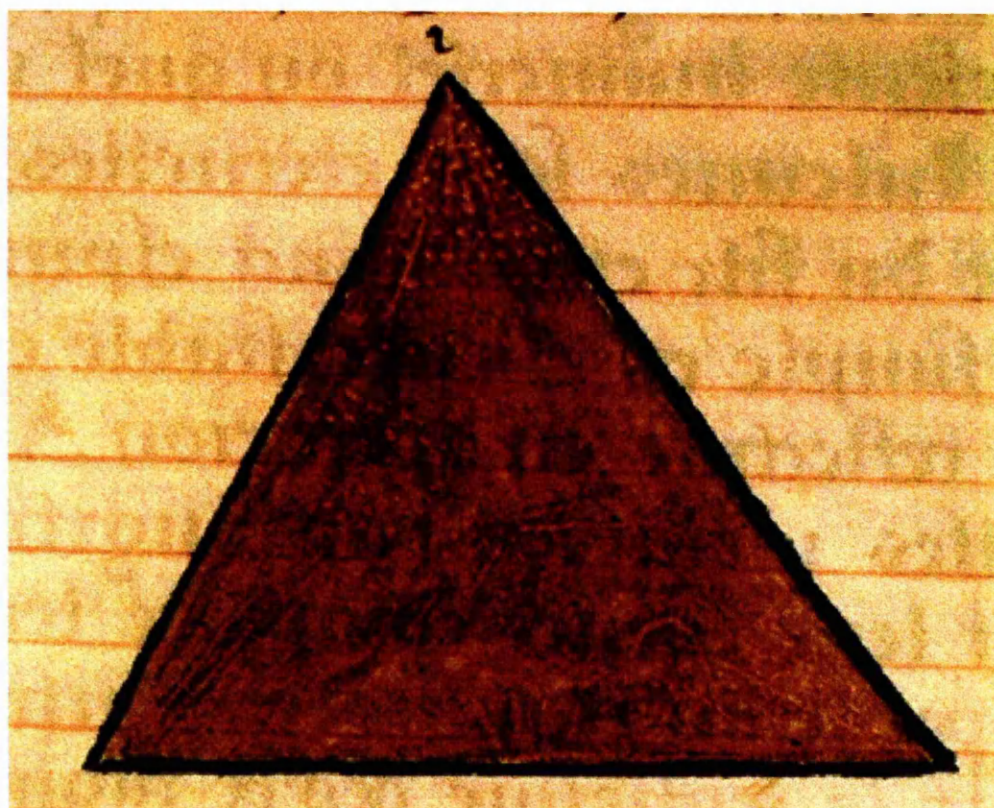
End Image *Folio 4 verso*



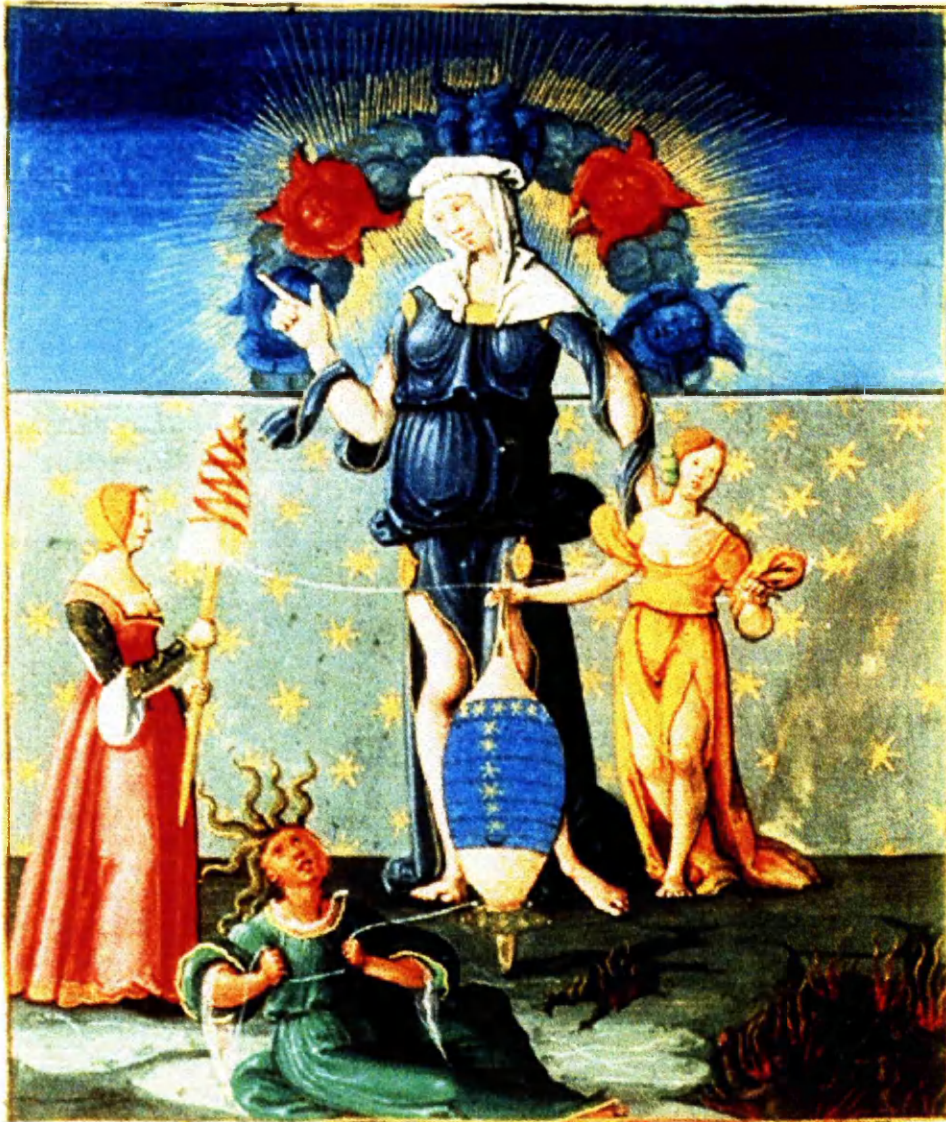
End Image *Folio 5 recto*



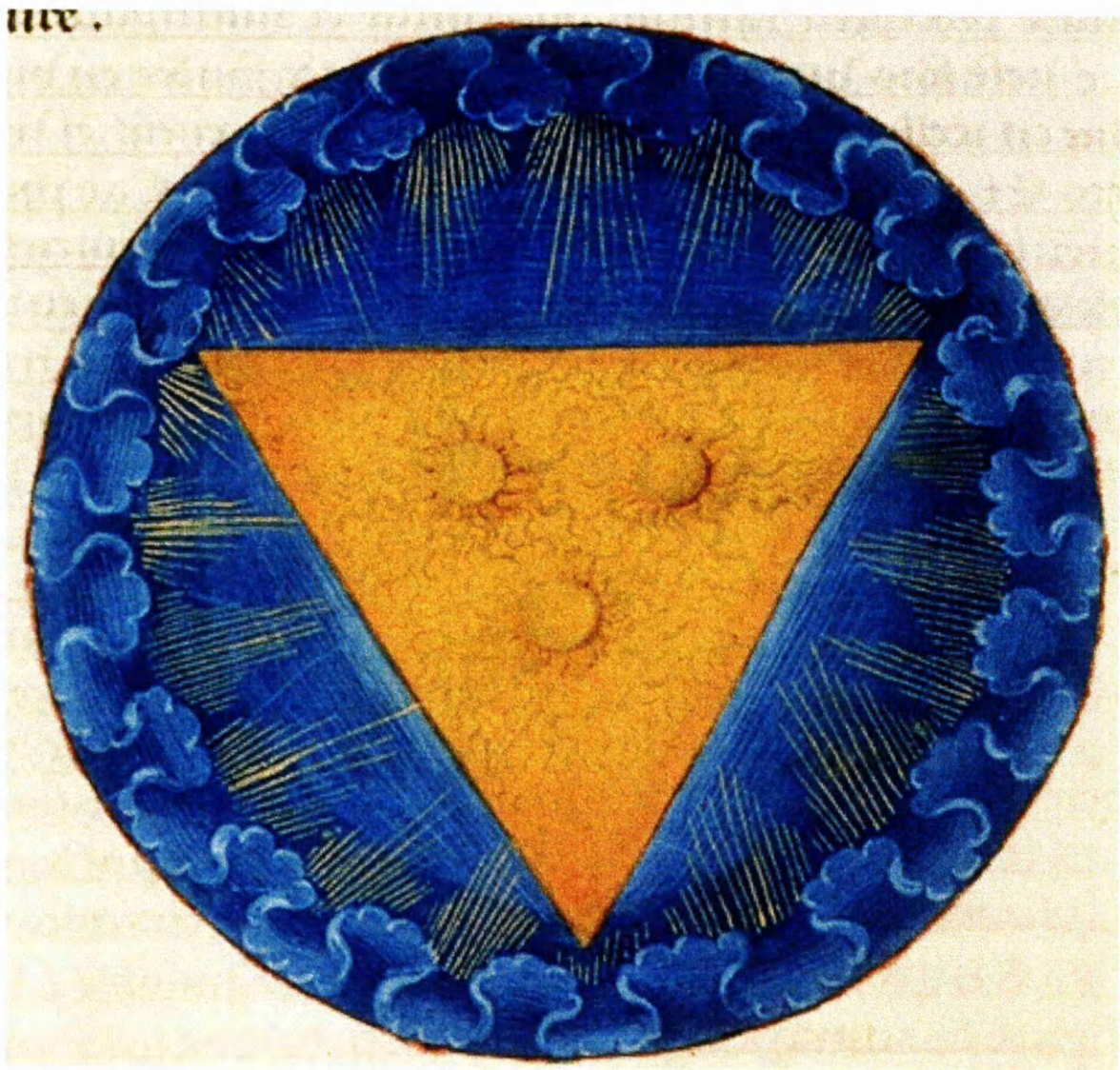
End Image Folio 13 recto

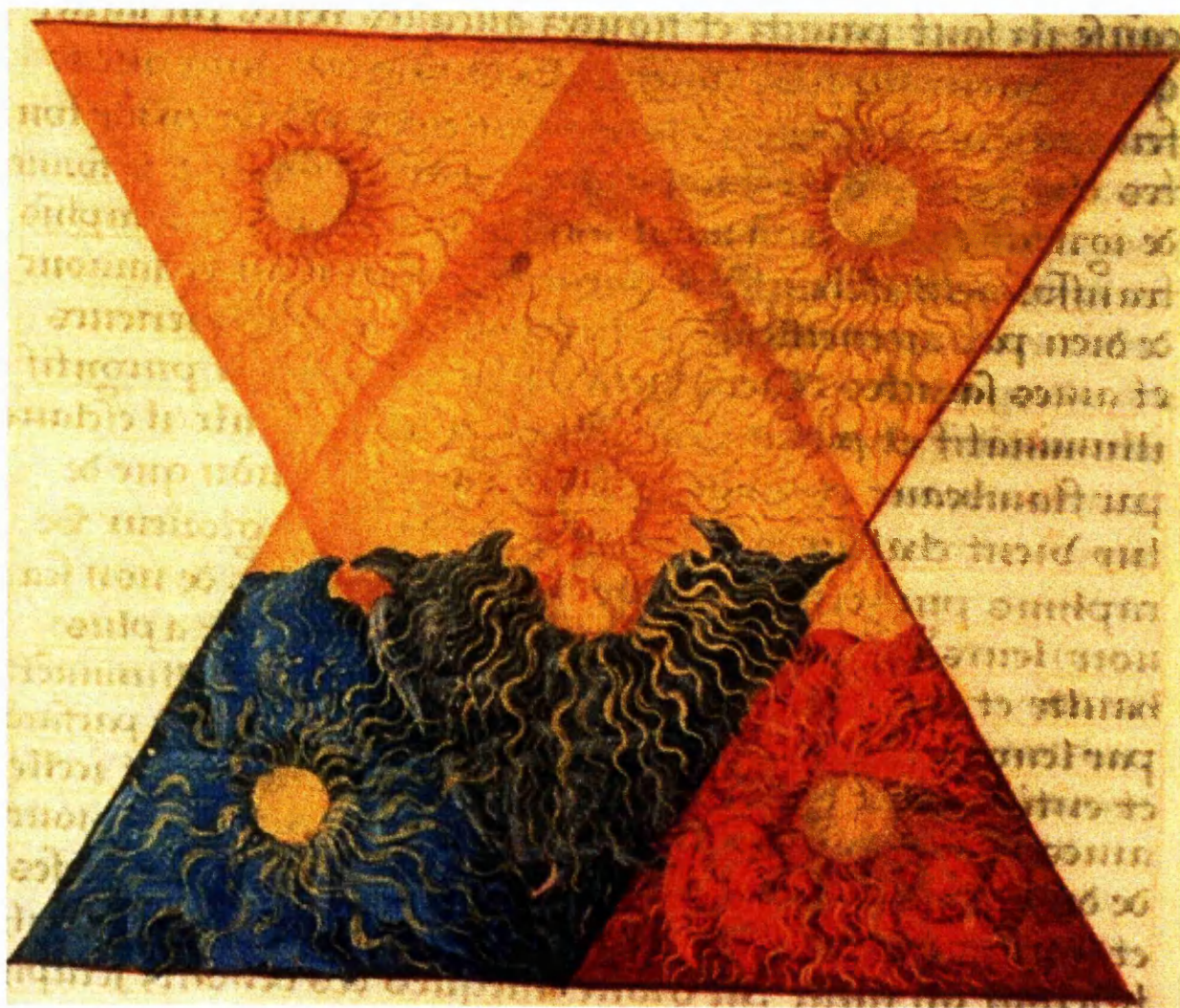


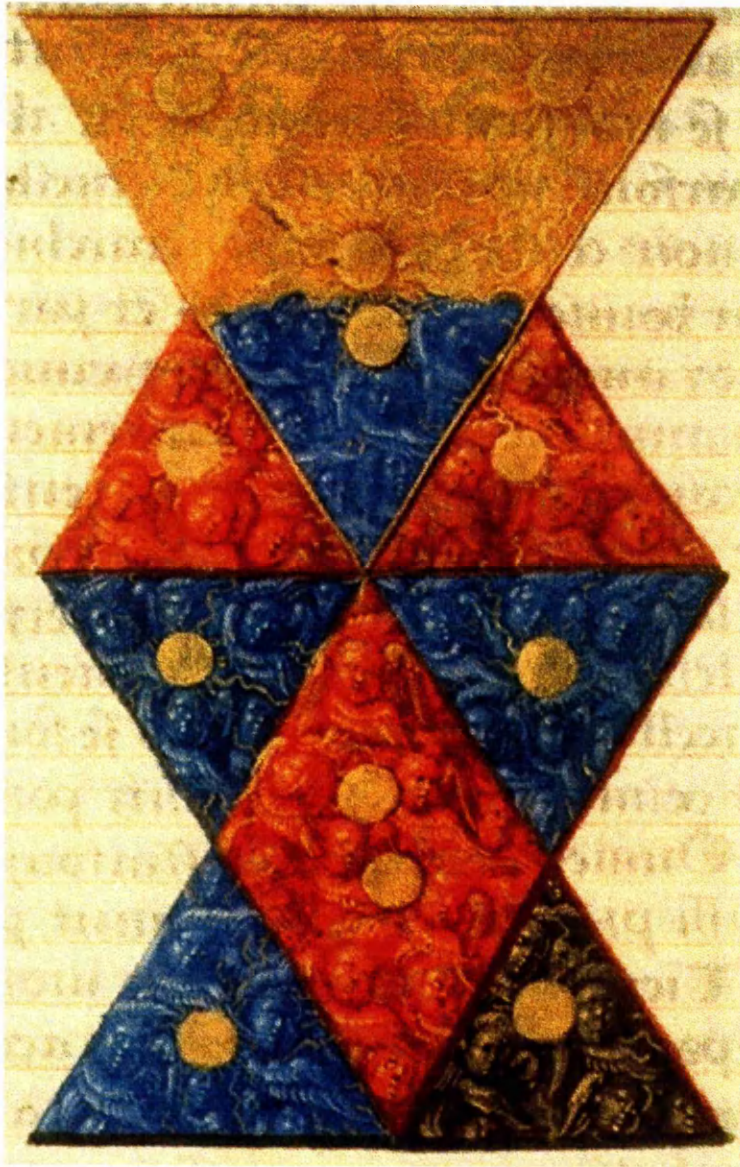
End Image Folio 34 recto



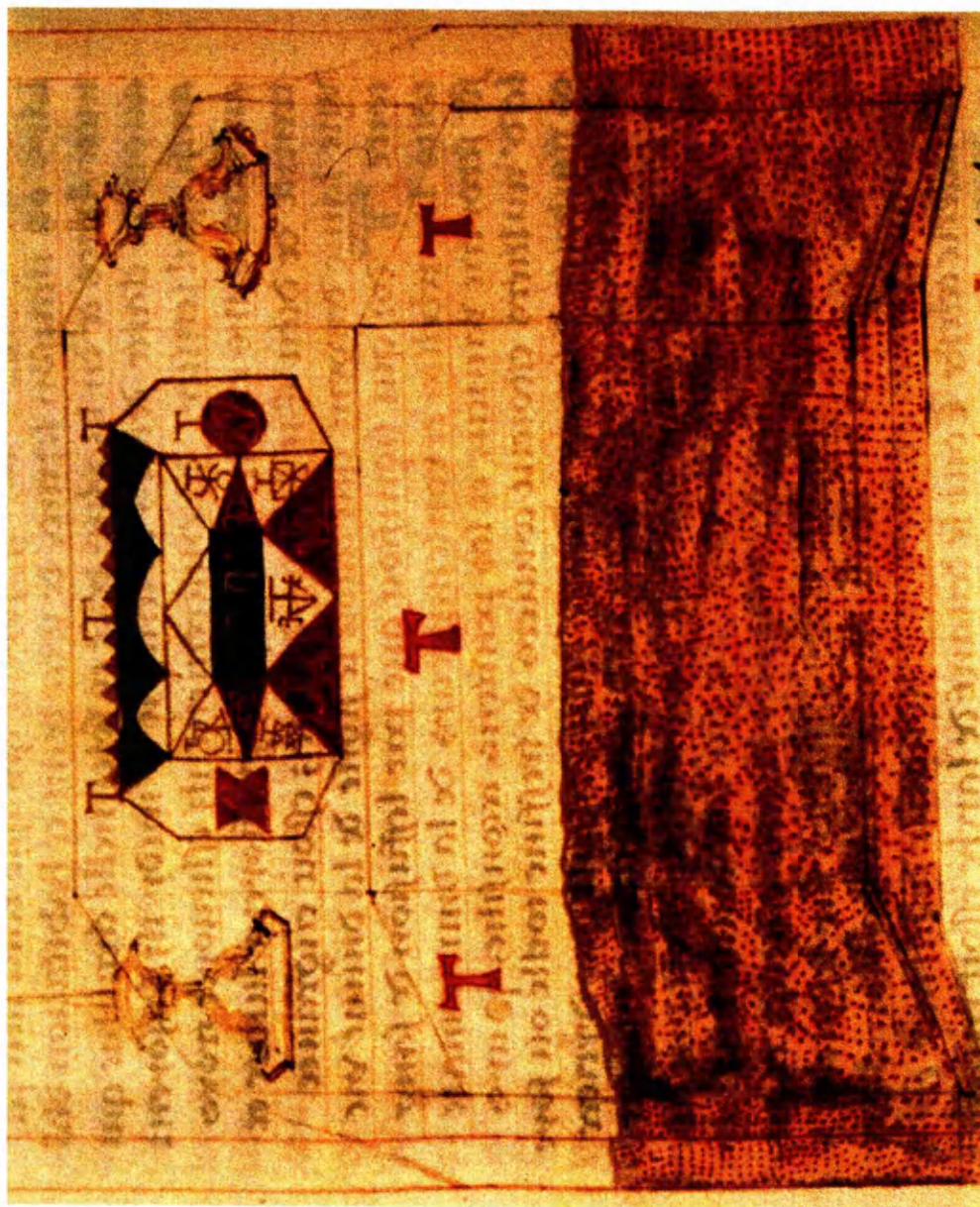
End Image Folio 36 verso





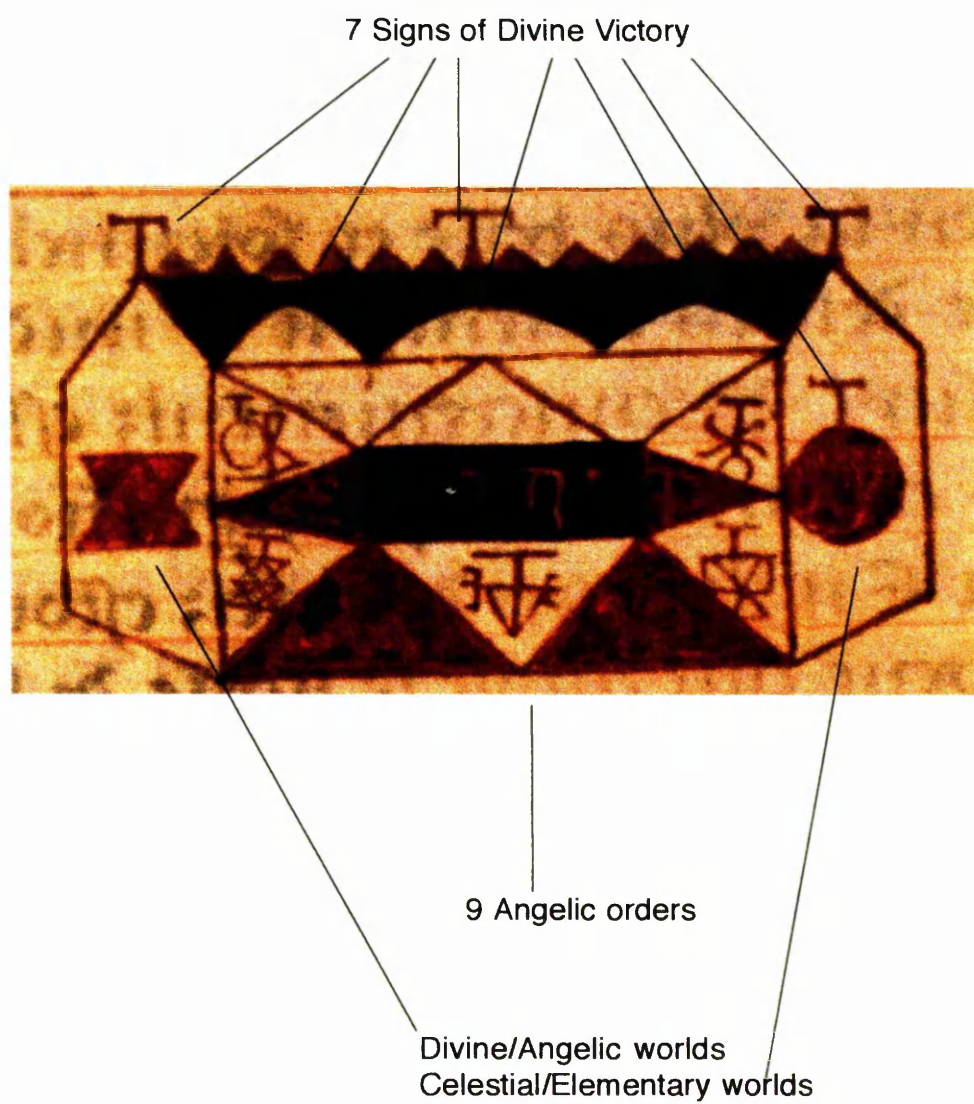


End Image Folio 51 verso



End Image Folio 90 verso

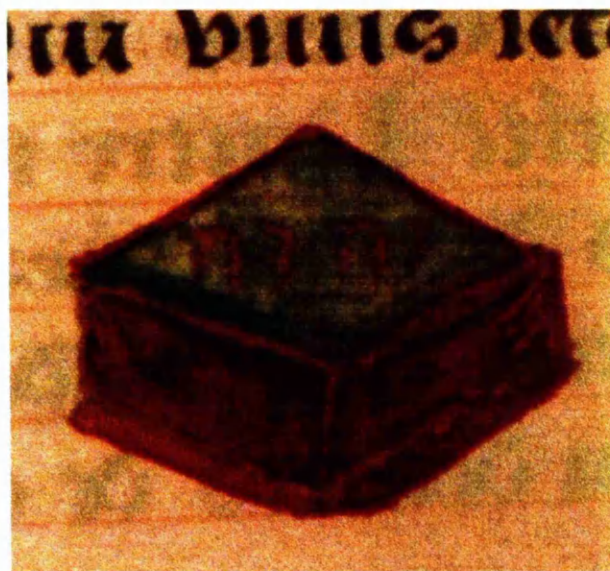
End Image folio 90 verso detail - The ARK



End Image folio 90 verso detail - The Water Vessel

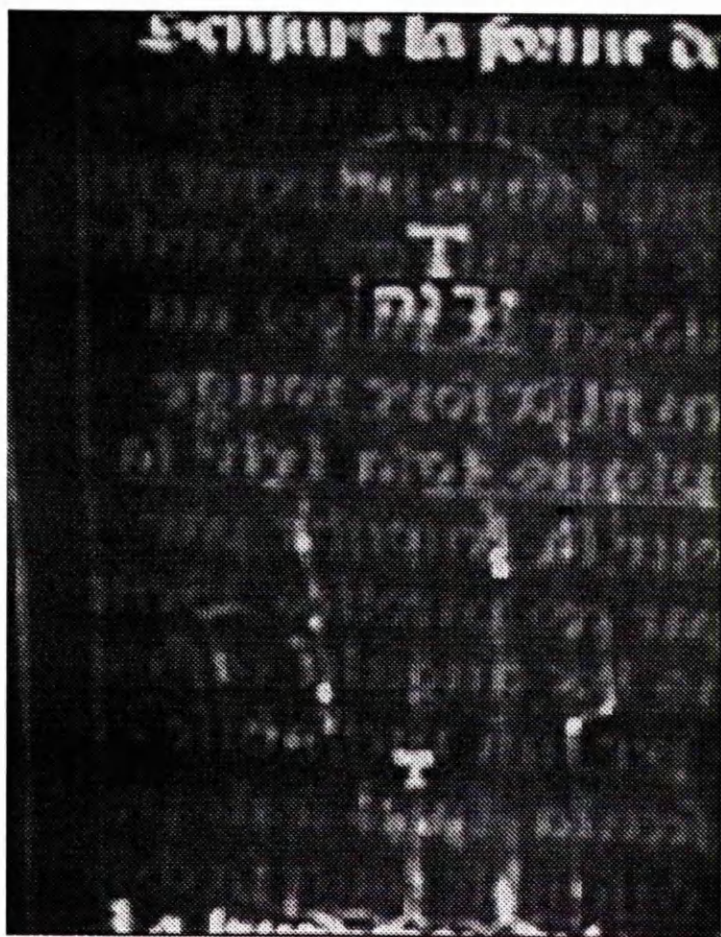


End Image folio 90 verso detail - The Salt Cellar



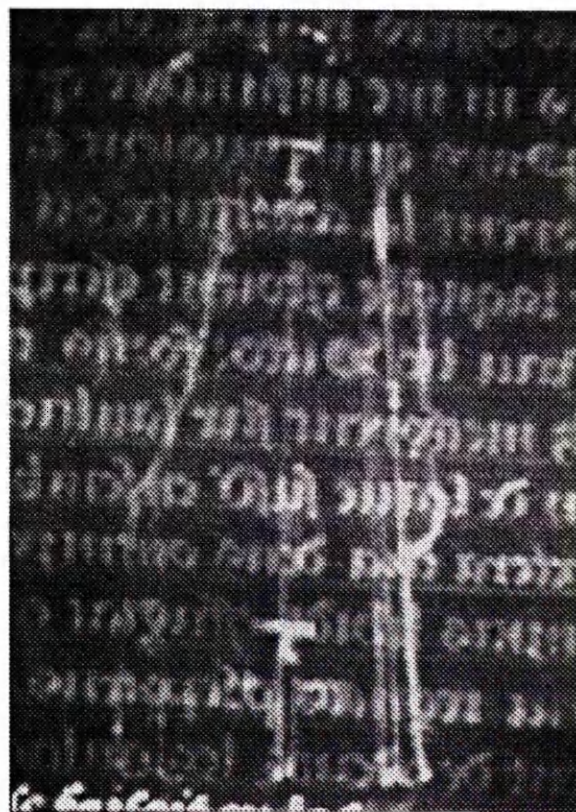
The inscribed Tetragrammaton is to be noted in both these vessels.

End Image folio 91 recto left



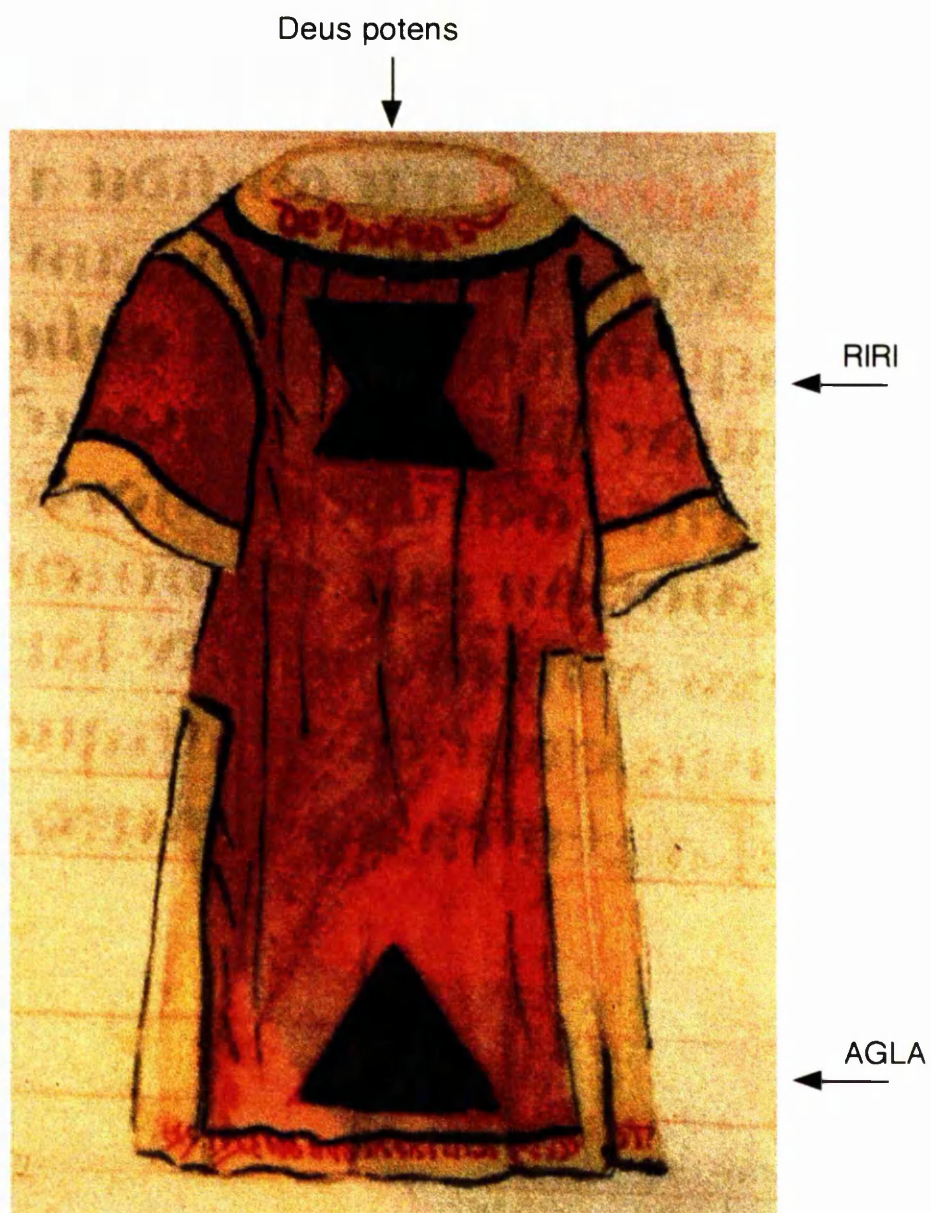
End Image Folio 91 recto left page 1

End image Folio 91 recto right

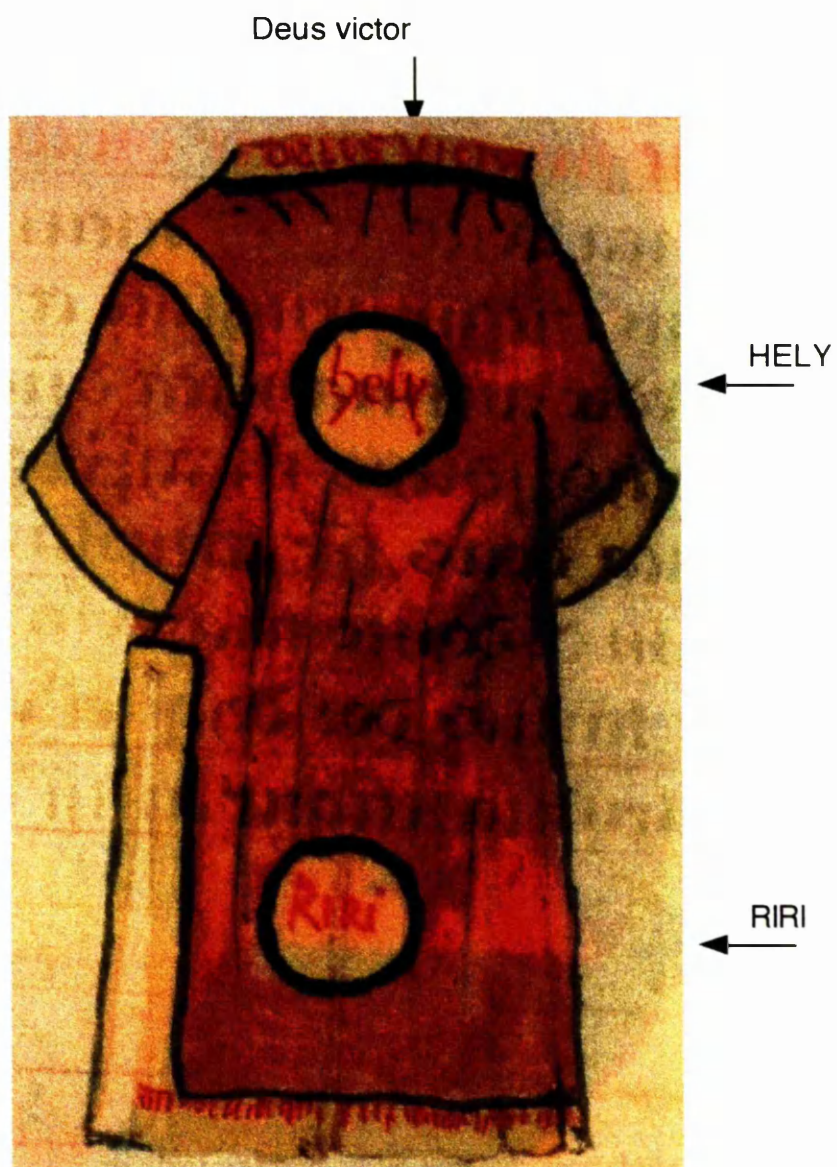


End Image *Folio 91 recto right* page 1

End Image folio 92 recto left

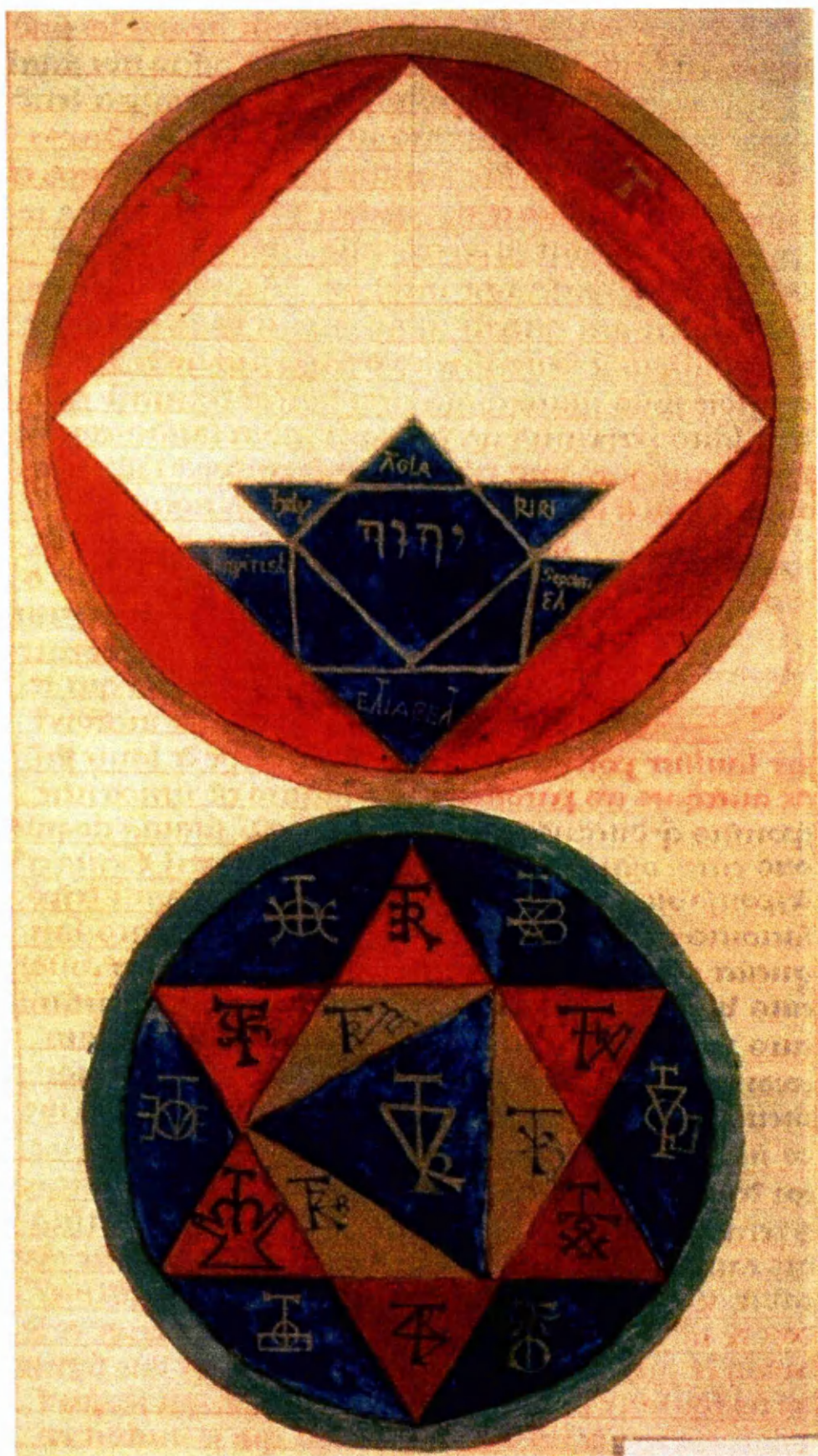


End Image folio 92 recto right

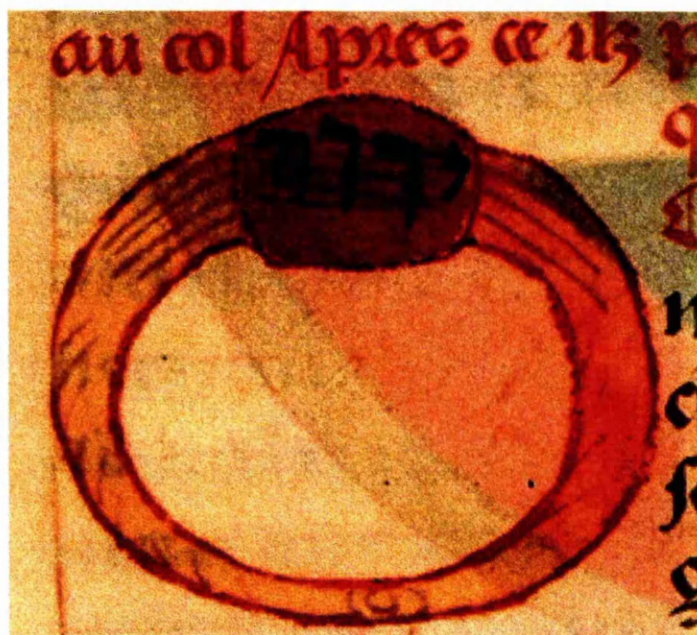


End Image Folio 92 verso Belt -
Rotated image





End Image folio 93 verso



End Image *Folio 93 verso Ring* page 1

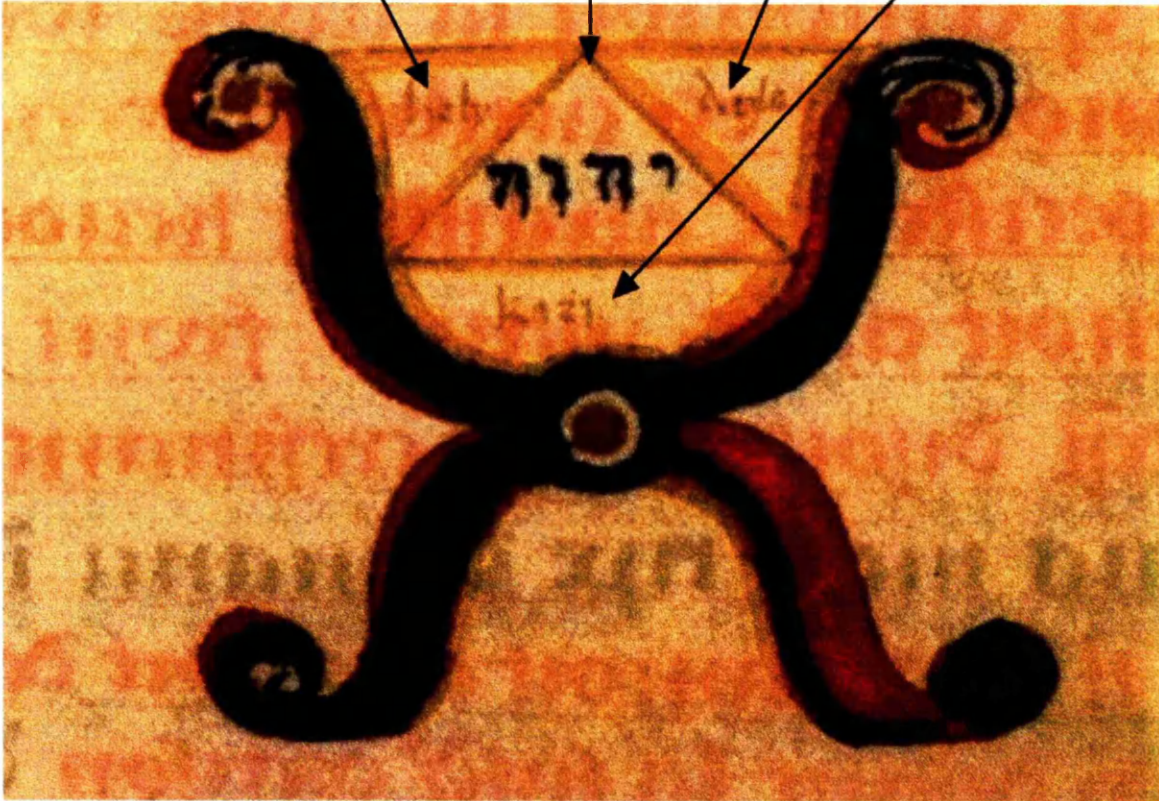


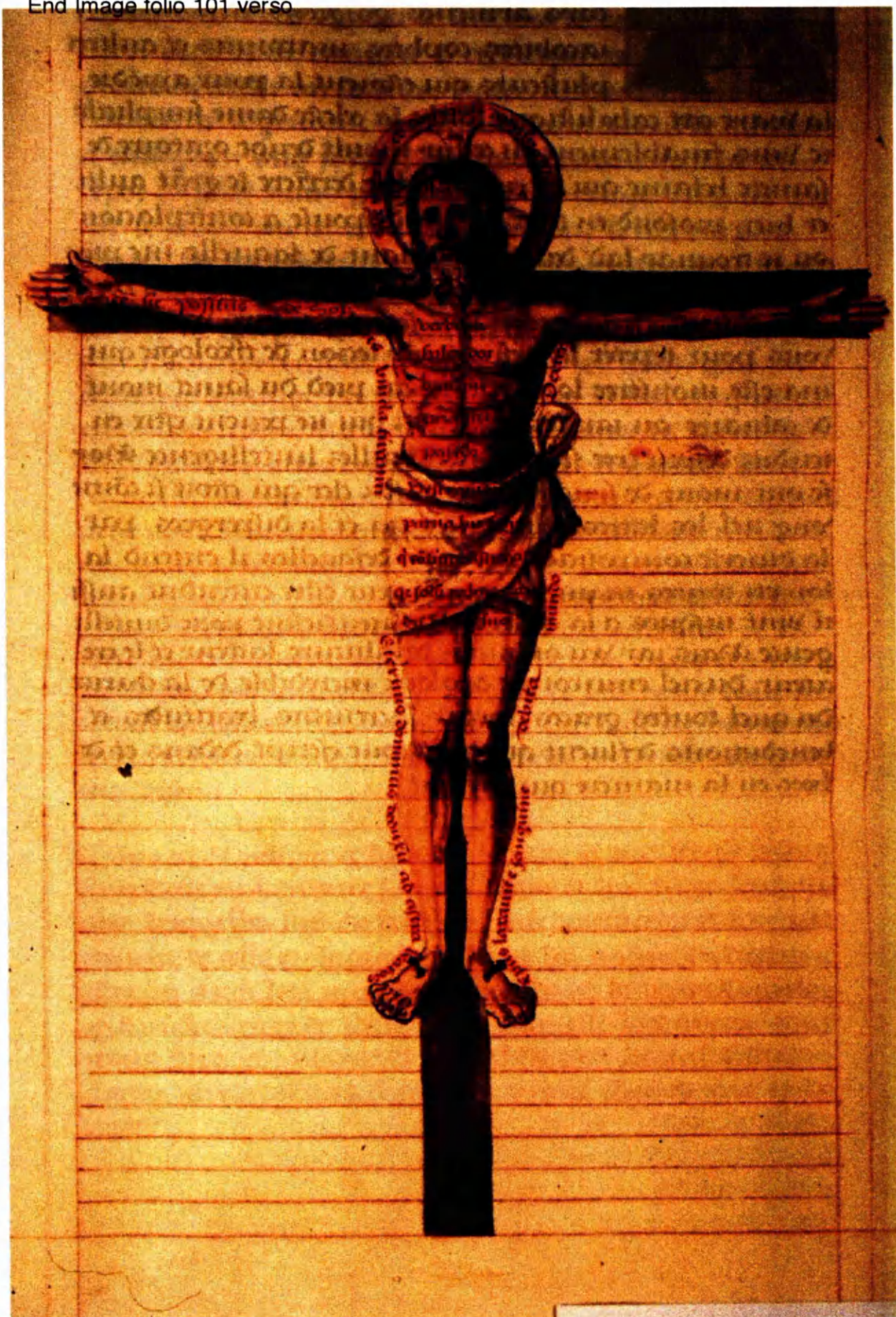
TETRAGRAMMATON

HELY

AGLA

RIRI

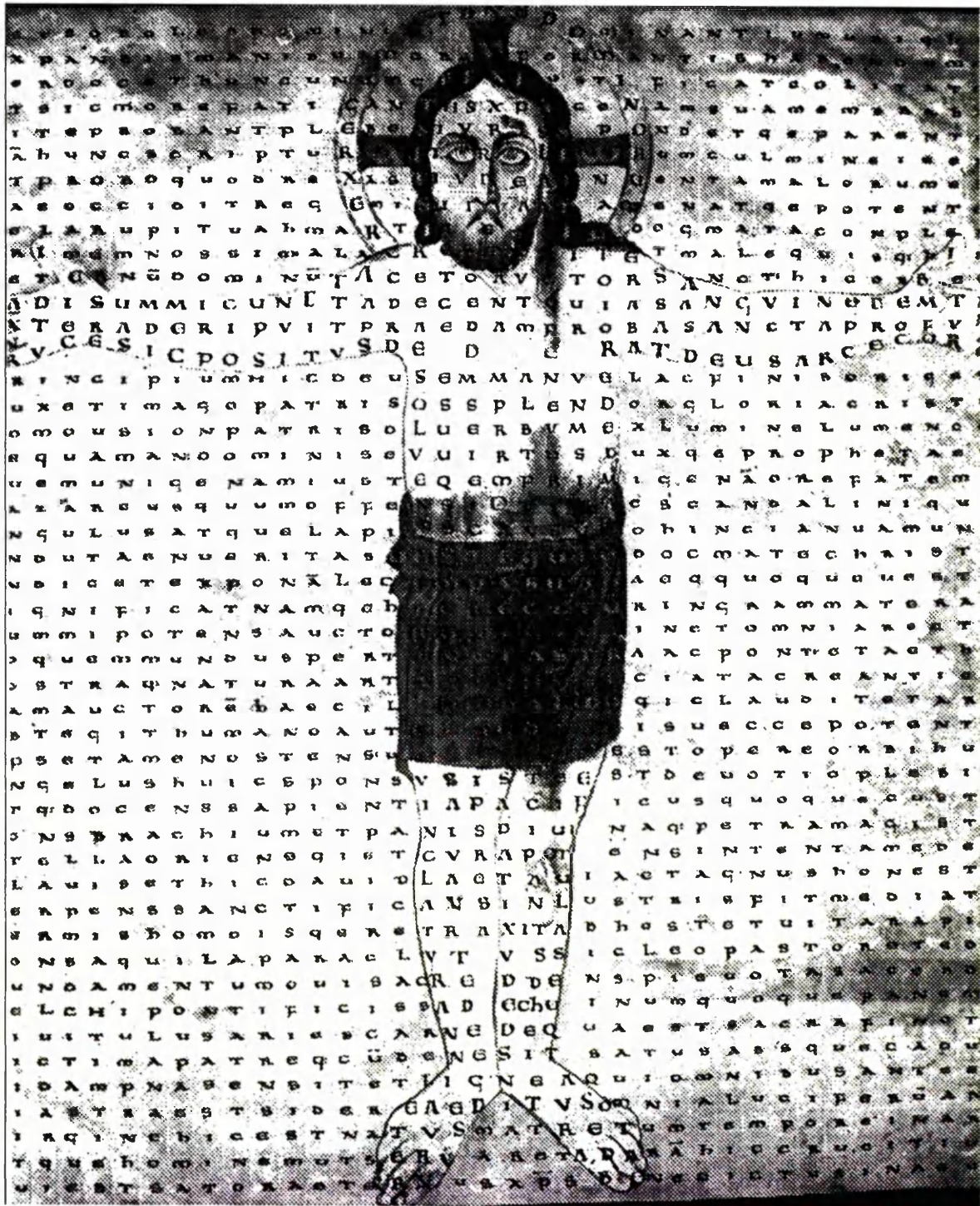




Note that the rows are ruled, but columns are not ruled.

It has been established above that the likely source for Thenaud's scribe was the ninth century work by Rabanus Maurus now in the Bibliothèque Nationale accession number ms. Lat. 2423 from which the following image is taken.

End Image folio 101 verso page 2



Notable differences from the original by Rabanus Maurus and later copies are as follows:-

The earlier image, BN. ms. Lat. 2423, was ruled with a matrix of 39 columns and 47 rows. In each square there was a letter. Thenaud's ms. 5061 shows only 40 rows and not the columns. This shortfall of seven rows would have

End Image folio 101 verso page 3

made the illustrator's task impossible. Had he copied the letters as far as he was able and then superimposed the image as far as he was able then it would have been cut off across the shins. This accounts for some of the variations which are immediately evident.

In earlier instances of this image, such as BN ms. Lat. 2423, the cross and the nails (and the wounds) were not shown. Significantly Thenaud shows the cross in the form of a T. Reference should be made to folio 90 recto ff. above and note taken of the considerable use which Thenaud made of this T sign, which he represented as the sign of the divine victory.

Thenaud is faithful to the earlier images in that the figure is shown with outstretched hands, thumbs facing up, legs together, and feet pointing down. The face, which looks slightly to the right, is bearded; there is a halo; the eyes, sign of the *divina natura* are large and open. There are five sayings incorporated into the original. These are located in different positions in Thenaud's image, as follows:-

1. BN. ms. Lat. 2423 has *Dextra Dei summi cuncta creavit Hiesus* starting at the right hand middle finger, going to the index finger, the thumb, along the arm and up the head. Thenaud's image has the same phrase starting at the left armpit, running along the left arm and ending at the left little finger. This is clearly a less appropriate location.

2. In a symmetrical manner to 1, in BN. ms. Lat. 2423, the phrase *Christus laxabit e sanguine debita mundo*, runs from the top of the head along the left arm to the middle finger. In Thenaud's image the phrase starts at the left foot and rises on the outside of the left leg. Thenaud's imagery is against the natural flow of blood from a wound. Clearly BN ms. Lat. 2423 is to be preferred.

3. In ms. 5061 *In cruce sic positus desolvens vincla tyranni* is found starting at the right ring finger, going to the right little finger, and then running along the lower edge of the right arm, down the right side of the body (but excluding the loin cloth). BN. ms. Lat. 2423 has the same phrase starting in

End Image folio 101 verso page 4

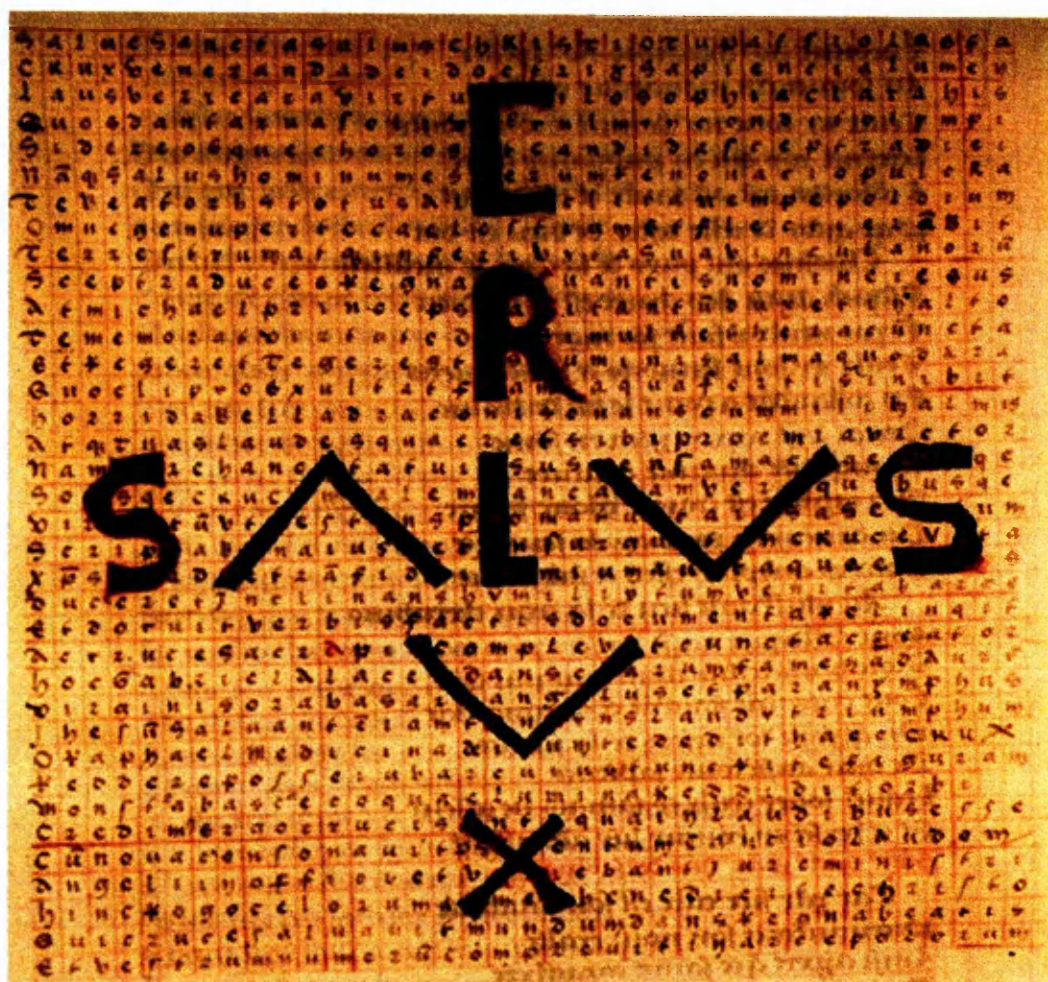
exactly the same way, but excludes the loin cloth and then continues down the outside of the right leg to the ankle.

4. In BN. ms. Lat. 2423 the phrase *Aeternus Dominus deduxit ad astra beatos* starts at the right foot, climbs to the left side of the right leg and pursues an erratic course to the left foot. Thenaud has the same phrase descending from the right side of the loin cloth to the right foot.

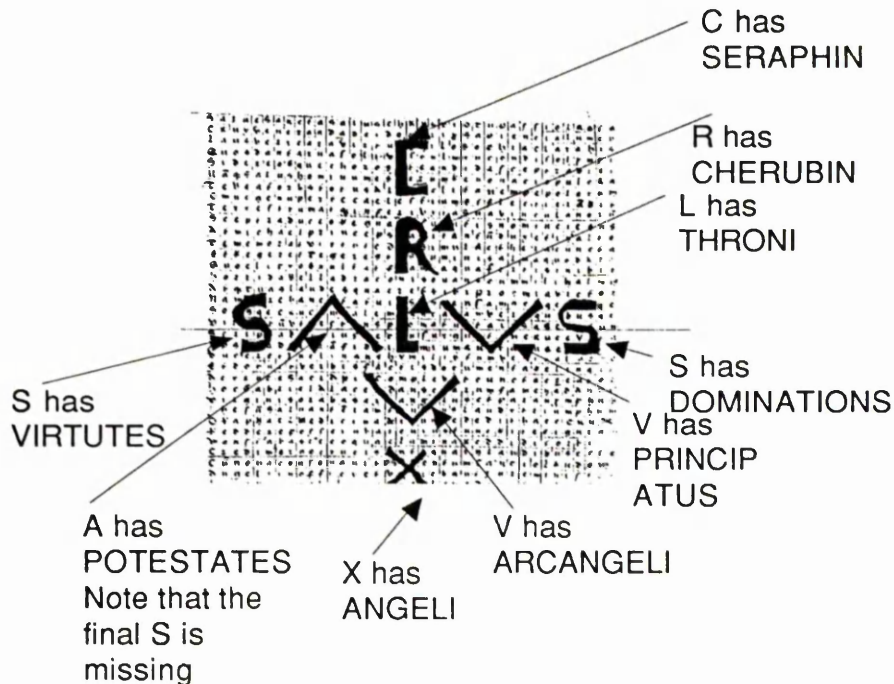
5. *Atque salutiferam dederat Deus arce coronam* in BN ms. Lat. 2423 runs from the left lower leg upwards to the armpit, and then along the left arm to the ring finger. This phrase is missing from Thenaud, no doubt due to the illustrator being unable to fit it in. The order of the five phrases is Creation, Redemption, Destruction of the power of the Devil, Translation of the elect and the future Coronation. Thenaud lacks the phrase *Iste est rex iustæ*. In BN ms. Lat. 2423 this is on the hair, which symbolised the right to rule. Secondly he lacks *Ordo justus Deo*. Thenaud follows the original of the loin cloth, which has *Veste quidem parva hic tegitur qui continet astra, Atque solum palmo claudit ubique suo*. This is a powerful comment on the humanity and the divinity of Jesus. Thenaud has *Rex regum et dominus dominantium* on the halo, although BN ms. Lat. 2423 has *Rex regum Dominus Dominorum*. (Comparison may be made to the image on folio d verso supra which starts *Rex regum dominus mundum*.) Thirdly Thenaud is similar to the BN ms. Lat. 2423 in that the first, the middle, and the final letters of the Greek alphabet are shown on the cross in the halo at the 9, 12 and 3 o'clock positions respectively. It is noted that Thenaud has the Latin "a", "m" and "o", rather than the Greek.

The titles on the chest resemble, but differ from those on the original. Firstly the order is different. For instance in BN ms. Lat. 2423 "splendor" is above "verbum", but Thenaud has the reverse. In BN ms. Lat. 2423 "emmanuel" is above "splendor", but Thenaud has "emanuel" in the penultimate position. Thenaud's final title is "pastor". It is notable that the original has "virtus", but that Thenaud does not. This is especially noteworthy in view of Thenaud's interest elsewhere in the notion of virtue.

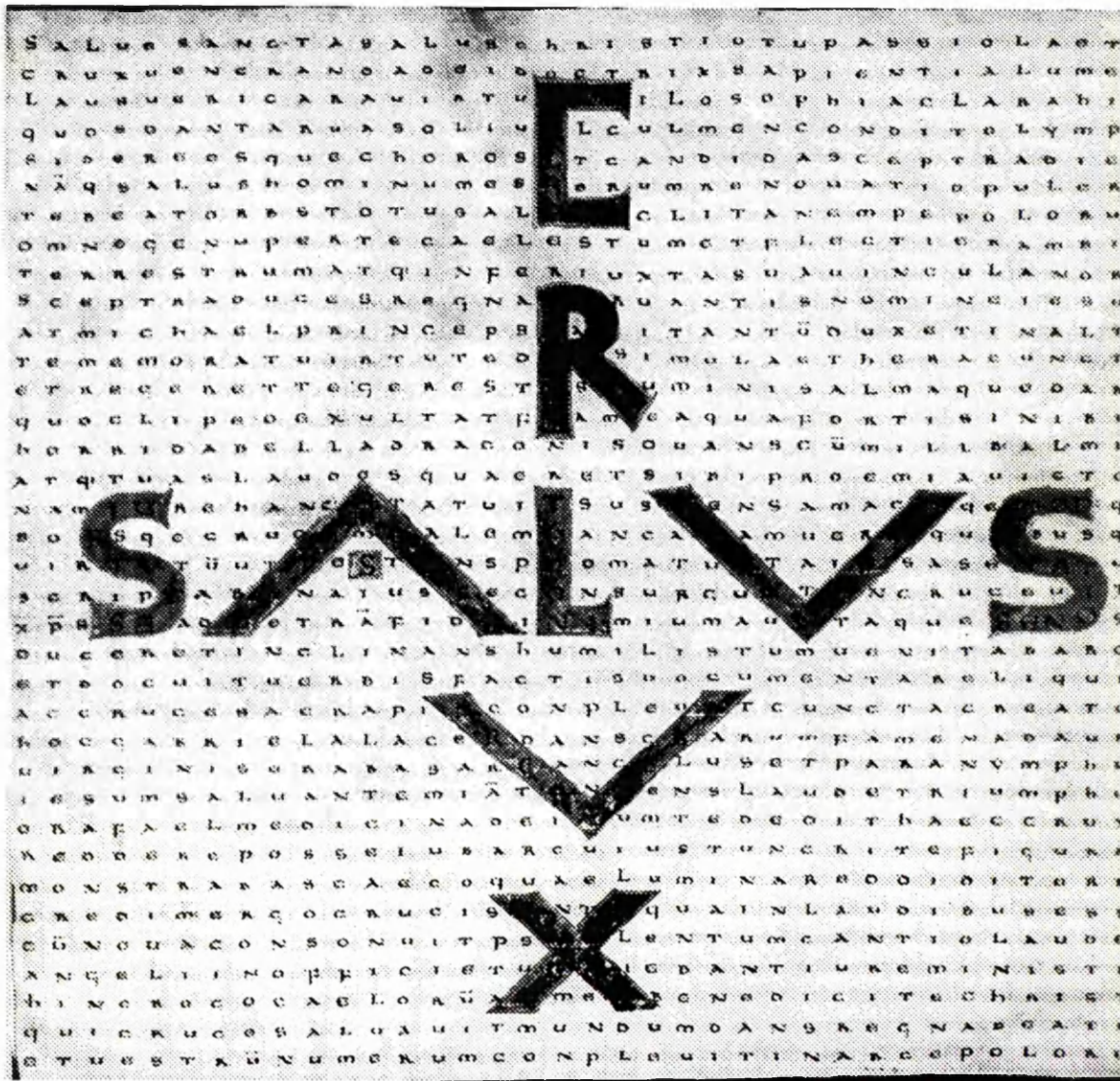
End Image folio 101 verso page 5



The nine letters are arranged in the shape of a cross. The words are CRUX and SALUS. The illustrator in Thenaud's case has omitted the horizontal line in the letter A. The letter "s" in the middle of "est" should have been illuminated, as may be seen from the following annotated image of this folio 104 verso:-



This is evident from comparison with BN. ms. Lat. 2423, given below:-



The significance of the nine letters can be traced back to Pseudo-Dionysius of the late fifth century. His systematic use of biblical texts led him to grouping the angels into the three hierarchies of angels with three in each category. Thénaud followed the same grouping, throughout the present work, as has been discussed in the introduction *supra*.

The theme of angels is so significant in the present work, that a summary of

End Image folio 104 verso page 3

the underlying sources of the nine orders is appropriate. Ernst¹ cites two references from the Old Testament (Da. x 13, xii 1) and five from the New (Col. i 16, Re. i 21 [which does not exist. Re. i 20 has reference to the seven angels of the seven churches; Re. xviii 21 has a strong ἰσχυρὸς angel], Ro. viii 18 [should be Ro. viii 38], I Th. iv 16 and I Tim. v 21 as used by Pseudo-Dionysius.

These may now be considered in order.

Daniel x 13 has:

וְשָׂרָא מַלְכוּת פָּרְס עֹמֵד לְנֹגְדֵי עֲשָׂרִים וְאַחַד
יוֹם וְהִנֵּה מִיכָאֵל אֶחָד הָעֲשָׂרִים הָרִאשֹׁנִים בָּא לְעֻזְרִי וְאֲנִי נֹתַרְתִּי
שֵׁם אֲצִל מִלְכֵי פָרְס:

Here the opening phrase translated prince of the kingdom of Persia, and the later phrase translated as Michael, one of the chief princes, are given in the Vulgate as *Princeps autem regni Persarum*, and Michael, *unus de principibus primis*.

Similarly Daniel xii 1 has:-

וּבִעֵת הַהִיא יַעֲמֹד מִיכָאֵל הַשָּׂר הַגָּדוֹל
הַיֵּשֶׁבֶת עַל-בְּנֵי עֹמֵד וְהִיטָה עֵת צָרָה
אֲשֶׁר לֹא-נִהְיָתָה מִקִּדְמוֹת גּוֹי עַד הַעֵת הַהִיא

¹ U. Ernst, *Carmen Figuratum. Geschichte des Figurengedichts von den Antiken Ursprüngen bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters*, Pictura et Poesis. Band I, Böhlau Verlag, 1991, p. 262 note 81.

End Image folio 104 verso page 4

וְבָעֵת הַהִיא יִמְלֹךְ עִמָּךְ כָּל־הַנְּמָצָא כְּתוּב בַּסֵּפֶר:

Here the phrase translated Michael, the great prince, in the Vulgate is Michael, *princeps magnus*. These passages support the term *Principautez* used by Thenaud.

Colossians i 16 starts:-

ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ ἐκτίσθη τὰ πάντα ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, τὰ ὁρατὰ καὶ τὰ ἀόρατα, εἴτε θρόνοι εἴτε κυριότητες εἴτε ἀρχαὶ εἴτε ἐξουσίαι·

The final phrase translated thrones or dominions or rulers or authorities, in the Vulgate is *sive throni, sive dominationes, sive principatus, sive potestates*:

There are abundant references to angels in Revelation.

Particular notice needs to be made of Romans viii 38, 39 on two accounts.

Firstly, it justifies Thenaud in recognising an angelic order *vertus*. The Greek has:-

πέπεισμαι γὰρ ὅτι οὔτε θάνατος οὔτε ζωὴ οὔτε ἄγγελοι οὔτε ἀρχαὶ οὔτε ἐνεστῶτα οὔτε μέλλοντα οὔτε δυνάμεις
8.39 οὔτε ὑψωμα οὔτε βάθος οὔτε τις κτίσις ἑτέρα δυνήσεται ἡμᾶς
χωρῖσαι ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγάπης τοῦ θεοῦ τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν.

The Vulgate has:-

Certus sum enim, quia neque mors, neque vita, neque angeli, neque

End Image folio 104 verso page 5

principatus, neque virtutes, neque instantia, neque futura, neque fortitudo, (39) neque altitudo, neque profundum, neque creatura alia poterit nos separare a caritate Dei, quæ est in Christo Jesu, Domino nostro.

Secondly, it should also be noted that *neque virtutes* is the translation of ἐξουσία οὔτε, which is not in the Greek version given above. It is a variant, found inter alia in Paris Claromontanus, sixth century, where ἐξουσία οὔτε precedes ἀρχαί. In others, such as Paris Ephraemi, fifth century, Tertullian, second to third century, and Origen, 254, οὔτε ἐξουσία follows ἀρχαί. The variant readings of Romans viii 38 may therefore be acknowledged as the basis for the recognition of *vertuz* as an angelic order.

I Thessalonians iv 16 starts:-

ὅτι αὐτὸς ὁ κύριος ἐν κελεύσματι, ἐν φωνῇ ἀρχαγγέλου

In the Vulgate this is I Thessalonians iv 15, and it starts *Quoniam ipse Dominus in jussu, et in voce archangeli* ... This mention of an archangel justifies Rabanus Maurus' (and subsequently Thénau's) recognition of the *archangelic* order.

Cherubim are mentioned once in the New Testament² and numerous times

² Greek has He. ix 5:-

ὑπὲρ ἁνῶ δὲ αὐτῆς Χερουβὶν δόξης κατασκιάζοντα τὸ ἱλαστήριον· περὶ ὧν οὐκ ἔστιν νῦν λέγειν κατὰ μέρος.

NASB has He. ix 5:-

And above it were the cherubim of glory overshadowing the mercy seat; but of these things we cannot now speak in detail.

End Image folio 104 verso page 6

in the Old Testament. *Seraphim* are only mentioned in Isaiah vi 2.³

I Timothy v 21 has a reference to angels.⁴

This brief assessment of the basis employed by Rabanus Maurus and which was adopted by Thénau shows that there was a biblical justification for the ninefold hierarchy.

Finally it should be noted that the layout has angels as the lowest, above whom are the archangels. Thrones are central. The highest order is Seraphim, under whom are the Cherubim. This is in accordance with Thénau's Cosmology as discussed in the introduction *supra*.

³ Vulgate has Is. vi 2:-

Seraphim stabant super illud: sex alæ uni, et sex alæ alteri; duabus velabant faciem ejus, et duabus velabant pedes ejus, et duabus volabant.

LXX has Is. vi 2:-

καὶ σεραφὶν εἰστήκεισαν κύκλῳ αὐτοῦ, ἕξ πτέρυγες τῷ ἐνὶ καὶ ἕξ πτέρυγες τῷ ἐνί, καὶ ταῖς μὲν δυσὶν κατεκάλυπτον τὸ πρόσωπον καὶ ταῖς δυσὶν κατεκάλυπτον τοὺς πόδας καὶ ταῖς δυσὶν ἐπέταντο.

Hebrew has Is. vi 2:-

שֶׁרָפִים עֹמְדִים | מִמַּעַל לִי שֵׁשׁ
כְּנָפִים שֵׁשׁ כְּנָפִים לְאַחַד בְּשָׁתַיִם | יְכַסֶּה פָנָיו וּבְשָׁתַיִם יְכַסֶּה רַגְלָיו
וּבְשָׁתַיִם יְעוּפֶף: 3 וְקָרָא זֶה אֱלֹהֵהּ וְאָמַר

NASB has Is. vi 2:-

Seraphim stood above Him, each having six wings; with two he covered his face, and with two he covered his feet, and with two he flew.

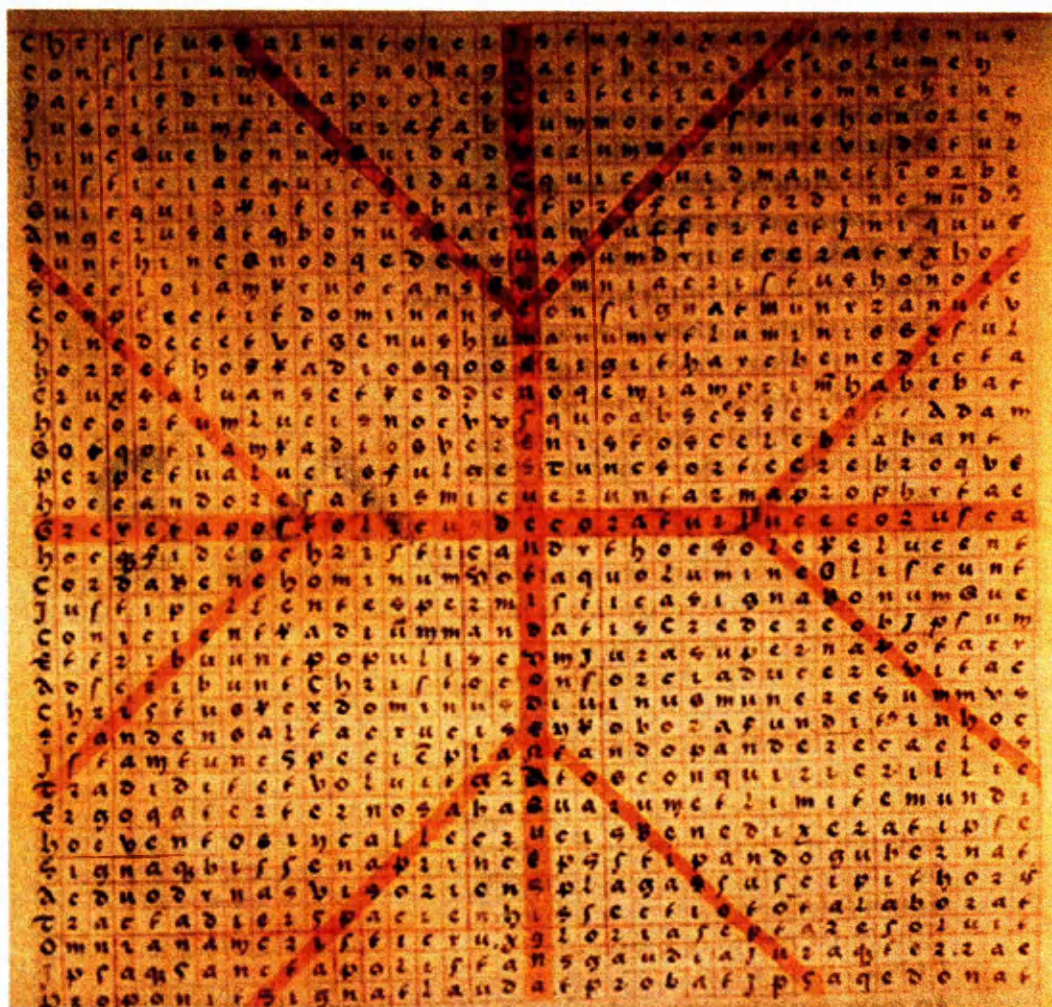
⁴ Vulgate has I Ti. v 21:-

Testor coram Deo et Christo Jesu, et electis angelis, ut hæc custodias sine præjudicio, nihil faciens in alteram partem declinando.

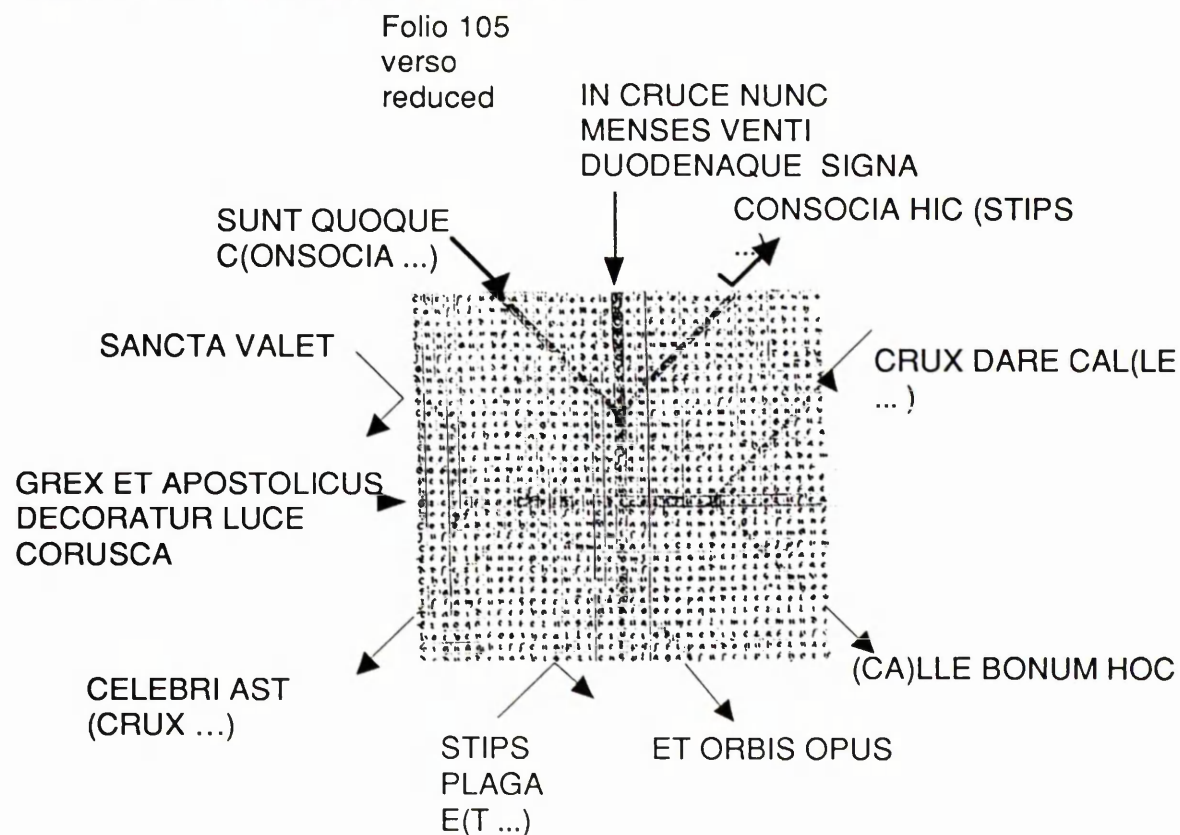
NASB has I Ti. v 21:-

I solemnly charge you in the presence of God and of Jesus Christ and of His chosen angels, to maintain these principles without bias, doing nothing in a spirit of partiality.

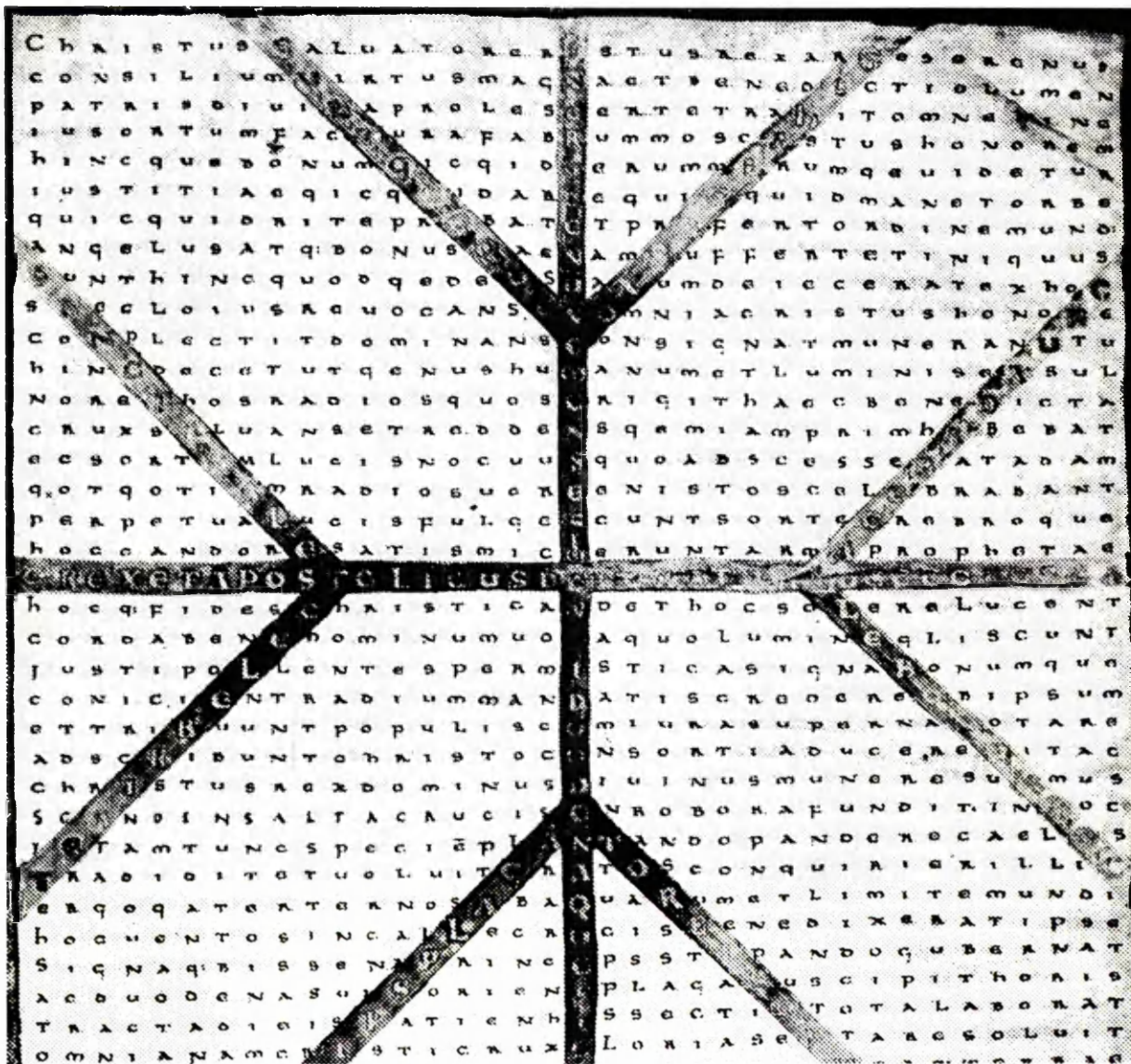
End Image folio 104 verso page 7



The twelve arms are annotated as below:-



This image is a copy of Rabanus' Figura VIII, given below:-



BN. ms. Lat. 2423, Figura VIII

The image is divided into four rectangles all of which are subdivided.¹ There are twelve ends to the shape, and the text concentrates on this number twelve. Rabanus notes the twelve winds, months, hours of day and night, patriarchs, apostles and tribes of Israel. Rabanus uses the image to illustrate his theme of the Church triumphant - the eternal Jerusalem, Christ as architect of the heavenly city, prefigured in the Old Testament, by the High Priest with the breast piece with the twelve stone and the sin offering. Rabanus also referred to the classical division of the twelve regions of the Zodiac. These themes are taken up by Thenaud, but there is one theme that Thenaud does not employ. This is the theme of the winds. In Rabanus' scheme there were the four cardinal winds,² all of which had an accompanying wind to the right³ and to the

¹ The resulting shape (Cross Patonée) is discussed by T. Healey, in *The Symbolism of the Cross in sacred and secular Art*, Leonardo X, 1977. Fig. 3a.

² *Septentrio* North, *Subsolanus* East, *Auster* South, *Zephyrus* West.

left.⁴ The relevance of this is that it shows that Thenaud exploited the image for his own purpose. He is selective in that although he does refer to the twelve months, he chose to overlook one of the main aspects of the image - the winds. Rabanus employed the title *De mensibus duodecim, de duodecim signis, atque duodecim ventis, et de apostolorum prædicatione, deque cæteris mysteriis duodenarii numeri, quæ in cruce ostenduntur*. Months and winds are given in the phrase which runs vertically down the centre - IN CRUCE NUNC MENTES VENTI DUODENAEQUE SIGNA. It may also be observed in passing that Thenaud makes no diversion from his objective despite the phrase which makes up the horizontal line - GREX ET APOSTOLICUS DECORATUR LUCE CORUSCA.⁵

In summary it is to be noted that Thenaud's comment, despite his ignoring the aspect of the winds, reflects Rabanus' model that the cross is a blueprint for the universe.⁶

³ *Septentrio aquilo, or boreas, Subsolanus eurus or sorios, Auster euroauster or euronotus, Zephyrus africanus.*

⁴ *Septentrio circius, Subsolanus vulturinus, Auster austroafricanus or libonotus, Zephyrus corus or agrestis.*

⁵ *CORRUSCANT* is one of Thenaud's most favoured words. See folio 111 recto.

Traicte sixiesme

Comment le monde angelic influe on monde celeste.

and

folio 113 recto.

Du septennaire virginal qui recueille influx des quaternaires.

Chapitre second.

Derived from the Latin *corusco* it has the meaning, among others, of the tremulous motion of fire, lightning, or brilliant bodies, with the meaning of *to flash, glitter, gleam, coruscate*.

⁶ *Analog dieser Konzeption, die das Kreuz in den Rang einer einheitsstiftenden Prägeform des Universums, einer kosmischen Signatur, erhebt, erscheint, in der Textfassung der am Kreuz triumphierende Christus als Herrscher über die gesamte, durch die Zahl 12 geordnete Schöpfung:*

vers 30:-

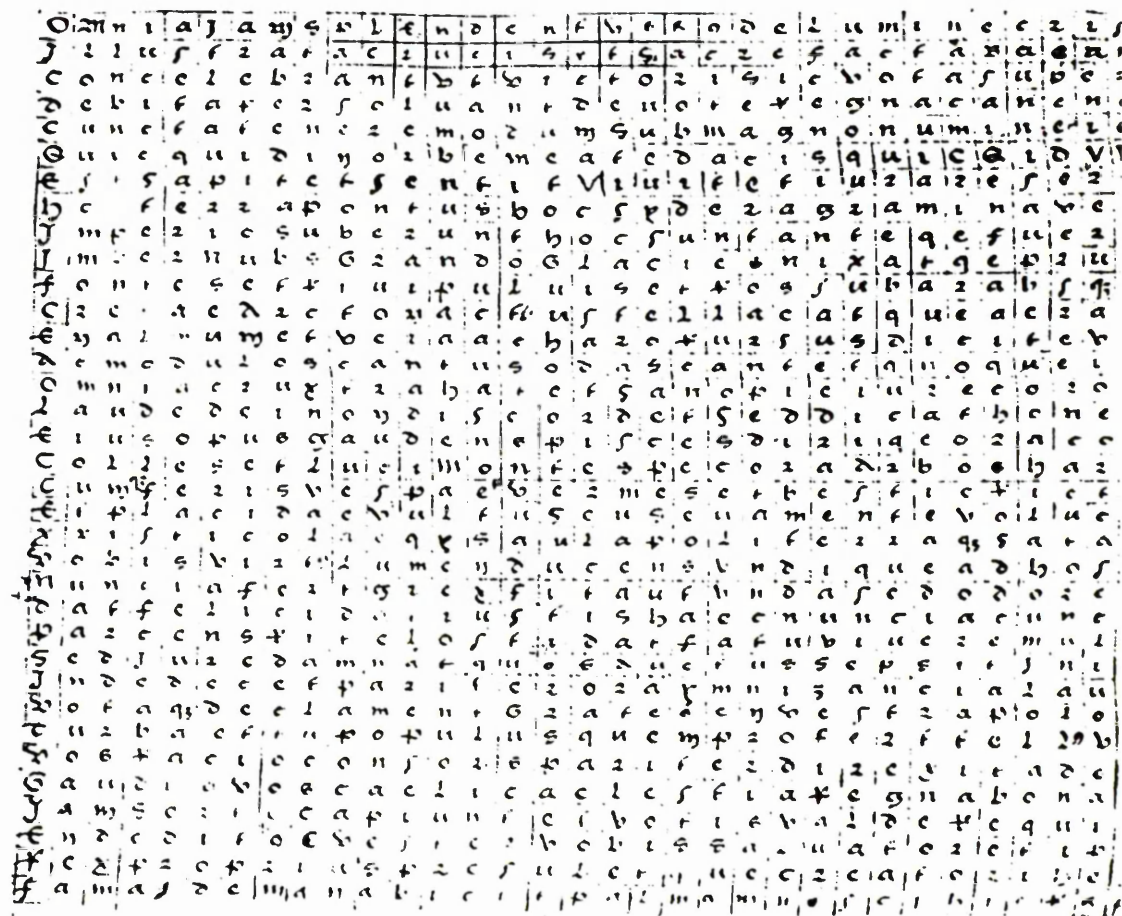
Ergo quater ternos ab aquarum et limite mundi

Hoc ventos in calle crucis benedixerat, ...

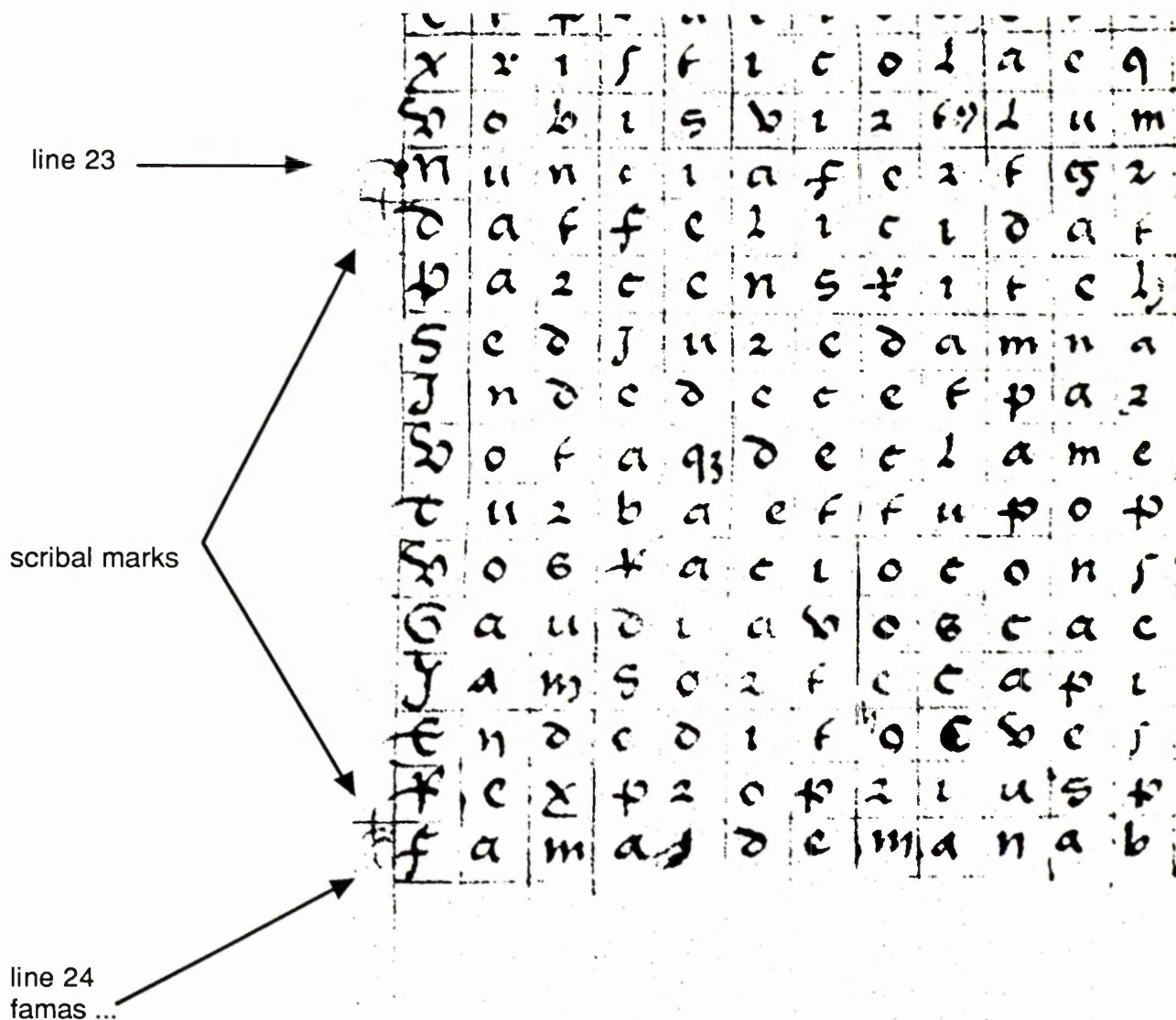
U. Ernst, op. cit., p. 232.

End Image folio 106 verso.

Folio 106 verso is omitted from the colour transparency microfilm ms. 5061 ICR 1114 9611494 190796. The following image, and the subsequent sectional enlargements were obtained by the author from the text microfilm ms. 5061 9504795 705/95.



In this case Thenaud's scribe has given a matrix of rows, columns and letters, but there is no superimposed Figura. The reason is evident from a closer examination of the folio, in that the illustrator has omitted line 24 and inserted it at the base. This may be seen from the following enlargement:-



When the error was discovered the figure was marked, as may be seen by the scribal marks indicated. The same matrix (starting *omnia*) is found in Rabanus Maurus Figura VII. The next sheet shows that figura (reduced) from a Vatican copy.¹

¹Reduced from U. Ernst, *op. cit.*, p. 245, Rabanus Figura VII, Cod. Vat. Bibl. Chig. A.V. 129 I-II; Biblioteca Vaticana, Rom. (PL 107, 175 ff.)

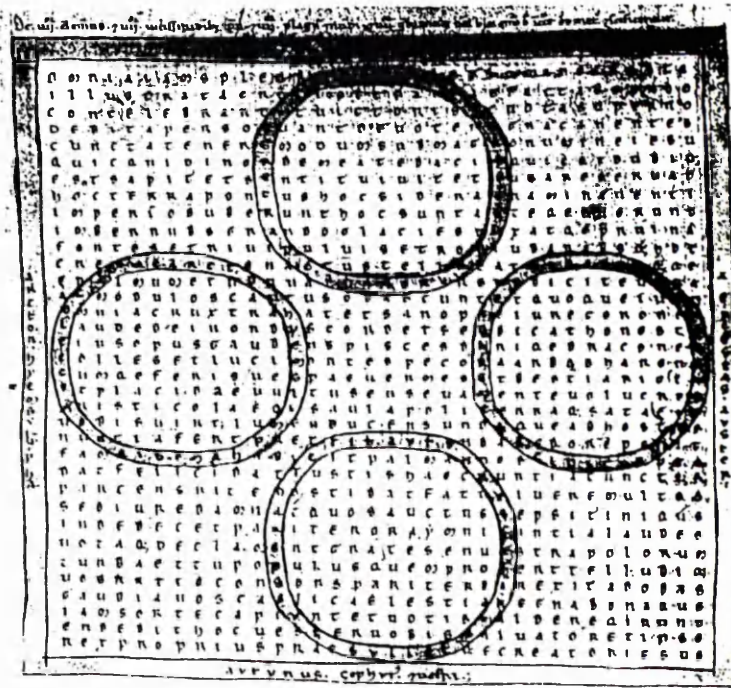
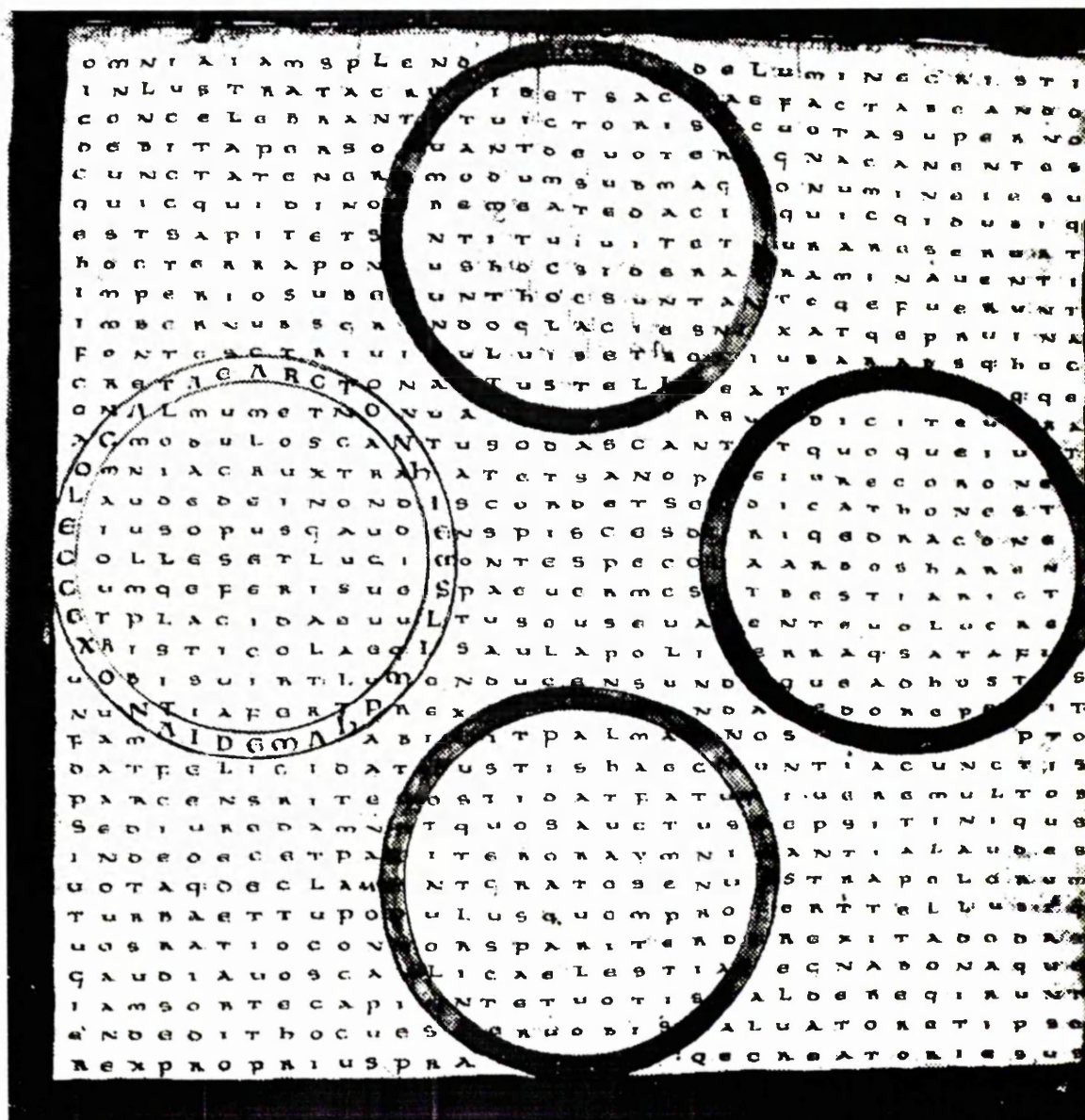


Abb. 71. Hieronymus, Figura VII, Cod. Vat. Bibl. Chig. A.V. 129 I-II; Biblioteca Vaticana, Rom (Pl. 107, 134f.)

It has been established above that the most likely source for Thenaud's illustrator was BN. ms. Lat. 2423. The following image shows Figura VII from this ms.:-



This event accounts for Thenaud's remarks in folio K recto:-

*Comment dame simplice list a son escolier meintes leczons sur
les suzdicts liures lcy vouloye mettre meintes figures de Rhabanus
Maurus que le vice du scripteur et la briefuete du temps nõt permys
chapitre iii folio ci*

The uppermost circle has *Ver oriens ignis aurora hac parte relucet*,²

The lowest circle has *Autumnus, zephyrus, tellus et vespera hic fit*.³

² Spring, East, Fire, Early morning lighten up in this part.

³ Autumn, West wind, Earth, and Evening are present here.

The left hand circle has *Arcton, hiems, lympa, media, nox ecce locatae*.⁴

The right hand circle has *Aer, aestas, arcu hic sit meridiesque* ⁵

The four circles represent the four arms of the cross. They also represent the four elements, the four cardinal points, the four seasons of the year and the times of the day. Ernst⁶ notes that the origin for this imagery may be traced back to the fifth century before Christ⁷ and found a place in the philosophy of Plato.⁸ Thénau's poem refers to all these four aspects; like Isidore of Seville he connects the four seasons with the four cardinal points;⁹ unlike Ambrose¹⁰ he makes no mention of the four apostles here. Interestingly Thénau does not follow Rabanus Maurus in making use of the notion that the changeability and the cyclic nature of the world was reflected in the significance attributed to the number 36 = 6 x 6. 36 was considered the *numerus sphæricus sive circularis*. Rabanus' figure with these four circles had, as has been given above, four phrases, each of which were intended to have 36 letters. Ernst¹¹ repeats this claim, which is not entirely true as the phrase *Autumnus, zephyrus, tellus et vespera hic fit* has 37 letters.

⁴ North, Winter, Water, Midnight seen here.

⁵ Air, Summer, South, and Midday may here be seen.

⁶ U. Ernst, *op. cit.*, p. 246.

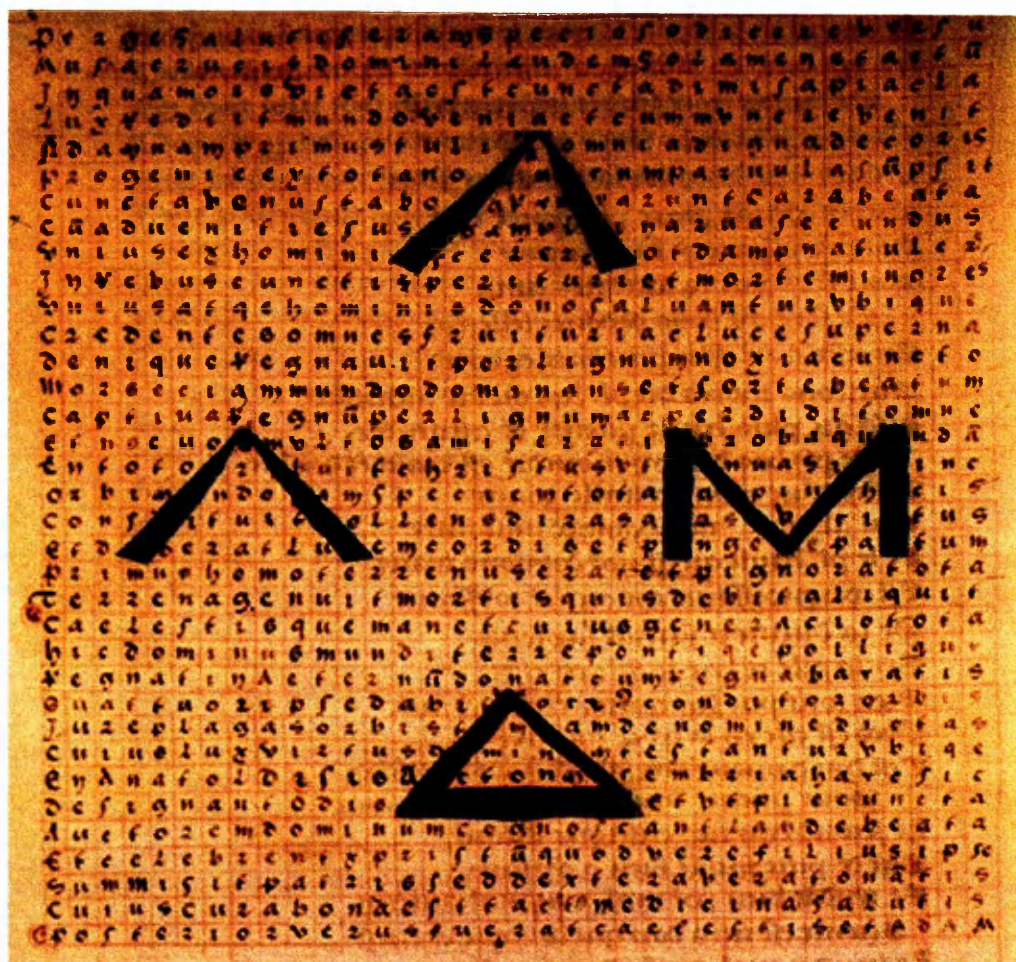
⁷ U. Ernst, *ibid.*, cites Empedocles, but without reference.

⁸ Timæus, 39e - 40a.

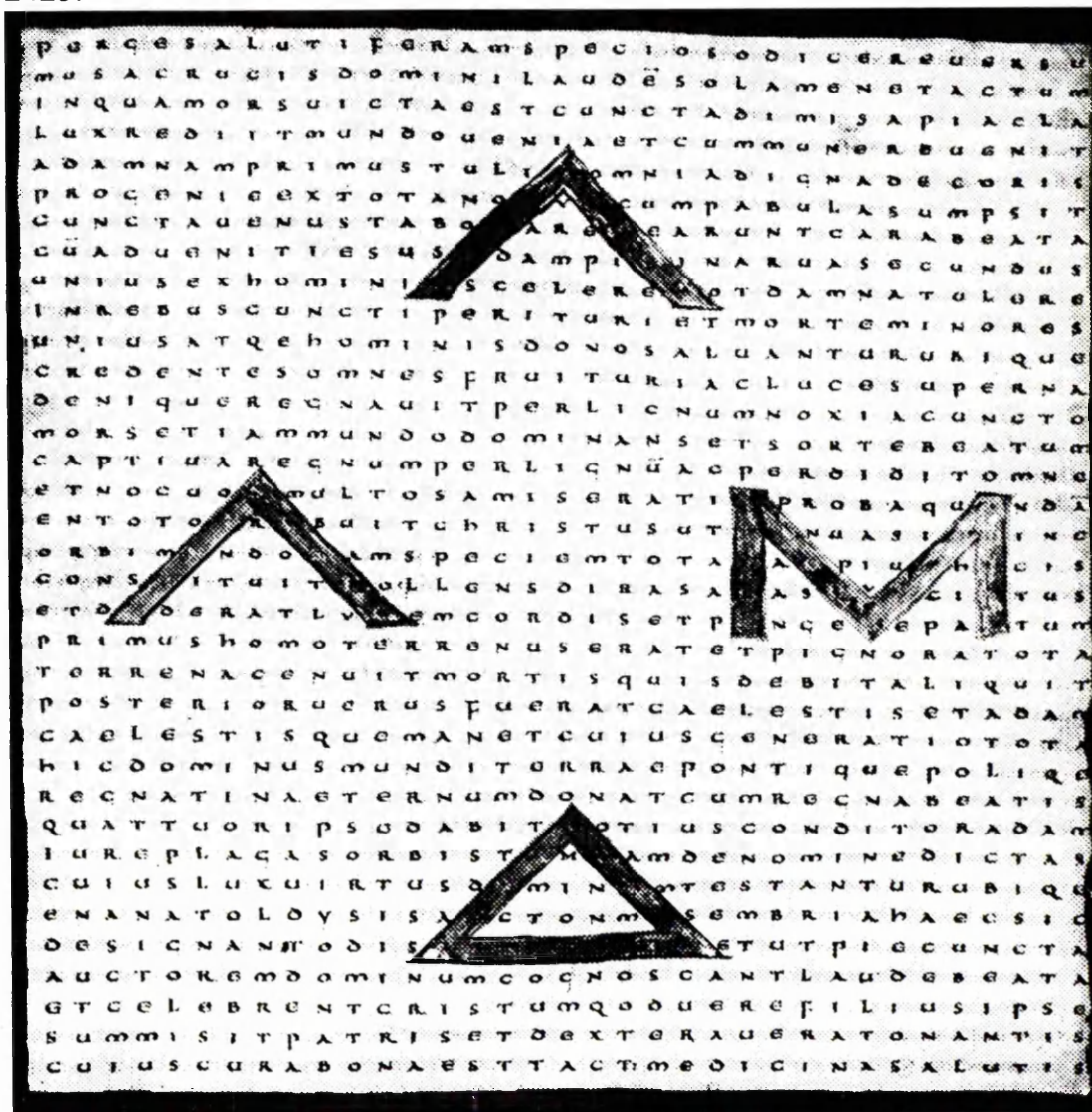
⁹ Isidore, *Etymologiæ*, V, 35, Patrologia Latina 82, 221, B/C.

¹⁰ Ambrose, *De XLII mansionibus filiorum Israel*, Patrologia Latina 17, 11 D - 12.

¹¹ U. Ernst, *op. cit.*, p. 247.



2423:-



These images show the four Greek letters ΑΔΑΜ arranged in the form of a cross. Raban highlights two allegorical aspects. The first is a form of Notarikon, and the second is a form of Gematria.

Firstly there is the significance of the four cardinal points.¹ In the Sibylline Oracles the connection is made between Adam and the four winds, based on the initial letters from Ανατολιν τε Δυσιν τε Μεσημβριην τε και Αρκτον.² Furthermore the antiquity of the notion of the connection between the creation of the *Urmensch* and all of creation was considered by Pseudo-Cyprian.³ He refers to Isaiah xl 12 to justify this connection of the *Urmensch* with the rest of

¹ G. Schiler, *Die Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst*, Bd. 2, Gütersloh 1968, p. 144.

² III, 26; VIII, 321; II, 195; XI, 3.

³ *De montibus Sina et Sion* (Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, III, 3) p. 108.

creation.¹

Who has measured the waters in the hollow of his hand, and marked off the heavens by the span, and calculated the dust of the earth by the measure, and weighed the mountains in a balance, and the hills in a pair of scales?

Use of this verse permits the anthropological connection to be made. It is however necessary that the subsequent verse be omitted:-²

Who has directed the Spirit of the LORD, or as His counsellor has informed Him?

The second aspect, which adopts a form of Gematria, is also employed by Thenaud. The numerical values of the individual letters are summed. The aspect which is especially noteworthy here however is that whereas Raban Maur uses the Greek letters, Thenaud attributes the method to the Hebrews, so that A = א = 1, Δ = ד = 4, A = א = 1, M = מ = 40.

Thenaud follows Raban Maur in tracing the connection between the forty-six years taken to build the temple of Solomon³ and the human gestation period.⁴

The figure may therefore be summarised firstly as a pictorial representation of the Tetragrammaton of the first man Adam in his role as microcosm, of the four corners of the earth, and secondly as prefiguring the incarnation of Christ. This is reflected in the phrase that comprises the ADAM when read in the North, South, East and then West positions.

*SANCTA MET/RO ATQUE ARTE EN DEC/ET UT SINT C/ARMINA CHRISTO
HINC*

Thenaud's illustrator demonstrates his independence by enlarging the "T" at the top of the A in the North position,

¹NASB Is. xl 12.

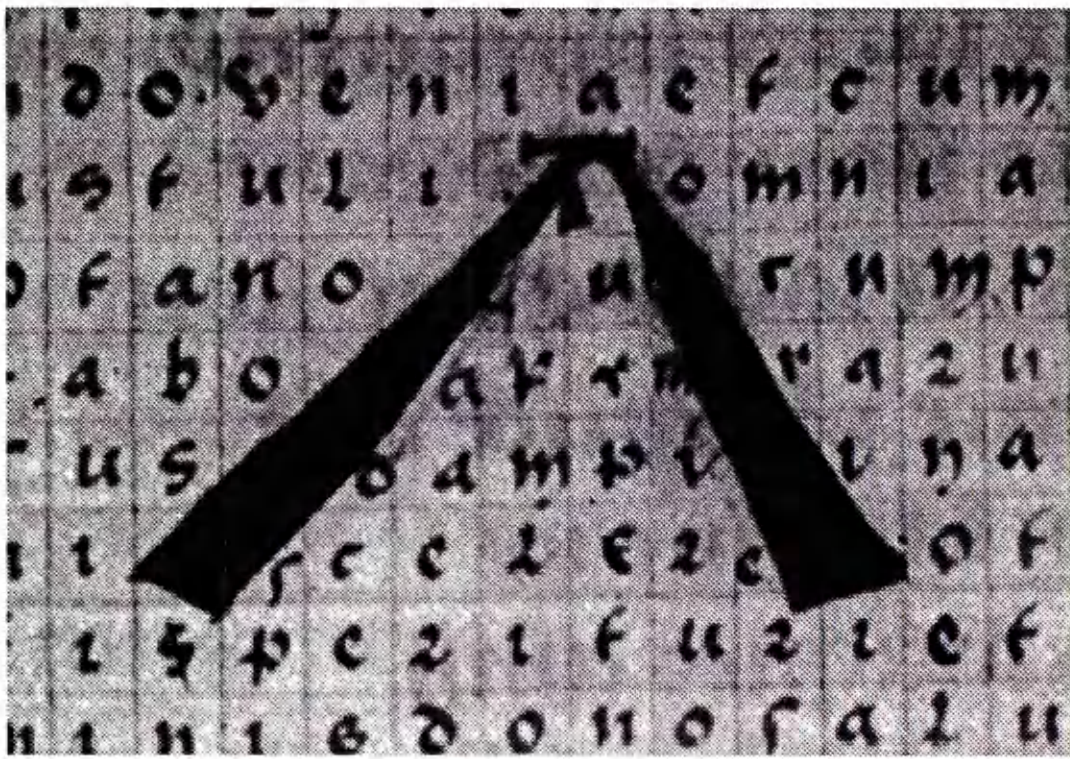
²NASB Is. xl 13.

³Only in Ge. i 2, Jb. xxvi 13, Pss. xxxiii 6 and civ 30 is the Spirit concerned merely with nature. And as to Ge. i 2, 'the creative activity of the Spirit should not be pressed.' W. Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism*, London, SPCK, 1948. p. 189 note 7. Davies goes on to note that the Rabbinic view was to see the Spirit as the spirit of mercy rather than the spirit of creation. See Targum Jerusalem 1.2.

The Rabbinic view was that the Holy Spirit was concerned exclusively with man. Paul followed his rabbinic upbringing here. Paul did not adopt the Stoic notion of πνευμα that permeates the cosmos, and nor did Thenaud.

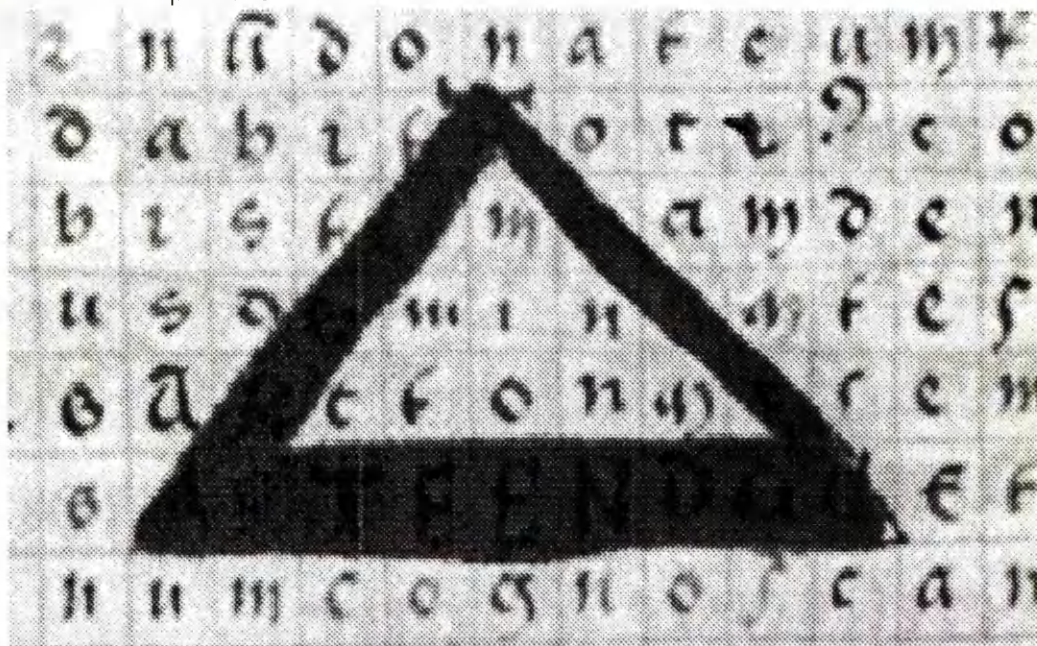
⁴Jn. ii 20.

⁴Jn. ii 21.



ms. 5061 folio 108 recto detail.

and the "T" at the top of the Δ .

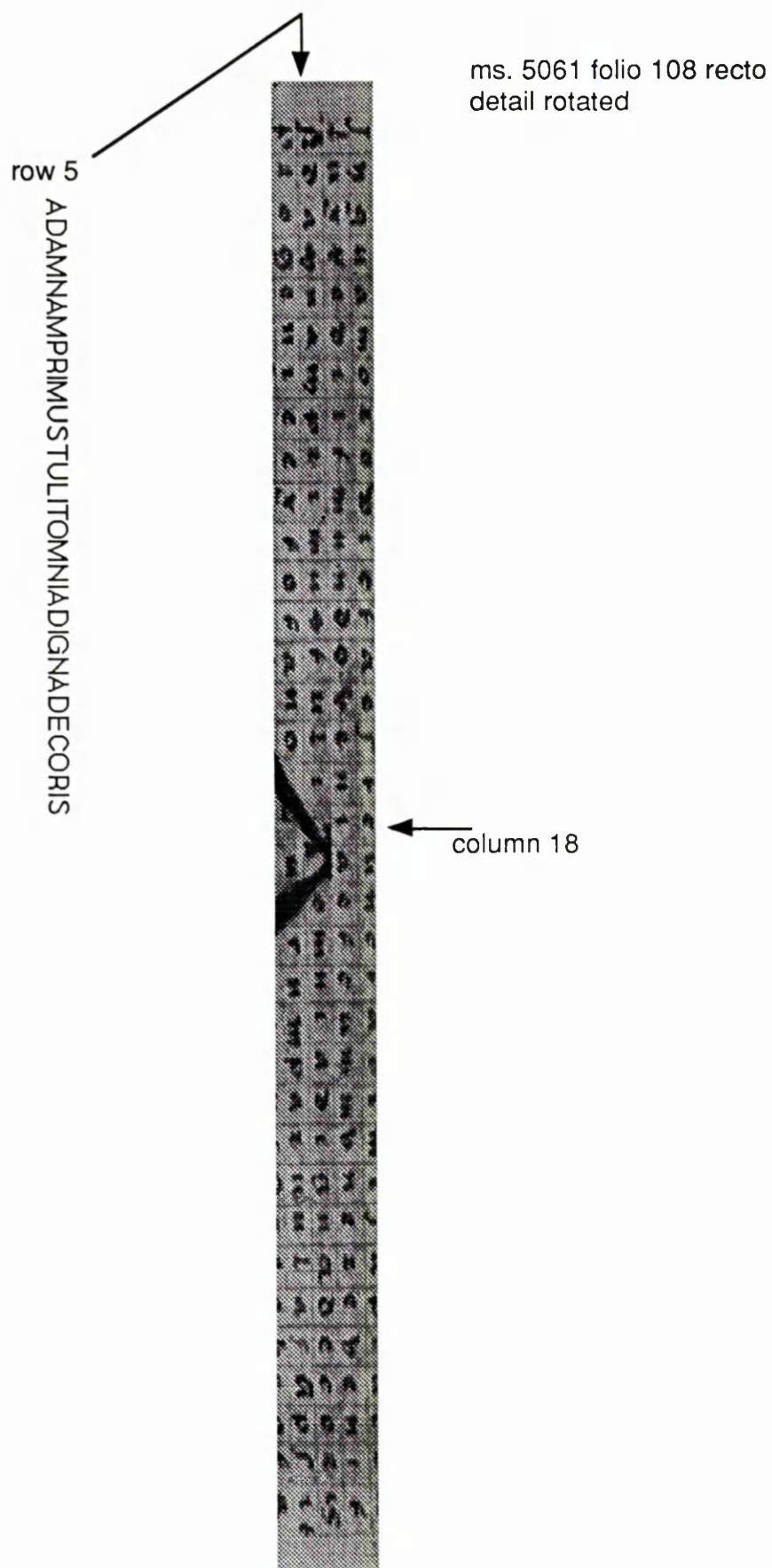


This highlighting of the two letters "T" was in conformity with Thenaud's interest in this symbol. It does not feature in other ms. of Rabanus Maurus' *De Laudibus Sanctæ Crucis*.

Once again Thenaud was let down by his illustrator. The off-centred appearance
End Image folio 108 recto page 4

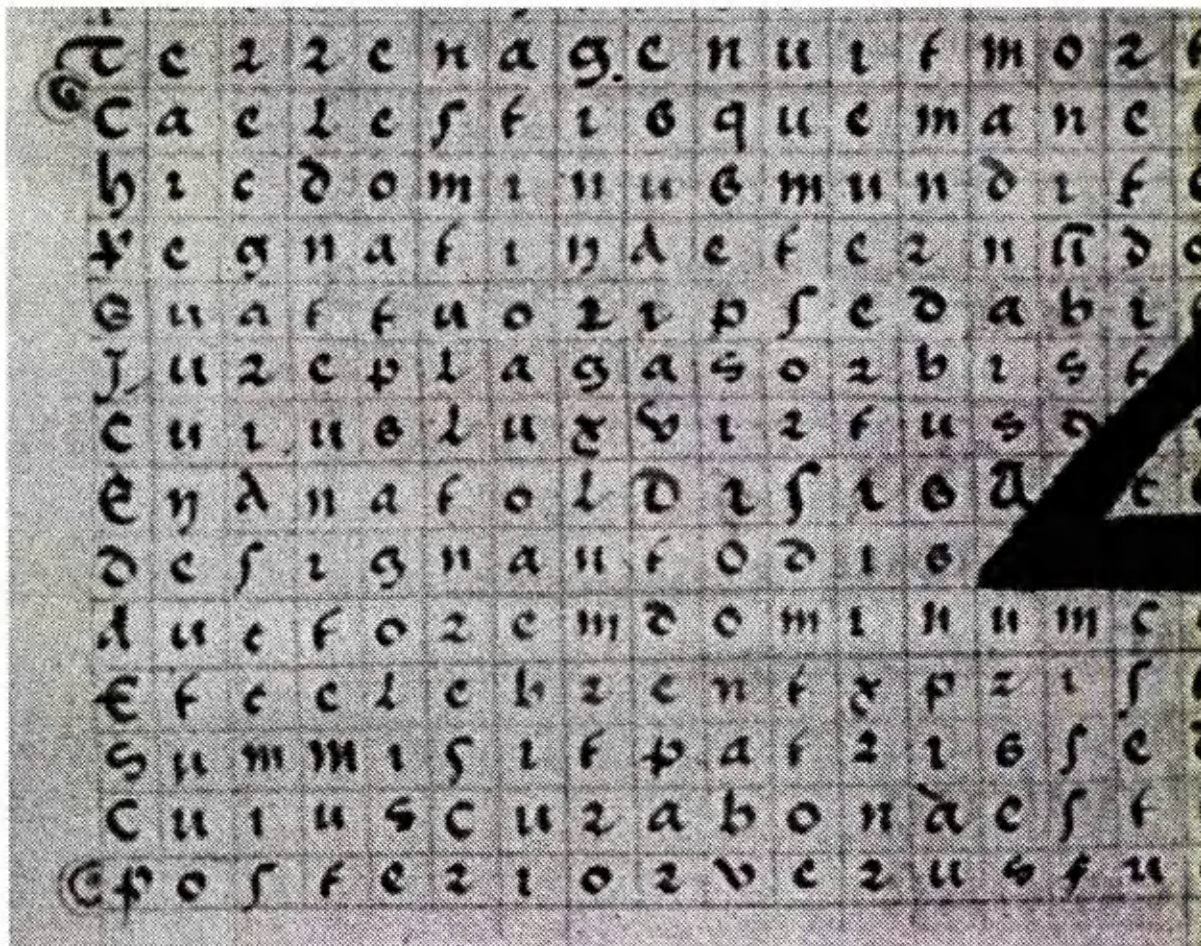
of the upper letter "A" is due to the fact that the letter "T" (Row 5) ought to have been in Column 18. Close inspection of the following (rotated) detail shows that the illustrator placed it in column 19. The illustrator 'compensated' for this error by placing the closing two letters ("is") in column 35.¹

¹Inspection of Row 6 reveals similar errors of dittography ("uu") and compensation. These errors account for the misshapen appearance of this letter "A" and give further support for Thenaud's criticism noted above concerning the scribe.



Thenaud's illustrator also omitted line 23, which starts *posterior*, and inserted it at the bottom, as may be seen from the following image:-

End Image folio 108 recto page 6

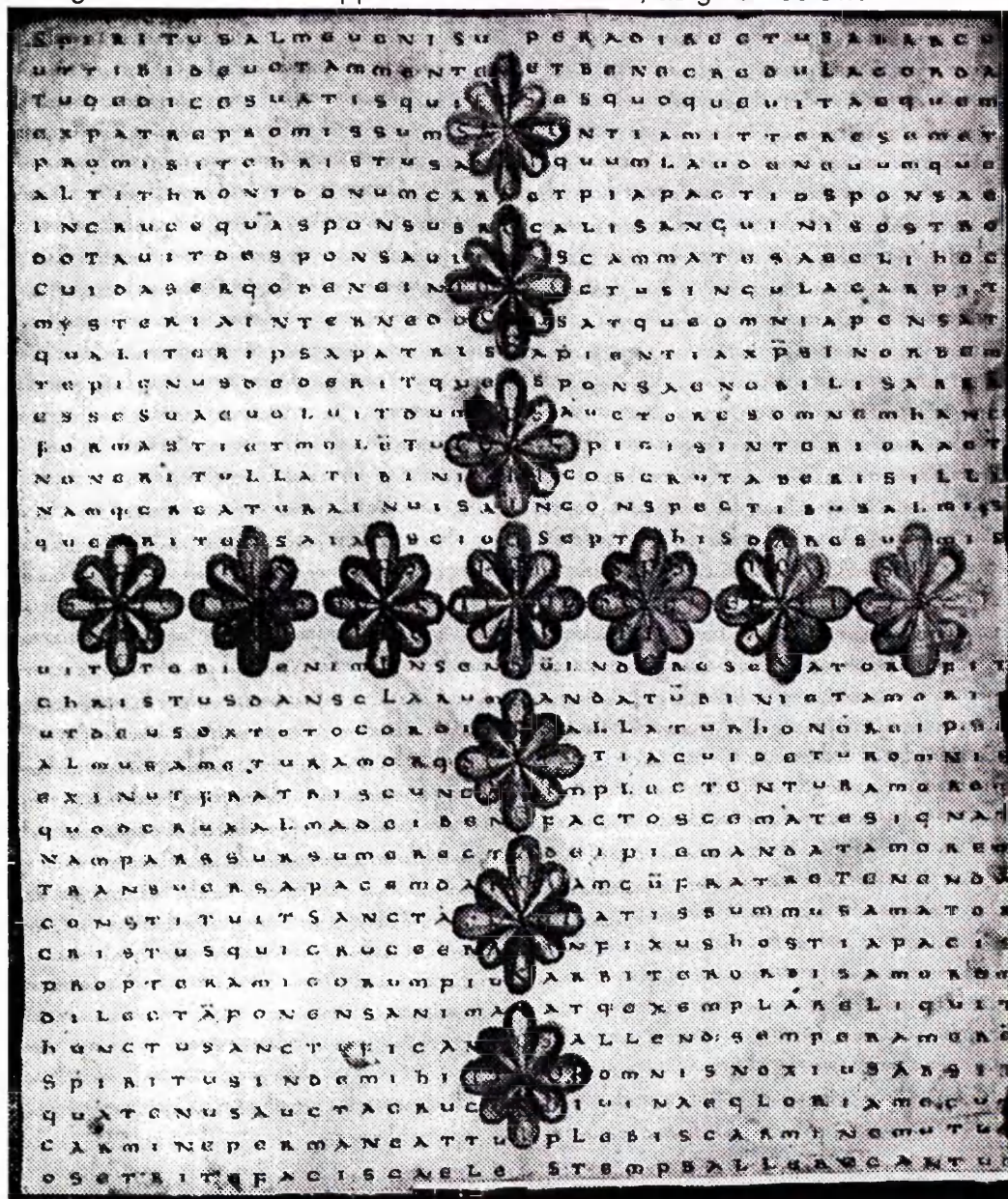


Note the illustrator's mark below *terren* and above *caelest*. The missing line 23 starting *poster...* has been added at the bottom (where the same mark appears), but did not affect the figura.

End Image folio 109 verso.

This folio of ms. 5061 has been ruled into 37 columns and into 37 rows, and has no other marks except for the title *Traicte. v. La tresx'pienne Cabale.*¹

The Figura which should appear is Rabanus' XVI, as given below:-



BN. ms. Lat. 2423, Figura XVI.

This figura is ruled into 37 columns and 37 rows, though Ernst claims there

1

Traicte. v. La tresx'pienne Cabale

Folio 109 verso detail.

End Image 109 verso page 1

are 38.¹

Die zum gleichen Gedichttypus gehörende Figura XVI (vgl. Abb. 91), die eine Seitenlänge von 38 Buchstaben aufweist und eine Invokation der dritten trinitarischen Person beinhaltet, ...

If he were correct this would explain the fact that Thenaud's illustrator was unable to fit the figura into his matrix. However Ernst is wrong, and so another reason must be sought for the lack of the figura in Thenaud's folio 109 verso. The most likely one is the reason given by Thenaud himself, concerning time and the 'vice du scribeur'.²

The figura, which is addressed to the Spirit, concerns the seven gifts of the Spirit. These are represented by the seven flowers arranged horizontally and the seven flowers arranged vertically. Ernst notes³ that these gifts were displayed in the form of roses with eight petals. The Christian tradition attributed special significance to the rose. The cross, as tree, was related to the rose bush, Paradise was likened to a rose garden and five roses were related to the five wounds of the crucifixion.⁴ Thenaud makes no use of such allusions. In fact his use of the rose is entirely different and mundane.⁵

Thenaud's use of the figura may now be compared with Rabanus', which is derived from Isaiah xi 2:-⁶

¹ U. Ernst, *op. cit.*, p. 287.

² Supra folio K recto.

³ U. Ernst, *ibid.*

⁴ A. Rosenberg, *Christliche Bildmeditation*, München, 1975, p. 108 ff. and Schumacher-Wolfengarten, R, *Jesse mit Rosenstock*, Römische Quartalschrift, 67/68, (1972/1973), pp. 138-168.

⁵ Ms. 5061 the end of folio 115 verso where the rose is credited with marvellous healing properties:-

Puis sont herbes mesmement Asterion qui est comme une estoille et luyt de nuyct laquelle est de mesmes qualite que la rose qui est excellentement profitable pour oster les douleurs et maladies des genitoires ...

and folio 3 verso as an attribute of feminine beauty:-

Elle nauoit sur son corps on quel estoient unies les troys beaultez de Juno Pallas et Demis fors une tresfine toille flouronnee de roses dor au trauers de laquelle paroissoit son delicieux et odorant corps qui estoit si bien proporcionne quant a tainct longueur droicture et elegance de tous membres ...

⁶ NASB has Is. xi 2:-

And the Spirit of the LORD will rest on Him,
The spirit of wisdom and understanding,
The spirit of counsel and strength,
The spirit of knowledge and the fear of the LORD.

Hebrew has Is. xi 2:-

וְנָחָה עָלָיו רוּחַ יְהוָה רוּחַ חָכְמָה וּבִינָה

Et requiescet super eum spiritus Domini; spiritus sapientiæ et intellectus, spiritus consilii et fortitudinis, spiritus scientiæ et pietatis;

The order, reading vertically from the top downwards, used by Rabanus is as follows:-

1. Spiritus sapientie
2. Et intellectus
3. Spiritus Consilii
4. Et fortitudo
5. Spiritus Scientiæ
6. Atque Pietatis
7. Spiritus Timoris Domini.

It will be noted that the order of the Isaiah text is from the top downwards. Thénau's description follows Rabanus' dissertation¹ in proceeding from the base upwards. For both of them the starting point is the fear of the Lord - *initium sapientiæ est timor Domini*.²

Thénau exploits the gifts for his own purposes. The two lists, starting this time with the lowest are laid out below. As Thénau was claiming to give the true Kabbalistic meaning, the Hebrew original is also given:-

<u>No.</u>	<u>Rabanus</u>	<u>Hebrew</u>	<u>Thénau</u>	<u>Comment</u>
7	Timor	יִרְאַת יְהוָה	Crainct et doubte	
6	Pietatis	רוּחַ דָּעַת	pitie	
5	Scientia	גְּבוּרָה	science	
4	Fortitudo	רוּחַ עֶצָה	force	
3	Consilium	בִּינָה	conseil	
2	Intellectus	חִכְמָה	entendement	
1	Sapientia	רוּחַ יְהוָה	sapience	

It is immediately evident that there is "slippage" between the Hebrew on one hand and the Vulgate, Rabanus and Thénau on the other. Reference

רוּחַ עֶצָה' וְגְבוּרָה רֹחַ דָּעַת וִירְאַת יְהוָה:

¹ B. Tillmans, *Die sieben Gaben des heiligen Geistes in der deutschen Dichtung des Mittelalters*. Diss. Kiel, 1963.

²Ps. cx 10. Pr. i 7, ix 10. Ec. i 16.

should be made to the following diagram on The Seven Gifts.

The Seven Gifts

<u>No.</u>	<u>Raban</u>	<u>Hebrew</u>	<u>Thenaud</u>
7	Timor	וִירָאָה יְהוָה	Crainct et doubte
6	Pietatis	רוּחַ דָּעַת	pitie
5	Scientia	וְגִבּוּרָה	science
4	Fortitudo	רוּחַ עֲצָה	force
3	Consilium	בִּינָה	conseil
2	Intellectus	חִכְמָה	entendement
1	Sapientia	רוּחַ יְהוָה	sapience

The order of the gifts bears some resemblance to the order of the ten *Sephiroth*. The notion of the *Sephiroth* is so central to the development of the Kabbalah that a short description is appropriate.¹

The Ten *Sephiroth* ²

¹ For a comprehensive discussion relevant to this study see C. Wirszubski, *Pico della Mirandola's Encounter with Jewish Mysticism*, Harvard, in assoc'n with The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1989, esp. pp. 34, 105, 190.

See also End Note Sephiroth.

² Biblical authority underlay the interest in the *Sephiroth*, in that six of the seven names of the lower *sefiroth* are to be found in I Ch. xxix 11:-

NASB has I Ch. xxix 11:-

Thine, O LORD, is the greatness and the power and the glory and the victory and the majesty, indeed everything that is in the heavens and the earth; thine is the dominion. O LORD, and thou dost exalt thyself as head over all.

End Image 109 verso page 4

The work *Sepher Yezirah* , or the Book of Creation, was an early mystical work, dating back to the sixth century at the earliest. Use is made in it of the notion of the "ten *Sephiroth* of nothingness". The first is *Ehieh* which is the divine will. This pure will is seen as having no reference to existence outside of itself. It is associated with the source of all being. The second *Sephirah* is *Hokhmah* , (see 2 חִכְמָה supra), which is associated with existence and this existence is dependent on divine thought. "*Thought is the beginning of all, and in that it is thought it is internal, secret, and unknowable.*"¹ The third of the *Sephirah* is *Binah* (see 3 בִּינָה supra).

Thenaud, in this folio 109 verso, was attempting to portray a Kabbalistic interpretation of the seven gifts of the Spirit. There are some evident similarities to the order of the *Sephiroth*. He did however have a very different intent to that of the Kabbalists. They sought to provide a description of the attributes of God. These revelations of God to himself and to his creation were considered to be spiritual forces. The Kabbalah developed twin interests. On one hand it was concerned with the nature of the Godhead as revealed through the emanation of the *Sephiroth* . On the other hand it dealt with the descent of the divine influence in order to preserve the emanations and to sustain the creation. In contrast Thenaud's intent in this treatise was to deal with the seven gifts of the Spirit. (He also made allusion to the seven sacraments,² but without naming them.)

Hebrew has I Ch. xxix 11:-

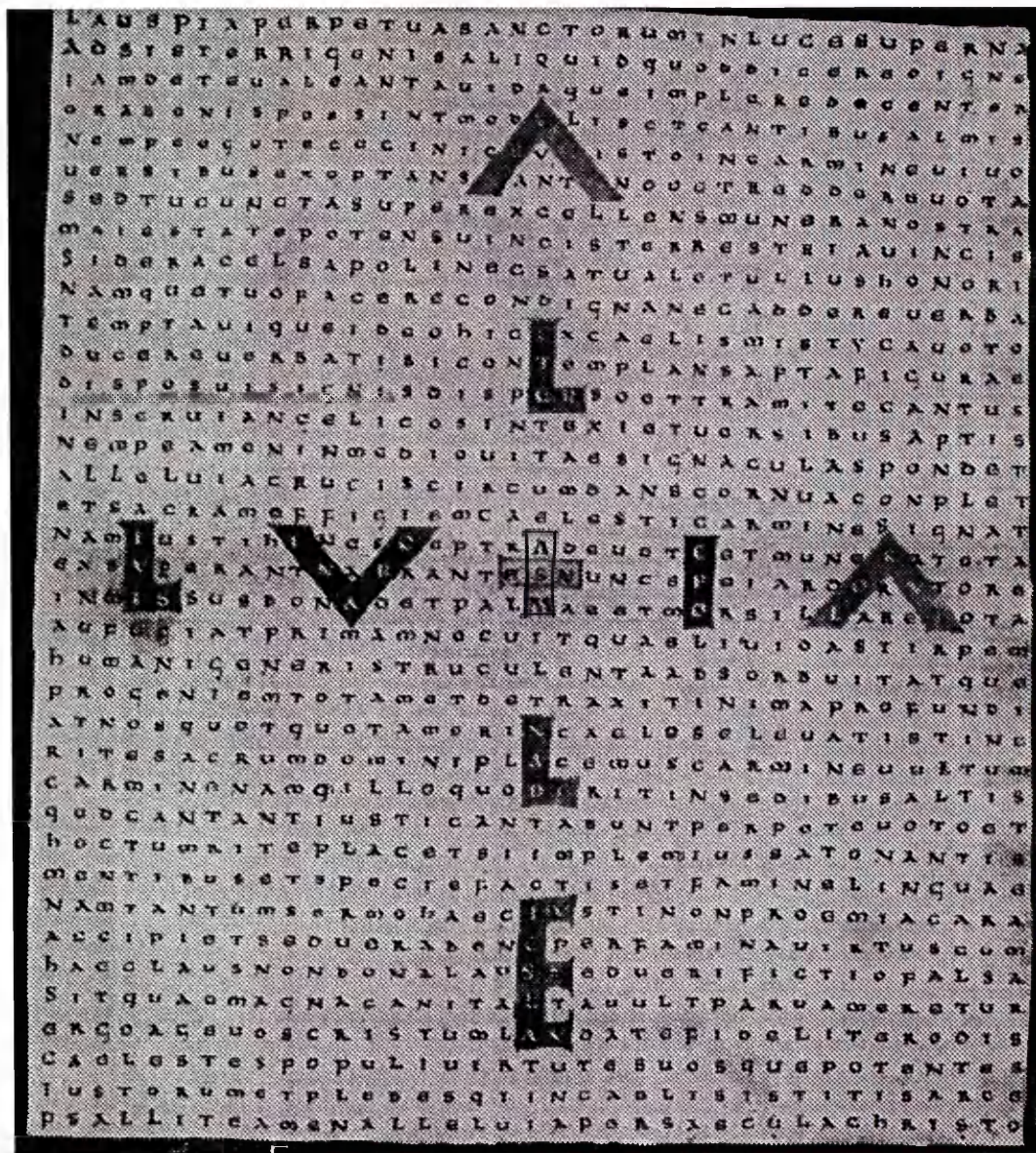
לֵךְ יְהוָה הַגְדִּלָה וְהַגְבִּירָה
וְהַתְפָּאֲרָתוֹ וְהַנְצַח וְהַחַיּוּת כִּי־כָל בְּשָׂמַיִם וּבָאָרֶץ לֵךְ יְהוָה הַמְמַלְכָה
וְהַמְתַּנְשֵׂא לְכָל לְרֹאשׁ:

¹ *Perush Eser Sephirot* 3a quoted in G. Scholem, *Origins of the Kabbalah*, New York, 1987, p. 270.

² Folio 108 verso, line 2.

End Image folio 110 verso

The image which should have been on folio 110 verso was Rabanus Maurus' Figura XXV. The image below is from BN ms. Lat. 2423.

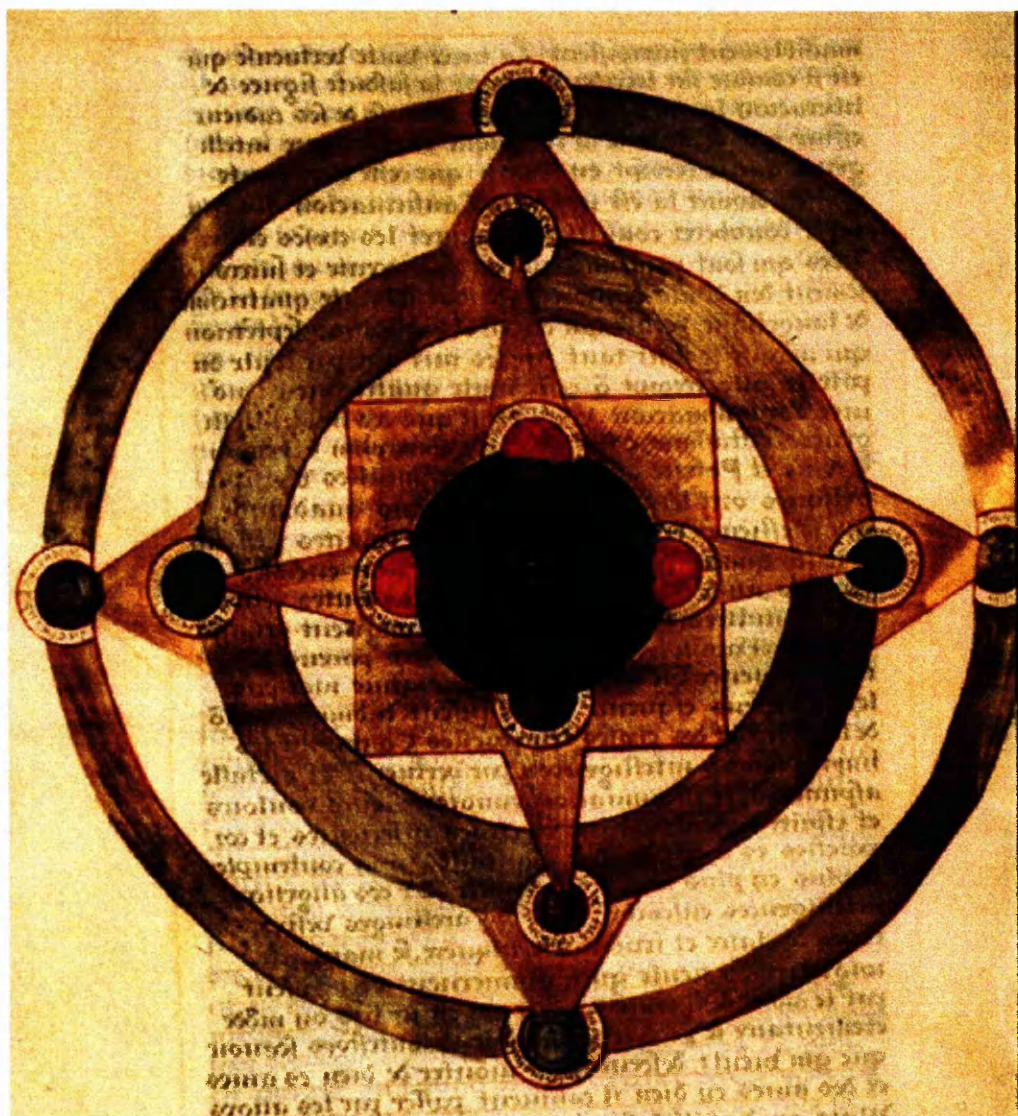


ALLELUIA consists of
CRUX AETERNA DEI ES
LAUS VIVIS IN ARCE
POLORUM

AMEN makes up
the central small
cross

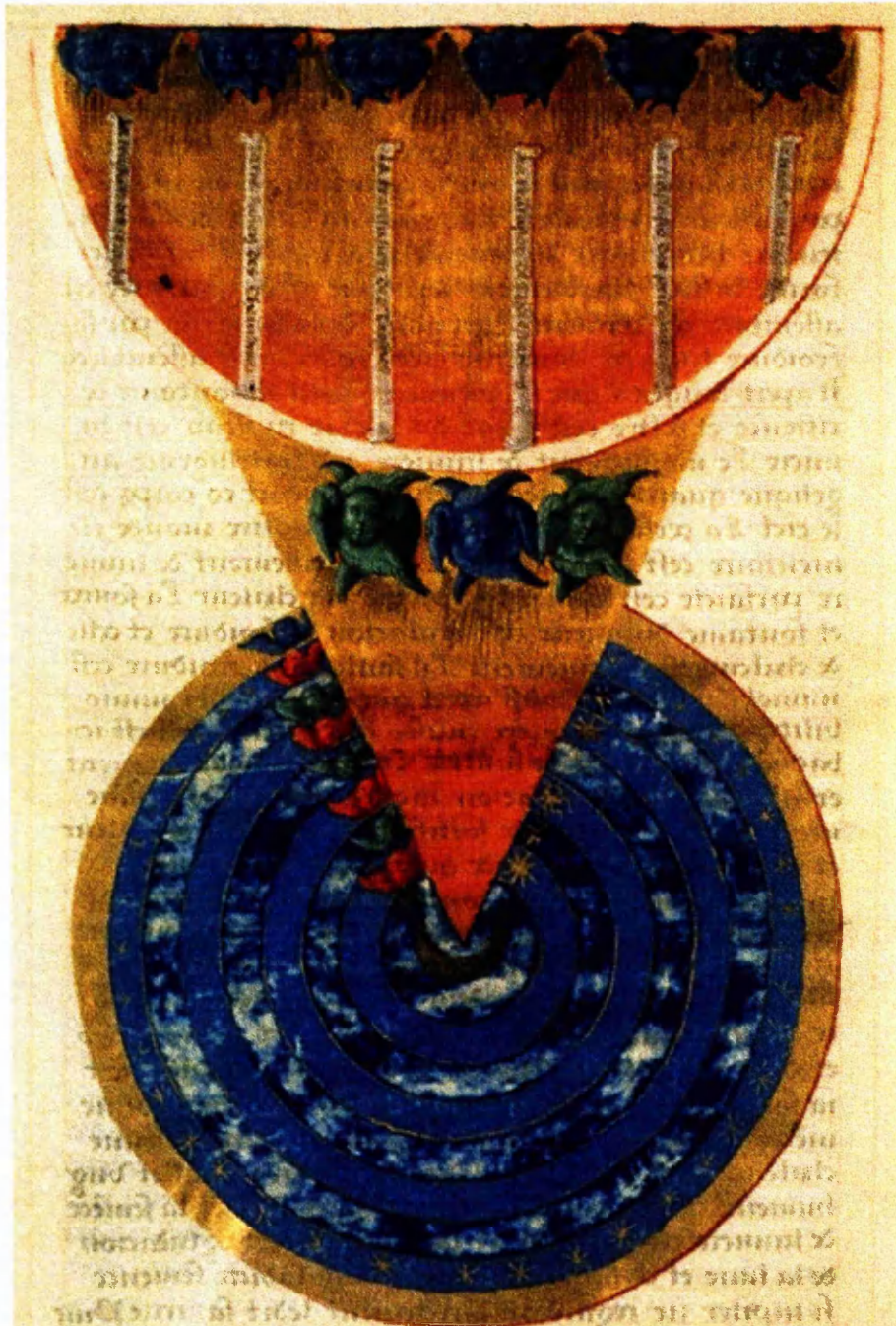
End Image folio 110 verso page 1

End Image folio 112 verso



See the Introduction supra where this image is shown in annotated form and is discussed. p. 102 (107).

End Image folio 112 page 1



See the Introduction supra where this image is shown in annotated form and is discussed. p. 103 (108).

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